£3

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

Dr. Dubois
c/o National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 West 169th Street
New York N.Y.

60 Elgin Crescent
London W.11

60 Elgin Crescent
London, W, 11
ENGLAND.

6-15-48

Dear Dr. Dubois, I trust you will forgive my writing to you but I feel that I had to after reading John Gunther's "Inside U.S.A."

I am extremely interested in the U.S.A and its many and varied problems and one of my life ambitions is to visit there some day, but as I am only a shop assistant (clerk to you) it will be some time before I get a glimpse of the Statue of Liberty and the Manhattan skyline.

So I am doing the next best thing by writing to persons in the States and thus widening my knowledge. You will be interested to know that I have had some interesting [illegible] from Mr. Gibson, Vermont governor, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, New York's "The News" and John Gunther. The latter was kind enough to send me the address of which I could reach you.

I wonder if it would be asking you too much to let me know something of your work for the advancement of your race. I have come across [illegible] in another book as well and am trying to obtain Gunnar Myrdal's book, "An American [illegible]". Perhaps it will interest you to know that there are

60 Elgin Cres
London
15 a

23-38-28

[3]

Others in these lands interested
in your work for humanity

Fold first

June 23, 1948

Mr. Harry Hack
60 Elgin Crescent
London, W, 11
England

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of June 15, and thank you for your kind words. I am glad of your interest in the problems of my people and of the United States. I enclose a list of the books which I have written. Perhaps some of them you may find in local libraries and will be able to look them over.

My own work just now is writing and lecturing. I had a book published in 1945 and another in 1947, and I am now working on a novel.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Mrs. Hames

553 Irwin St., N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.,
March 31, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
c/o Nat'l Office, NAACP,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

In May-June, 1948 the classes of 1898 will have graduated from Atlanta University fifty years ago. Only a few of our number are left. During the past summer, Mrs. Hattie Landrum Green, 1193 Hunter Road, suggested to me that our class make some kind of donation to A. U. during the coming commencement.

23-37-3

President Rufus E. Clement, in his February letter, advised the Alumni Association that the Gen. Education Board's offer of $100000 expires on June 30, 1948: this over against $60000 already raised. The amount raised is to endow a chair of Sociology in memory of A.U.'s first President, Edmund Asa Ware.

Associating you with the subject, "Sociology", the class of 1898 remembers your gift to us—the accepted facts of your information and knowledge of the subject.

Thru our class ('98), I am asking you, Dr. Dubois, to please give a donation-making check payable to The Edmund Asa Ware Memorial Fund, Atlanta University. Upon receipt of your gift, I will foward it immediately to Pres. Clement with this citation: "Thru the class of 1898, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois honors the memory of Edmund Asa Ware with his gift of— to the Ware Mem'l Fund." With Dr. Clement's acknowledgement (and mine), he will send receipt. I will get the benefit of my "Dr. Dubois effort" inasmuch as my affliction + crippled condition (arthritis) hinders me from making stump speeches.

God bless you and a thousand thanks.

Sincerely, Mrs. Rosa Porter Hames ('98 N.).

April 5, 1948

Mrs. Rosa Porter Hames
553 Irwin St. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hames:

Thank you for your letter of March 31 to Dr. DuBois. The Doctor is out of the city and is not due to return for sometime yet. However, I wanted you to know that your note has been received and that it will be brought to the attention of Dr. DuBois as soon as he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

Detroit 14 Michigan.
15-2-1948

Re for NFC Kennedy Sutton

Dr. Ill. E. B. Dubois,

Dear Sir,

I am a constant reader of your articles in the Chicago Defender, through the Defender an Courier I learned of your educational leanings.

I Belive you are a holder of the highest degree, the doctors, thats why Im free to ask you for a bit of information concerning a very rare Subject, the Subject is Trichology,

It deals with the root formation, function, and distribution of the human hair, I Spent two extensive weeks Searching the refrence records in Detroit's main library, all to prove fruitless, frankly, most librarians conceded they had never heard of Such Subject,

13-23-20

even our leading bookstores have never handled this type of book.

22-39-82

Do you know of any authors, or one author, whom have written on this subject, and in what direct branch does this subject come under?

I have my own little Chemistry books. man and the vertebrates, also the direction of hair in animals and man.

So, far I can only find a small amount of the information I need,

I would appreciate any information you give me,

Yours in friendship,

Erskine A. Hannah.
3512 Pennsylvania
A-Bi of the 92nd Division,

Key Institute

February 18, 1948

Mr. Erskine Hannah
3512 Pennsylvania Avenue
Detroit 4, Michigan

Dear Mr. Hannah:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from New York on a lecture tour, and he will not return to his desk until April. In his absence, however, I shall try to help you with your request.

Trichology is indeed a rare study as a science by itself and you will probably find little or nothing on it, that is as an individual science. However, if you will look up the works of Davenport, an anthropologist, contact Dr. E. A. Hooton of Harvard University, Department of Anthropology, or write to The John Hopkins Medical School in Baltimore, and write to Dr. M. J. Herskovits, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, and state to each of these just what you want, you may be able to get some help. Actually, the science of trichology is generally studied in anthropology, specifically physical anthropology, and in the field of medicine. You might find it profitable to write to Dr. Otto Klineberg, Columbia University, New York City, and Dr. Julian Lewis, University of Chicago, also.

With hope that you are successful in your quest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

22-39

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

March 29, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

23-37-8

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Advance copies of TOWARD WORLD PEACE by Henry Wallace have just come in from the printers, and at Mr. Wallace's suggestion we are sending you one today. We hope you will have an early opportunity to read it, and we look forward to hearing from you about it if you care to give us a comment.

TOWARD WORLD PEACE is a Reynal & Hitchcock book which we shall publish on April 15th.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Salivar
Harcourt, Brace and Company

MS/LJ

April 5, 1948

Miss Mildred Salivar
Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Miss Salivar:

In your letter of March 29 to Dr. DuBois, you said you were sending him an advance copy of TOWARD WORLD PEACE, by Henry Wallace. To date the book has not been received, and I am wondering if it may have gotten lost in the mails. At any rate, I thought you would like to know this.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

July 13, 1948

Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send and bill me at author's discount the following:

6 copies - Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace

Yours truly,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

23c-37-4

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.

PUBLISHERS

383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

hb

SOLD TO

W.E.B. DUBOIS
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18 NEW YORK

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AUTHOR

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						7.51

[Harlem Committee...]

lecture

401 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.
January 11, 1948

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

22-33-13

Dear Sir:

The Harlem Committee of the Teachers Union, C.I.O., which is composed of Negro and white teachers who work in Harlem, is sponsoring its annual program in celebration of Negro History Week in the auditorium of the 136th Street library on February 19, 1948 at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The Committee is anxious to have you inform the people of the community of the significance of the petition presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations and the further steps now being considered by the organization to secure the aid of the United Nations in solving the so-called American Negro problem.

You probably would be interested to know that another purpose of the meeting is to get Harlem to push the idea of a Negro member of the New York City Board of Education.

Another member of the Harlem Committee is attempting to secure your services by contacting you through the down-town office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

An early reply is requested inasmuch as a report must be made on January 15, 1948.

For your convenience I am including my home telephone number, Wadsworth 8-7853. I'll be home Monday and Wednesday evenings.

Yours respectfully,

Helen Hill Green

Helen Hill Green-Chairman
Harlem Committee, Teachers Union
Local 555, UPWA, C.I.O.

am lecturing in N. Eng. the week of Feb 15
and in the West the following week. Regret I
cannot accept my research assistant, Dr. Hugh Smythe
can answer you

[Harlem Committee -]

22-33-14

January 12, 1948

Miss Helen Hill Green
401 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Miss Green: I am lecturing in New England the week of February 15, and in the West the following week. I regret that I cannot appear for you. Perhaps my assistant, Dr. Hugh H. Smythe, can serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:lm

[Harlem Committee...]

Asc 4.1.12

401 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.
January 14, 1948

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Sir::

Many thanks for your immediate reply. The Harlem Committee of the Teachers Union, C.I.O. is contacting Dr. Smythe for February 19, 1948 at your suggestion.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Clarence Green

28.29.32

[Harlem Council on Edu.]

lecture

35 West 90 Street
New York, 24 N.Y.
November 4, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I am writing you in the name of the Harlem Council on Education, an organization representing about 18 parents' associations in the community.

23-48-28

Since the founding of our organization over a year ago, we have engaged in a number of campaigns vital to educational betterment, among them the appointment of a Negro to the Board of Education as well as activities in support of increased appropriations for the schools. At present, we are deeply concerned with action on the Harlem Project Report which revealed shocking school conditions in our area.

We are holding an annual Educational conference and luncheon on Saturday, Dec. 11, 1948 at Memorial Baptist Church, 115 St. and St. Nicholas Ave., where we intend to raise these problems and develop a program of action.

Several of our parents were present, along with teachers who are working with the organization, at the meeting in St. Nicholas Arena under the auspices of the Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. We were all inspired by your remarks at that time and dare to hope that you will consent to be a featured speaker at our luncheon.

We intend to hold a general discussion of school problems in the morning, from 10:30 AM to about 1:30 PM, at which latter time we would have the luncheon. We contemplate having two after-luncheon speakers and earnestly hope that you will be the main speaker. The subject is at your discretion.

We expect about 200 active parents and teachers as well as community leaders to be present. Your presence will, we feel, give us strength to develop a spirited campaign in the interests of a decent education for our children.

May we hope that you will favor us with your presence?

Sincerely yours,

Norman London

Norman London
for the Arrangements Committee

[Harlem Council on Ed.]

November 10, 1948

23-48-29

Mr. Norman London
35 West 90th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Mr. London:

I am in receipt of your kind invitation of November 4. I regret to say that on December 11, I have made arrangements to be in Chicago and will not be able to be present.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Harlem Wallace ... Comm.]

1298

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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LC = Deferred Cable
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23-32-5

N160D16 JG 70 NL PD 6 EXTRA

NEWYORK NY FEB 13 1948

DR W E B DUBOIS

409 EDGECOMBE AVE NYK

THE HARLEM WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INVITES YOU TO SHARE PLATFORM WITH HENRY A WALLACE AT MASS MEETING AT GOLDEN GATE BALLROOM SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15TH AT 3 PM AND TO BE SPECIAL GUEST AT SOCIAL RECEPTION FOR MR WALLACE AT UNITED MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE AUDITORIUM, 316 LENOX AVENUE (126TH ST) FOLLOWING THE MEETING.

PLEASE PRESENT THIS TELEGRAM AT DOOR FOR YOUR SEAT AND RECEPTION

DR GEORGE D CANNON CHAIRMAN REV BEN RICHARDSON EXEC SECY
HARLEM WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

File

Harlem WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT Committee

306 LENOX AVENUE NEW YORK 22 N Y TRAFALGAR 6-3069

23-32-3

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JAMES MALLOY
RICHARD B. MOORE
ENID MORGAN
TONY SALESE
CYRIL STEPHENS
THOMAS SULLIVAN
CLAUDE YEARWOOD

October 1, 1948

Dr. Wm. E.B. DuBois
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I am writing to you in behalf of our Committee to ask you to be present at our Golden Gate Rally for Henry Wallace on October 28th. The rally will start at 7 pm and Mr. Wallace is scheduled to speak at 7:35 pm.

We would like very much to have you say a few words to the audience. However, we are fully aware of the many demands on your time and the pressure of your work and we would be most honored if you would consent to sit on the platform and be introduced at the rally.

If it is possible for you to accept our invitation, please be assured that we will work out a considerate and brief schedule for your appearance.

Sincerely,

Ann Smith

Ann Smith
Administrative Secretary

uopwa
#16-2

~~KEEP~~

Please Release to Bernard Seamon, 111 West 42, New York City, my column of Jan 10, "Conference on China." If possible, make 1000 reprints and ship him his expense immediately. He must have reprints by Monday.

W E B DuBois

22-38-04

Democratic.
For Eastern Policy Committee

Please release to Bernard Seamon, 111 West 42nd, New York City, my column of January 10, CONFERENCE ON CHINA. If possible, make 1,000 reprints ~~xxdxsxixmxkix~~ his expense and ship immediately. He must have reprints by Monday.

W E B DuBois

phoned to secretary for Seamon
dictated Jan. 14, 1948

To. Lucius Harper
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Ave.
Chicago, ILLINOIS

Title Biography

Established 1817

Harper & Brothers · Publishers · New York and London

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

June 4, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

You are probably aware of the fact that in her new volume, WITNESSES FOR FREEDOM, which we shall publish on June 9, Mrs. Rebecca C. Barton has included an interpretative discussion of your autobiography.

I am sure that you will be interested to see a copy of this book and I am therefore happy to send you a complimentary one separately.

I am hopeful that you will find it a useful addition to the general literature in this field.

Cordially yours,

Ordway Tead

ORDWAY TEAD
Editor, Social & Economic Books

OT:ry

CABLE ADDRESS: HARPSAM · TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-1900

23a-13

June 29, 1948

Mr. Ordway Tead
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Tead:

Dr. DuBois wishes to acknowledge receipt of the volume WITNESSES FOR FREEDOM, by Mrs. Rebecca Barton. He has given the book a cursory review and found it much to his liking and believes that Mrs. Barton has done a remarkable job in this unique book. He is going to read the material intensively and in time will let you hear from him.

With thanks for your thoughtfulness, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

23-33-16

June 8, 1948

The Editor
Harpers Magazine
49 East 33rd Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

The development of the American Negro problem in the last 30 years during which the Rosenwald Fund functioned, and also the international aspects of the Negro Problem seem to me of enough current importance to call for an article on the subject.

I should like particularly to stress the way in which the colonial center of the British Empire is being transferred from Asia to Africa; and the part that Black Africa is going to play in the future developments which will follow such action. Then there are the analogous problems in the Congo, and attempts at native intergration in Portuguese Africa, and especially in French Africa. The article might go further and consider the current political and labor movement in the Caribbean, and the way in which all of this relates itself to the American Negro.

Would you be interested in having me prepare such an article?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

File

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

June 15, 1948.

23-33-17

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We are very grateful for your suggestion of June 8 and wish we felt free to encourage you to go ahead with the article you propose. But with the various projects that we have on hand or in preparation, we don't see how we can give you real encouragement; we have room for only a limited amount of foreign material and a vast number of proposals and suggestions are coming our way. Forgive us if we say "no".

Sincerely yours,

Frederick L. Allen

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

FLA/RD

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
THE COLLEGE
Box 268, Faculty Exchange

May 15, 1948

22-32-19

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois:

I would like very much to accept your invitation to give a lecture in the course you are to conduct at the New School during the next school year. The main difficulty is that I have at this time no engagements that will take me to Nwe York during the school year of 1948-49. Some such engagement will develop but right now I know of nothing and I do not think I should ask you to pay my travel expenses just to have me give one lecture.

I am planning to be in New York for a few days beginning June 10th or 15th. I hope to pay you a visit at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Abram L. Harris

Abram L, Harris

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Research
Nat'l Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N. Y.

New School Conf-E

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
THE COLLEGE

August 5, 1948

22-37-21

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director
Department of Special Research
The N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In reply to your letter of August 4th, I regret to say that I am not sure when I will get to New York again.

I think I shall be lecturing in the South around the middle of December, but getting to New York will depend upon how long I can be away from my work here. I appreciate your invitation but in view of the indefiniteness of my movements, I think you should ask some one closer to New York.

Sincerely

Abram L. Harris.

Abram L. Harris

22-37-20

August 4, 1948

Dr. Abram Harris
Department of Economics
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Dr. Harris:

I am writing again concerning the possibility of your lecturing in the course on The Negro in American History, which I am directing during the Fall term of the school year 1948-1949 at The New School.

If there is any chance of your being in town during the year, will you kindly let me know. The lectures take place on Mondays, 8:30-10 P.M. Of course, if I can put you down for a specific date I could advertise it and that would be much better; but if not, any time you can come will be satisfactory.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:S

AUG 2 1948

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

July 30. 1948.

Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes.
Chairman of the Board of Directors,
of the Encyclopedia of the Negro.
Room 1410, 101 Park ave.
New York. N.Y.

re W. E. DuBois
Letters

23-30-12

Dear Mr. Stokes,

Your Preparatory Volume of the Encyclopedia of the Negro is most interesting and I believe the project to be most valuable. Because of this interest I should like to take the liberty of making a suggestion.

It appears to me that the coverage of certain areas, especially the one with which I am most familiar, is not adequate. E.g. How can any encyclopedia of the Negro fail to mention William Syphax and Daniel Breed, to name only two of the leaders of the race, most prominent at the National Capital in the years, 1865-1874? It appears too, that the bibliography of Negro education in the United States should be greatly expanded.

Hoping that these suggestions may prove helpful, I am, Very truly yours.

Alfred B. Harris
Reference Librarian, Western Reserve University

August 23, 1948

22-20-13

Mr. Alfred G. Harris, Reference Librarian
Western Reserve University
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Sir:

Your letter of July 30, to Mr. Anson Phelps-Stokes, has been turned over to me. I thank you very much for your criticism.

I am painfully aware of the omissions in the preliminary volume of THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO. It was gotten out as a last resort with limited funds because money for the full work was not forthcoming. William Syphax and Daniel Breed ought certainly to have been mentioned and I shall make a note of this. Probably the notices on Negro education might be expanded, but that subject is so broad that I did not want to overweight it in comparison with other matters.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

Reg. Letter
Confidential

JESSIE FAUSET HARRIS 247 ORANGE ROAD MONTCLAIR, N. J.

February 25, 1948

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th St.,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Recently I have found myself emerging from the apathy into which the loss of my sister plunged me. Thanks to the unremitting care of my husband, relatives and a few friends I'm planning seriously to take up my pen once more.

This is to ask you as Editor of THE BROWNIES BOOK to give me permission to reprint any or all of the articles. poems, stories etc. which I contributed to the little magazine. I may be able to incorporate some of them in a volume. Poems and articles signed "R" and all unsigned biographies are mine. I also did a brief biography of you in 1929 to be incorporated into a volume whose name escapes me. Unfortunately I lent the book to some one and have never been able to recapture it*

23-37-4

It was a source of great satisfaction to many of us to see the high and richly warranted tributes paid you Monday night past. The good, people do, is so often interred with their bones.

What must have touched you most was the acknowledgement by so many moderns of the inspiration which you have afforded.

Imagine having been the moving spirit behind such a writer as Howard Fast!

Yours truly,

Jessie F. Harris
(Mrs. Herbert E.....)

* I'd appreciate any information. J.H.

RESIDENCE, 515 SIXTH STREET PHONE MOLINE 7599

LEON R. HARRIS

BOX 285 -:- MOLINE, ILLINOIS

Thurber

Africa

22-31-12

April 26,1948

Dr. W.E.B.Dubois
NAACP,N.Y.

Dear Doctor:

Note clipping. I wonder if this colonial government and British imperialists could be persuaded to use at least fifty per cent of the profit from this mine for the benefit of the real owners of the mine,the natives of Tanganyika.

Sincetely,

Leon R. Harris

June 29, 1948

Mr. Leon Harris
Box 285
Moline, Illinois

Dear Mr. Harris: Dr. DuBois wants you to know that he thanks you for your thoughtfulness in sending him the clipping on Africa. If at any time you come across such material, he will appreciate your calling it to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Reg Mira

132 Central Ave.
St. Augustine, Fla.
March 4, 1948

N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th St.
New York (18), N. Y.

23-16-27

Dear Mr. Dubois,-

I am a member of the Seventh Grade of Excelsior High School. We have been studying about famous Negroes. I enjoyed the story of your life most of all and we also studied that you were the world's most famous book writer. We also have one of your

Most famous books in
our libery. "The Souls of
the Black Folk."

sincerely yours
(Miss) Marilyn Harrison

23-16-28

Telephone KEnmore 6-4764

BOOK AND JOB PRINTING

The Boston Chronicle

PUBLISHED BY SQUARE DEAL-BOSTON CHRONICLE PUBLISHING CO., INC

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

794 TREMONT STREET

BOSTON 18, MASS.

lecture

23-38-95

January 24, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your note of January 22. I shall arrange for a few (variegated) friends of mine to meet you for conversation, with no speech-making whatsoever, during your stay. If it be convenient for you and it be acceptable to Mrs. Groves, we can come to see you there, since traveling becomes daily more hazardous, owing to the fact that the snow has not be removed.

Will you please have four copies of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD! sent to me, together with a bill for the same?

Very sincerely yours,

William Harrison

Telephone KEnmore 6-4764

BOOK AND JOB PRINTING

The Boston Chronicle

PUBLISHED BY SQUARE DEAL-BOSTON CHRONICLE PUBLISHING CO., INC

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

794 TREMONT STREET

BOSTON 18, MASS.

February 2, 1948

Lecture

23-38-93

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your promptness in having copies of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD despatched to me, and I enclose herewith my cheque for them.

We eagerly await your advent into our midst. Will you please let me know if your DARK PRINCESS is still in print?

Sincerely yours,

William Harrison

February 5, 1948

23-3-97

Mr. William Harrison, Editor
THE BOSTON CHRONICLE
794 Tremont Street
Boston 18, Massachusetts

My dear Mr. Harrison:

DARK PRINCESS has long been out of print. With regard to your sug estion of a meeting at the home of Mrs. Groves, may I say, I would not feel free to invite persons to the house of my hostess. I thought that perhaps you had a regular place where the group assembled. Perhaps we had better postpone it until some other time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

23-25-84

Birthday Happiness

To the "master of those who know"[1] that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line"[2]

Many, many friendly thoughts
Go out to you, today,
To wish you Birthday Happiness
And Good Luck---
Along The Way!!

From
William Harrison
1948

1. Dante 2. DuBois, passim, fortissimo

[Harvard University, Class of 1890]

23-13-4/6

April 21, 1948

Mr. Howard Corning
Salem, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Corning:

Can you find me the address of Alexina Barrell? She is the widow of one of our classmates and I have lost her address. I think she is in New Hampshire. If you can find her, I shall be very grateful.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

232-14

May 12, 1948

Governor William Hastie
Charlotte Amalie
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands

Dear Mr. Hastie:

I am writing this letter on behalf of Mr. and Mrs. Roger Simons. Mr. Simons is a Swedish newspaper correspondent who was very helpful to the Association in getting publicity for us when we presented our petition to the United Nations last fall. Since then he has visited the offices of this department in connection with some writing he is doing on the American Negro.

The Simons are interested in coming to the Virgin Islands with the possibility of settling there. They plan to come and look the situation over to see what are the prospects for new migrants, with Mrs. Simons preceding her husband.

We would appreciate any courtesies you may find it possible to extend to Mrs. Simons when she arrives.

With sincere thanks for your cooperation and kindness in this matter, and wishing you continued success in your work, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For the Department

HHS:s

cc: Mr. and Mrs. Simons

23-25-20 763

CONGRATULATIONS

by WESTERN UNION

(49)

N104 PD 2 EXTRA=NEWYORK NY 23 440P

DR W E B DUBOIS=

HENDRIK HUDSON ROOM AND PALM TERRACE HOTEL
ROOSEVELT 45TH ST AND MADISON AVE=

SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THE RICHNESS OF YOUR YEARS AND THE FULLNESS OF YOUR LIFE YOUR FRIENDSHIP HAS BEEN INVALUABLE TO ME THROUGH THE YEARS YOUR COURAGE AND FAITH HAVE BEEN A CHALLENGE AND INSPIRATION TO THE DARKER PEOPLES OF THE WORLD FOR HALF A CENTURY MAY YOU STILL HAVE MANY YEARS TO ENJOY THE FRUITS OF YOUR LABOR SINCERELY OUR FRIEND=

JESSIE S HATHCOCK DAYTN OHIO= 407 W 5th St.

Permission to Quote

July 22, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In preparation of my forthcoming study on Negro problems, based on many years study as a Negro, I have found your studies and writings highly stimulating and valuable.

22-32-12

I should like to request your permission to use the enclosed passages from your book, Dusk of Dawn.

I shall be deeply grateful for such permission.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Haywood

Harry Haywood

61 W. 106th Street
Apt. 6C
New York, N.Y.

July 27, 1948

Mr. Harry Haywood
61 West 106th Street, 6-C
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Haywood: I am writing in reply to your letter of July 22, in which you request permission to quote from my autobiography, Dusk of Dawn. You have my permission to use the material you mention on pages 55, 96, 72, 75, 227, 290, 297, and 305. However, you will also have to secure the permission of the publishers, Harcourt, Brace, & Company.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Enc.]

Title: Dusk of Dawn 1940
Author: W. E. B. DuBois
Publisher Harcourt Brace, & Co., 385 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

p.55

"... the whole South disfranchised its Negro voters by unfair and illegal restrictions and passed a series of 'Jim Crow' laws which made the Negroes a subordinate caste."

22-32

p.96

"The echo of the industrial imperialism in America was the expulsion of black men from American democracy, their subjection to caste control and wage slavery. This ideology was triumphant by 1910."

p.305

"The upper class Negro has almost never been nationalistic. He has never planned or thought of a Negro state or a Negro church or a Negro school. This solution has always been a thought upsurging from the mass, because of pressure which they could not withstand and which compelled a racial institution or chaos."

p.72

"At a time when Negro civil rights called for organized and aggressive defense, he broke down that defense by advising acquiescence or at least no open agitation.... His public speeches, while they did not entirely ignore this development, tended continually to excuse it, to emphasize the shortcomings of the Negro, and were interpreted widely as putting the chief onus for his condition upon the Negro himself."

p.75

22-32

"It must be a matter of business. These Negroes were not to be encouraged as voters in the new democracy; nor were they to be left at the mercy of the reactionary South. They were good laborers and they might be better. They could become a strong labor force and properly guided they would restrain the unbridled demands of white labor, born of the Northern labor unions and now spreading to the South. One danger must be avoided and that was to allow the silly idealism of Negroes, half-trained in Southern missionary 'colleges' to mislead the mass of laborers and keep them stirred up by ambitions incapable of realization."

p.75

"Things cam to such a pass that when any Negro complained or advocated a course of action, he was silenced with the remark that Mr. Washington did not agree with this. Naturally the bumptious, irritated, young black intelligentsia of the day declared, 'I don't care a damn what Booker Washington thinks! <u>This is what I think, and I have a right to think.</u>'

p.227

"There was one initial difficulty common to all interracial effort in the United States. Ordinarily the white members of a committee formed of Negroes and whites become dominant. Either by superior training or their influence or their wealth they take charge of the committee, guite it and use the colored membership as their helpers and executive workers in certain directions."

p.290

"The bulk of my colleagues saw no essential change in the world. It was the same world with the problems to be attacked by the same method as before the war. All we needed to do was to continue to attack lynching, to bring more cases before the courts and to insist upon our full citizenship rights. They recoiled from any consideration of the economic plight of the world or any change in the organization of industry.

"My colored colleagues especially were deeply American, with the old theory of individualism, with a desire to be rich or at least well-to-do, with suspicion of organized labor and labor programs.... My white colleagues were still liberals and philanthropists. They wanted to help the Negroes, as they wanted to help the weak and disadvantaged of all classes in America. They realized poignantly the dislocation of industry, the present economic problems; but most of them still believed in the basic rightness of industry as at present organized...."

p.297

"regarded it as a weapon to attack the sort of social discrimination which especially irked them; rather than as an organization to improve the status and power of the whole Negro group."

D-12 Mellon Hall
Soldiers Field
Boston 63, Mass.
January 6, 1948

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23-48-1

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We are truly sorry to note from your letter of December 17, 1947 that we have apparently given you a misapprehension as to our purposes in conducting a group study into the question of leadership.

Believing that it may be of interest to you, I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of a recent publication entitled "Education for Business Responsibility", which tells, in brief, the story of what the Harvard Business School is trying to accomplish.

Very sincerely yours,

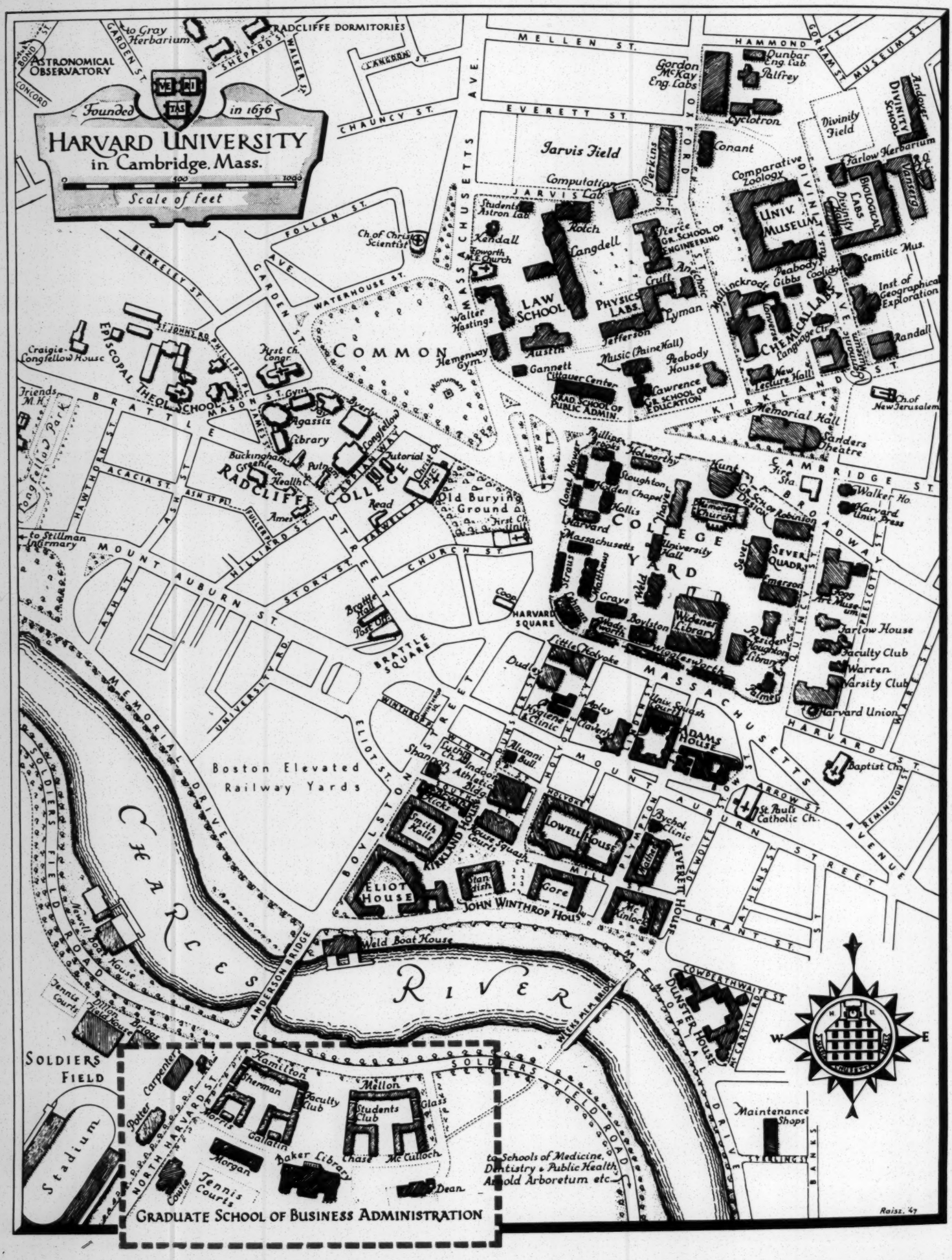
John R. Hazen,
Chairman.

[1948]
Enc

EDUCATION FOR BUSINESS RESPONSIBILITY

32-34-60

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
HARVARD UNIVERSITY


HARVARD UNIVERSITY
in Cambridge, Mass.
Founded in 1636
Scale of feet
ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY
Gray Herbarium
RADCLIFFE DORMITORIES
MELLEN ST.
HAMMOND ST.
GORHAM ST.
MUSEUM ST.
CHAUNCY ST.
EVERETT ST.
MASSACHUSETTS AVE.
OXFORD ST.
Dunbar Eng. Lab
Palfrey
Gordon McKay Eng. Labs
Cyclotron
Jarvis Field
Conant
Divinity Field
Andover
Farlow Herbarium
Divinity School
Comparative Zoology
Biological Labs
Univ. Museum
Divinity Hall
Computation
JARVIS LAB.
Parkins
Students Astron Lab
Kolch
Kendall
Langdell
Pierce Gr. School of Engineering
Ch. of Christ Scientist
Epworth M.E. Church
FOLLEN ST.
BERKELEY ST.
GARDEN ST.
WATERHOUSE ST.
Walter Hastings
LAW SCHOOL
PHYSICS LABS.
Lyman
Jefferson
Austin
Gannett
Music (Paine Hall)
Peabody House
Lawrence Lab.
Grad. School of Public Admin.
Gr. School of Education
Peabody
Gibbs
Coolidge
Semitic Mus.
Inst. of Geographical Exploration
CHEMICAL LABS
New Lecture Hall
Randall
Memorial Hall
Sanders Theatre
Ch. of New Jerusalem
KIRKLAND ST.
CAMBRIDGE ST.
Fire Sta.
Walker Ho.
Harvard Univ. Press
BROADWAY
COMMON
Hemenway Gym
Craigie-Longfellow House
ST. JOHNS RD.
PHILLIPS PL.
First Ch. Congr.
EPISCOPAL THEOL. SCHOOL
Friends M.H.
Longfellow Park
BRATTLE ST.
MASON ST.
Gym
Agassiz
Library
Byerly
Longfellow
JAMES ST.
Buckingham
Greenleaf
Putnam
Health
RADCLIFFE COLLEGE
CRIMSON WAY
Tutorial
Christ
Spirit
Old Burying Ground
First Ch.
Read
Ames
HAWTHORN ST.
ACACIA ST.
ASH ST.
ASH ST PL.
FULLERTON ST.
HILLIARD ST.
to Stillman Infirmary
MOUNT AUBURN ST.
STORY ST.
FAYERWEATHER ST.
CHURCH ST.
Phillips Brooks
Holworthy
Lionel
Stoughton
Harvard
Hollis
Massachusetts
University Hall
Sever
Quadr.
Emerson
Weld
Boylston
Wadsworth
Widener Library
Coop
HARVARD SQUARE
Brattle Hall
Post Office
BRATTLE SQUARE
Kunt
Gr. Sch. of Design
Memorial Church
Robinson
Sever Quadr.
Fogg Art Museum
Farlow House
Faculty Club
Warren
Varsity Club
Harvard Union
Dudley
Little Holyoke
Wigglesworth
President
Houghton Library
Palmer
Aspley
Claverly
Univ. Squash Court
Hygiene Clinic
ADAMS HOUSE
MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE
HARVARD ST.
WARE ST.
PRESCOTT ST.
WINTHROP ST.
Memorial Church
Alumni Bull.
Indoor Athletic Bldg.
Shannon's
Baptist Ch.
St. Paul's Catholic Ch.
ARROW ST.
REMINGTON ST.
MOUNT AUBURN STREET
Boston Elevated Railway Yards
ELIOT ST.
BOYLSTON ST.
UNIVERSITY RD.
MEMORIAL DRIVE
CHARLES RIVER
Squash Courts
Squash Courts
KIRKLAND HOUSE
Squash Courts
Hicks
Smith Halls
Bryhol Clinic
LOWELL HOUSE
Cabot
PLIMPTON ST.
DE WOLFE ST.
LEVERETT HOUSE
ELIOT HOUSE
Standish
Gore
JOHN WINTHROP HOUSE
McKinlock
ATHENS ST.
GRANT ST.
Weld Boat House
ANDERSON BRIDGE
Newell Boat House
SOLDIERS FIELD ROAD
Tennis Courts
Dillon Field House
Briggs
WEEKS MEM. BRIDGE
COWDREY HWAY ST.
DUNSTER HOUSE
McCARTHY YD.
SOLDIERS FIELD
Stadium
NORTH HARVARD ST.
Carpenter
Potter
Hamilton
Sherman
Faculty Club
Mellon
Students Club
Glass
Morris
Gallatin
Baker Library
Chase
McCulloch
Morgan
Tennis Courts
Dean
Cowie
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
to Schools of Medicine, Dentistry & Public Health, Arnold Arboretum etc.
Maintenance Shops
STERLING ST.
BANKS
DRIVE
Raisz. '47

The GRADUATE SCHOOL of BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

32-34-62

THE United States has developed its greatness as a nation in a period in which a highly fluid society overran a rich and empty continent; one of the highly significant ideals of the American nation has long been equality of opportunity. Our educational system, our political institutions, and our social ideals form a closely interwoven pattern. Equality of opportunity could be realized only in a political democracy; it would have meaning only in a competitive society in which private ownership and the profit motive were accepted as basic principles.

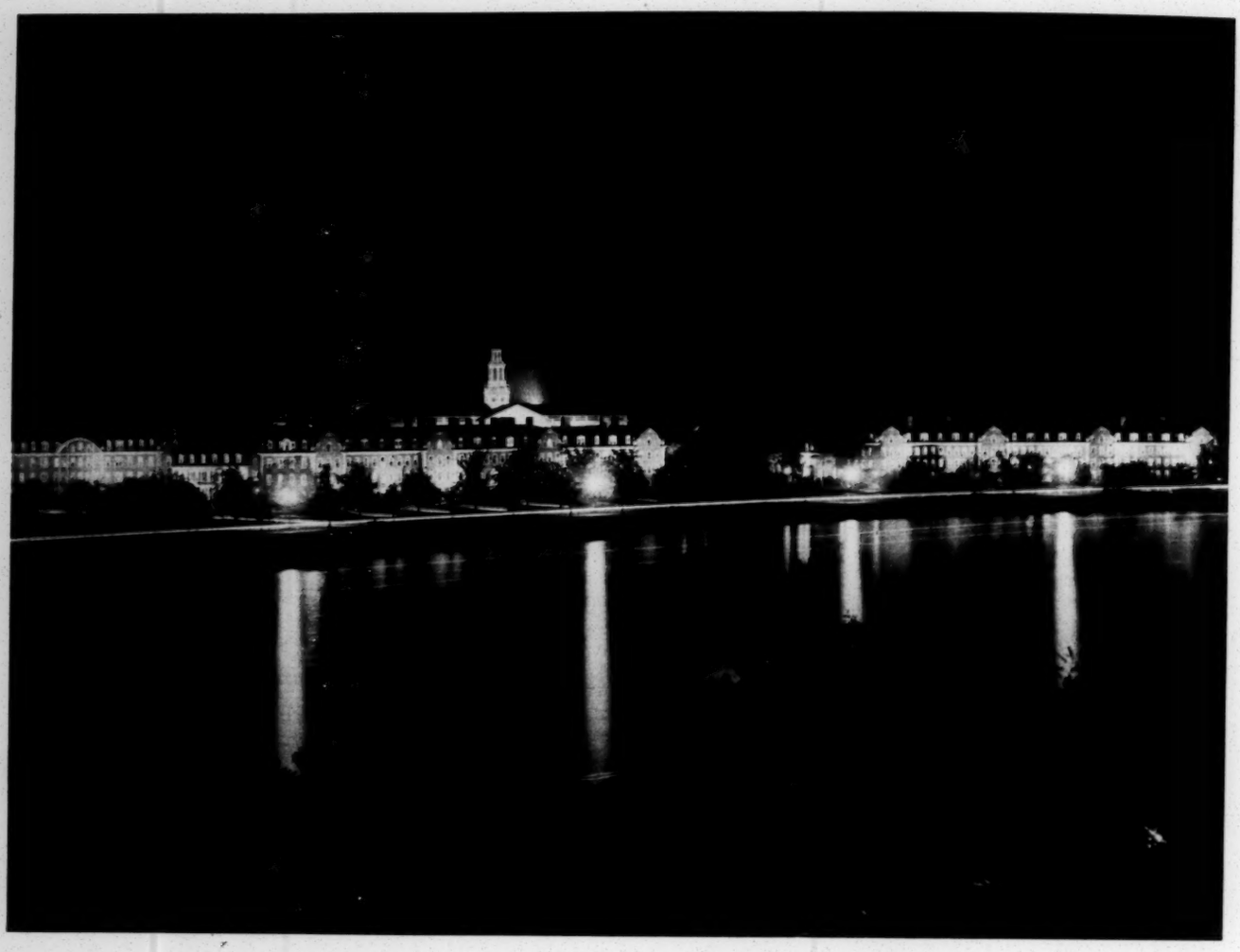
As never before, business needs men who appreciate the responsibilities of business to itself and to that unique society of free men which has been developed on this continent. Such men must understand not only the practical workings of business organizations, but also the economic and social climate in which business operates; they must be as well trained as our professional men in law and medicine.

This is one of the responsibilities of American universities in the twentieth century. Harvard takes justifiable pride in the pioneer work of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration in meeting this new educational challenge—Education For Business Responsibility.

JAMES B. CONANT
President, Harvard University

May 3, 1947

32-34-63



WINDOWS ALIGHT is characteristic of the Business School dormitories where students gain habits in sustained and concentrated work.

EDUCATION FOR BUSINESS RESPONSIBILITY

1

Realistic Training for Business Administration Page 9

2

Faculty . . . Close to Business Page 12

3

Research: Facts and Their Significance Page 13

4

Interrelation of Business and the School Page 16

5

What Lies Ahead Page 19

32-34-64

GROUP DISCUSSION of cases is enthusiastically encouraged at the School. From them students develop an invaluable habit which they carry with them to their business careers.

1

REALISTIC TRAINING FOR BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

THE first aim of the School is to train men to become responsible businessmen: not students *of* business, nor specialists who know *about* business, but men able to work *in* business and capable of developing into responsible executives.

Such realistic training for business administration requires development of the skill of taking responsible action at all levels. For this reason, instruction at the Harvard Business School is based on the case system.

The School is keenly aware of the tremendous part creative thinking plays in the development of business. Every effort is made throughout the student's course of instruction to develop originality, imagination, judgment, and an intuitive insight in his approach to the new and changing business problems he must face.

THE CASE SYSTEM

Under the case system, the student is given real business problems, secured from actual business organizations, for *his* analysis and discussion, for *his* solution and decision. The cases are representative of American business. Thus they deal with the problems of companies new and growing, old and mature, large and small.

The students at the Harvard Business School actually "live" business rather than merely study it in theory. They, like business executives, must find answers to questions like these:

What, if anything, should be done? Why?
How would you get it done?
What facts would you like before you decide what to do?
What facts can you get by the time you have to decide at a cost that is worthwhile?
What risks are involved in your decision and what alternative action can be taken if the existing conditions change?

Gradually, under this method of instruction, the student acquires the ability necessary to recognize the *existence* of a problem; the knowledge required for its *definition;* and the training needed for its *solution.*

TRAINING FOR ACTION

In the classroom, group discussion presided over by the instructor is the usual method of procedure. The emphasis is placed upon drawing from the student *his* appraisal of the problem and *his* solution based upon the evidence presented.

The students are given guidance but not the answer. The instructor, drawing upon his broader experience and training, at times may tell the students his best judgment about an acceptable answer; at other times "best practice" or the law may also suggest an answer. But the reasons for arriving at any one decision and the possibility of other decisions being acceptable are explored.

From time to time, students submit in writing their individual recommendations for meeting a specific problem. This gives them training in writing effective business reports. It also enables them to analyze the problem more thoroughly and to seek more evidence than is possible in classroom discussion. Group discussions by the students without Faculty guidance are also encouraged.

The case system is thus the nearest practicable imitation of real life; it puts the student in the frame of mind of actually being "in business."

EFFECT OF THE CASE SYSTEM

The vitality of the case system captures and holds the student's interest and helps him develop a practical, analytical approach to business problems. It forces him to take a more or less chaotic collection of facts and to define the problems presented by the apparent chaos. It gives him an understanding of the relationship of policies to problems. It gives him a real sense of the various alternatives which must be explored before a decision of policy is made. It impresses him with the fact that most decisions of policy are made in the light of one's ignorance quite as much as in the light of one's knowledge. It indicates the importance of the unintended consequences of any decisions.

It teaches him not to be surprised when he faces in business new problems the exact counterpart of which he never saw in school, and gives him confidence that the soundness of the approach which he developed in school will enable him to meet a new problem squarely and solve it successfully.

In short, the case system trains the student to express his individual judgment on action that should be taken in a realistic situation.

The student comes to realize that his increased responsibilities as a businessman bring with them increased opportunities to help his employees, his associates, and consumers; in fact, all those with whom he comes in contact.

HOW CASES ARE ACQUIRED

The cases used are real business problems, secured from actual business organizations. One of the great assets of the Harvard Business School is the willingness of businessmen to furnish confidential information. Confidences are strictly guarded and, when necessary, the exact facts of the case such as size, location, product, are disguised while the basic relationships are retained.

In 1920, organized case collection was begun and has been continued ever since. More than 4,000 different companies, large and small, old and new, from all sections have contributed over 20,000 cases which are currently in the School's files. The extent of this material can be judged from the following list:

Accounting and Auditing	3,300
Administrative Policy	500
Economics	600
Elements of Administration	400
Finance and Financial Institutions	2,100
Foreign Trade	800
Government and Law	1,200
Industrial Purchasing	400
Labor, Human Relations, and Personnel	1,000
Marketing, Sales, Advertising and Retailing	4,200
National Defense	1,100
Production and Manufacturing	1,700
Public Utilities and Transportation	2,000
Statistics	1,800

A BROAD PROGRAM

The School has always believed that a man qualified to become an executive needs a broad foundation of business knowledge as well as a trained understanding of the administrative process. This calls for a course of business education that is not only diverse in its subjects but integrated in its nature.

A two-year graduate program is offered. The first-year course of study is unique among business schools. It is required for all regular students and consists of one integrated course, called Elements of Administration, broken down into six subjects:

Marketing
Production
Finance
Control (the use of figures in administration)
Administrative Practices (getting things done through people)
Public Relationships and Responsibilities (the social setting in which individual businesses find themselves)

In the second year, the student chooses a field of interest to him and explores it further. The areas for further study include each of the first-year subjects plus other representative areas of business such as labor relations, foreign trade, transportation, government and business, and business history.

Overspecialization is discouraged and each second-year student is required to take a course

"Administrative Policy," which stresses: (1) diagnosis of business situations wherein the real nature of the existing business problem is not obvious and can be found only by the able executive; (2) the functions of the top business executive who must co-ordinate all phases of a business into a successful and happy, going concern.

The ability to deal with people, a characteristic of most successful executives, is stressed throughout the program.

The fundamentals of the School's program remain permanent: a broad foundation in business and an appreciation of administration are always required. Yet, as the immediate and future needs of business change so also does the emphasis on some parts of the School's work. Today's program is the result of a wartime reappraisal of the School's objectives and puts special emphasis upon two emerging responsibilities of business: (1) better human relations; (2) better understanding of public relationships and responsibilities of individual business organizations.

STUDENTS OF PROMISE

The Harvard Business School is a graduate school and like other professional graduate schools, its policy is to select students of promise.

The typical students have more than just a college degree. They were leaders in their college classes; they came from diverse college courses, including for example, engineering, business, liberal arts and law; a few exceptional men, whose informal education has suited them for graduate study, are admitted without college degrees.

Harvard Business School students come from localities and colleges scattered throughout the world as shown in the following table.

	Sept. 1937 to June 1942	Oct. 1946 to Jan. 1947
Number of Students	4,075	1,505
Number of States	48	46
Possessions	4	3
Foreign Countries	24	15
Colleges	360	332

KNOWLEDGE OF SOURCES OF INFORMATION comes to students from two years' use of Baker Library, one of the world's leading business libraries.

Because of their demonstration of promise and their background the students are well equipped to learn from one another. In normal years the student body numbers about 1,000.

In the recognition of the need for advanced training of men who are preparing for research and teaching, for positions with governmental units that closely concern business, and for certain types of specialized business positions, an advanced course leading to the degree of Doctor of Commercial Science is offered.

2

FACULTY . . . CLOSE TO BUSINESS

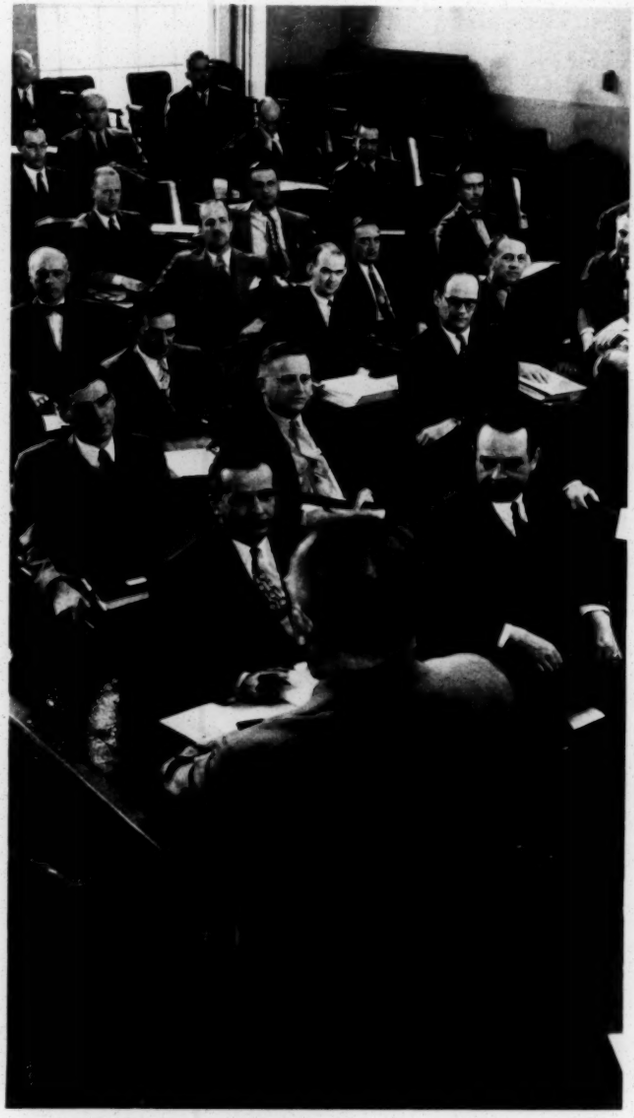
THE Faculty of the Business School includes men of ability from all sections of the country who are drawn together because they are not only interested in but enthusiastic about what the School is trying to do. Many of these professors have had experience in business; many have taught at other colleges before coming to Harvard. These men bring together wide experience and variety of backgrounds and ideas.

In the classroom, the instructor, like the student, has no answers in the back of the book. Together they are forced to rely on facts in their search for an answer. The students quickly learn that some answer is necessary, for in business, if decisions are not made by management, they are made by somebody else or they are forced into effect by conditions.

Outside the classroom, many members of the Faculty have constant contact with business through gathering cases and other research. Their consulting takes them frequently from their own office and lets them partake in the responsibilities of executives in all types of business. Much of the time they are not teaching, but doing.

At the Harvard Business School the Faculty is literally a part of business.

Currently the Faculty numbers almost 100, engaged in both teaching and research. The efforts of this group are supplemented by 30 Research Assistants, some of whom are candidates for the degree of Doctor of Commercial Science, and by secretarial, library, mimeograph, mailing and other service personnel numbering about 190.



THE ADVANCED MANAGEMENT GROUP, young executives sent by business concerns to the School for broadening study, are led here by Professor Selekman in an exchange of ideas on cases dealing with union labor relations.

3

RESEARCH: FACTS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

EDUCATION for Business Responsibility cannot be accomplished solely by passing on existing knowledge; new knowledge must be developed. Basic research studies in such fields as finance, marketing, industrial management, labor, taxation, control, growing enterprises, administrative practices, and administrative policy must be carried on continuously. The responsibilities of business can be defined realistically and met satisfactorily only if relevant facts are available. Yet, research, as carried on by the School, recognizes that fact-gathering alone is not enough. For knowledge comes not only from unearthing new *facts*, but also from new interpretation of the facts that are already known.

The formal research activities of the School fall into two groups: a) case, and b) project.

PROFESSOR McNAIR discusses a case collected from a large department store with one of the store's executives.

CASE RESEARCH

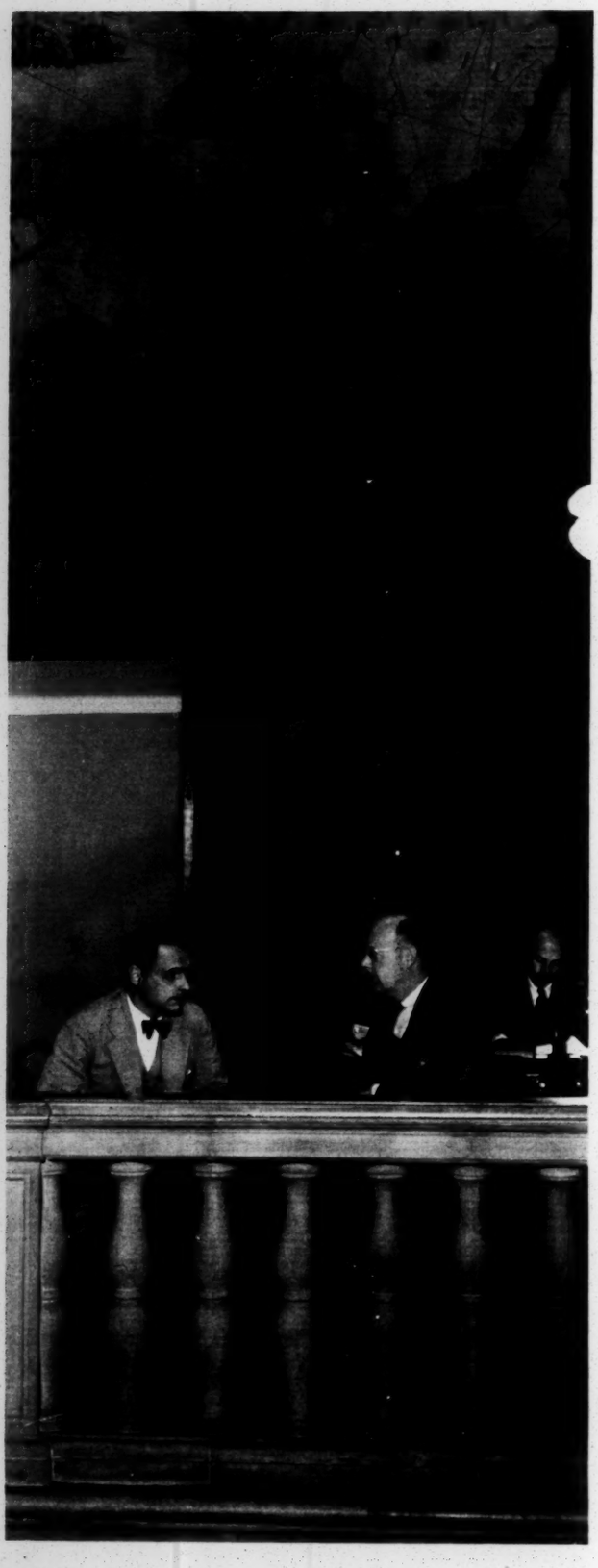
Case research consists of gathering problems for use in student instruction, as has been discussed on previous pages. Since these problems are secured from business organizations by the School Faculty, this activity itself is the most important single link in keeping the School's training realistic and its faculty close to Business.

PROJECT RESEARCH

Project research is a faculty, not a student, activity. It is regarded as one of the major devices by which the faculty can continue the exploration and development of the science of business administration. Ordinarily, it is carried on by a faculty member who is relieved of other duties so that he can devote full time to inquiry into specific problems of importance to business generally, of interest to teachers of business, and of significance to the economic welfare of the country.

There is a growing need for such creative research as businessmen try to understand the changing world and their growing responsibility. Additional project research will be undertaken when additional funds are available.

As a matter of policy results of the Faculty's project research are made generally available by publication. Project research helps the School give realistic training, furnishes useful information to business and contributes to the understanding of basic business and economic problems.



BANKING presents many cases of great interest and importance to the School's realistic training. Professor Abbot is shown discussing such a case prior to its use at the School.

A PARTIAL LIST OF THE SCHOOL'S MORE THAN 175 RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

Records for the Control of Growing Manufacturing Enterprises by Paul F. Lawler, 1947.

The Guarantee of Work and Wages by Joseph L. Snider, 1947.

Terminal Airport Financing and Management by Lynn L. Bollinger, Alan Passen, and Robert E. McElfresh, 1946.

National Advertising in Newspapers by Neil H. Borden, Malcolm D. Taylor, and Howard T. Hovde, 1946.

The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization by Elton Mayo, 1945.

The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization by Elton Mayo, reprinted 1946.

Directors and Their Functions: A Preliminary Study by John Calhoun Baker, 1945.

Effect of Federal Taxes on Growing Enterprises by J. Keith Butters and John Lintner, 1945.

Radio Advertising for Retailers by C. H. Sandage, 1945.

Writing Business Cases by James W. Cullitton, 1946.

Retail Marketing of Furnace Oil by Harvey P. Bishop, 1946.

Revenues and Expenses of Newspaper Publishers in 1941 Together with Data Relating to National Advertising in Newspapers by Neil H. Borden, Malcolm D. Taylor, and Howard T. Hovde, 1946.

Operating Results of Department and Specialty Stores in 1945 by Milton P. Brown.

Expenses and Profits of Limited Price Variety Stores in 1945: Chains and Independents by Elizabeth A. Burnham.

RESEARCH UNDER WAY

Some of the subjects upon which the faculty is now working and which will result in publication in the near future have to do with:

The Board of Directors and Business Management
Mutual Savings Banks
Aeronautical Development
Small Airports
Manufacturers' Marketing Costs
Government Loans to Business
Taxation and Business
Analysis of Industries
Department Store Costs
Variety Store Costs

CASE COLLECTION by the School faculty forms the strongest link in keeping the School and the Faculty close to business. Here Professor Mace is securing the data on a case from the owner of a small machine shop.

4

INTERRELATION OF BUSINESS AND THE SCHOOL

THE business world and the Harvard Business School are so closely woven together that there is a constant exchange of ideas and information. Business and the School thus are each a source of knowledge and stimulation for the other. This dynamic intercommunication between the School and business is not by any means confined to large companies. The entire scale of size is included from large corporations to small local enterprises.

The main channels through which this interchange of ideas occurs are the activities and facilities of the School, that are constantly being used by the business world.

These activities and services are many and varied; the following are a few of the more important.

ADVANCED MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

In addition to the programs offered to students of business administration, the School has established an intensive thirteen-week Advanced Management program for limited numbers of men actively engaged in business who have already demonstrated qualities of leadership and adaptability. No small group of executives at the top of a business organization can put into effect their major decisions without teamwork and breadth of understanding at the planning, operating and management levels. Courses in Administrative Practices, Production Management, Marketing Management, Problems in Labor Relations, Cost and Financial Administration are designed to supply these essentials.

The objective of the program is to make the participants more effective in their business positions and better prepared for advancement to positions of wider responsibility. The men attending the course have held positions from general foreman to president, from all staff and line departments of business, from companies both large and small, and from many different fields of business. For the most part they are selected by their superiors and their expenses are often paid by their companies. Representatives of organized labor have participated in the course also.

BUSINESS EXECUTIVE CONFERENCES

Three or four times a year, leaders from industry, government and labor join in a one- or two-day meeting with the faculty for discussion. These discussion groups deal with current problems in their early stages—problems which give evidence of becoming increasingly important to business.

On occasion these conferences are timed to coincide with the publication of one School's basic research studies which provides the subject for discussion.

In the informal atmosphere that characterizes these conferences, business leaders are able to exchange views not only with each other, but with leaders from government and labor, as well as with members of the faculty.

A PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATION

The Harvard Business Review, published quarterly by the School's Faculty, is addressed primarily to business executives at the managerial and policy-making levels. It is designed to give them a broad view of business problems and trends. The aim of

the editors is to publish articles which are more thought-provoking and more analytical than those carried by most other business publications. The articles are written by businessmen, labor leaders, government officials, and members of college and university faculties.

THE CASEBOOKS

Collections of cases used in classroom instruction in book form have proved of great value for instruction in other business schools, as well as of interest to businessmen generally.

Harvard pioneered in case collection. The first casebook devoted exclusively to business problems was *Marketing Problems*, published in 1920. To date, 62 casebooks have been published. Well over 50,000 copies of these casebooks have been distributed and they have been used at one time or another in about 100 colleges in the United States. The School's unpublished case material has also

EXECUTIVE WEEK-END CONFERENCES have for years permitted Associates and other executives to keep in touch with Faculty thinking. Here Professor Elton Mayo is directing a discussion on human relations.

been made available to other schools, as well as to business.

BAKER LIBRARY

The resources of the Library are readily available to people outside the student body and Faculty. Alumni and businessmen make use of the Library through personal visits and by letter. Frequently men in other parts of the country are furnished bibliographies of books readily available in libraries to which they have access.

In size and in quality, Baker Library is one of the world's best business libraries. It has arrangements whereby the services of the country's leading libraries are available to the School. It is housed in a single building and its staff is made up of people whose sole concern is with business books.

The Baker Library at present contains over 250,000 volumes and pamphlets, and a large collection of documents, both printed and in manuscript, relating particularly to individual business enterprises. In addition, the Library possesses past and present issues of periodicals, receiving more than 1,000 a month; it also receives state and Federal Government reports, financial services, trade directories, and the like. A mass of data on individual businesses is contained in the Corporation Records Division of the Library.

Specialized groups of material are assembled in the Aldrich Library of Finance, the aviation collection, the industrial relations collection, and the Kress Library of Business Economics. The Kress collection is concerned mainly with the period before 1848 and forms a splendid complement to the material of more recent date which is to be found on the stack shelves of Baker Library. The Kress Library also contains the Vanderblue memorial collection of the works of Adam Smith, and offers to the student with historical interest a rare opportunity for effective research.

THE ALUMNI

The importance of the Alumni, as an active means of communication between business and the School, cannot be too strongly stressed. In 1947 there were 12,000 Alumni of its regular course and 6,800 of its wartime officer-training program. There are scattered throughout the country, 30 Alumni Clubs acutely conscious of their part in representing the School to business. Many clubs have set up guidance services, or business clinics, for the purpose of helping graduates become a more vital part of the communities in which they live. Others have sponsored public business conferences on timely subjects.

The Harvard Business School Alumni Association has its own Alumni Bulletin, a publication which not only keeps the alumni abreast of activities at the School and of their fellow classmates, but also includes articles of current interest to business in general.

There are Business School alumni in every state and possession, as well as in many countries throughout the world.

THE ASSOCIATES

The Associates of the Harvard Business School, originally founded in 1930 under the title of The Two Hundred Fifty Associates, is an organization of business firms and individuals who, because of their interest in business, education, and research, have associated themselves with the School. Their objectives are solely educational—to bring about a closer relationship between Business and educational groups which will benefit them both.

Members of The Associates have the opportunity of participating in the work of the School. Some business executive conferences are held especially for them; their assistance has made possible a large part of the School's long-range program of research, including the development and maintenance of a permanent research staff, and the maintenance of general and special collections of books and materials in Baker Library.

Membership in The Associates is predicated upon interest in the work of the School. The members of The Visiting Committee of the School serve as Trustees of The Associates.

5

WHAT LIES AHEAD

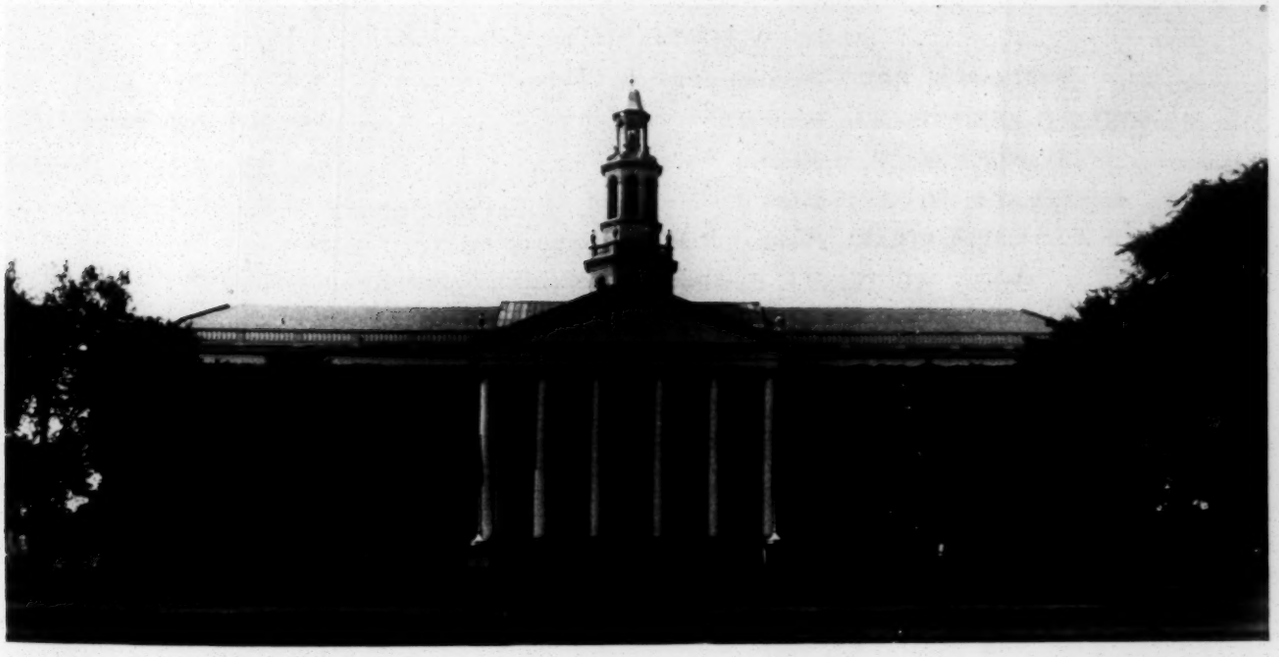
CIVILIZATION would never progress if the challenge of scientific adventure did not exist for our men of science. Likewise our economy would become stagnant if new horizons were not appearing to attract men of promise to the field of business. An enterprise system must be enterprising. Thus business leadership must be competent, venturesome, willing to risk, and basically aware of its obligations to the community it serves. Such leadership must accept the concept of trusteeship, not in the generally accepted sense of the vested, but rather in the public interests.

The goal of the Harvard Business School, indeed, its obligation, is to provide the opportunities for development of a background upon which informed, responsible business leadership can be built.

The School's limitations lie in the need for endowments, for scholarships, and for expansion of the physical plant.

With close co-operation by Business and with adequate financial support, the School can continue to be an important center where men are helped to acquire the practical training, the personal qualities, the technical confidence, the vision, the sense of responsibility, and the insight into the nature of the administrative process that are so much a part of the make-up of great business administrators. The School can also continue to initiate and sponsor significant research on the subject of administration and the problems of business.

Backed by Business and businessmen, the Harvard Business School will be able to open up new horizons to American business and to the economic pioneers of this nation.



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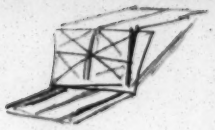
Du Bois release



Fred Herman
923a Mound street
St. Louis, 6, Missouri
October 13, 1948

William L. Patterson
Civil ights Congress
205 East 42nd street
New York, 17, N. Y.

Attention of Dr. DuBois

Dear Mr. W.L. Patterson:

I regret the fact that I am just answering your letter and memorandum of 8-27-48, because of illness. I am still ill but better at this writing.

To me, as with thousands of other average Americans of African decent, the NAACP and Dr. DuBois have alway been thought of as synonyms. This is because of his original and long record with this unique organization as a tested Leader.

Too, Dr. DuBois has been the most fearless anthopo of this great organization of which he is perhaps the oldest living founder today. This being true, it should be readily understood why that the NAACP. nor the peoples it represents cannot afford to not come to the aid of such a moving asset as this great man portraits. For, it is crystal clear, particularly at this critical time, that we cannot afford to retard or retrogress in this all important fight for FULL-CITIZENSHIP, the organization's and founders' original aim.

What an absurd! For in view of the United Nations' past and present record or concernment toward the darker peoples everywhere, and in particularly--Negro Americans--it is impossible to see that Mr. Walter White's service to the UN. as consultant can mean anything other than naught.

As a veteran of World War II, and a member of the NAACP., I vehemently disaprove of this organization's recent step toward both the UN. and politics. But in the name of equality, justice, democracy, and last but not by any mean least--Dr. DuBois, a man who has so ablely presented the cause of the darker peoples everywhere, as well as that of humanity the world over, demands that this great organization detour, come back into that realm from which it made its advent...

I heartily agrees with Dr. DuBois' stand and do hope that the thinking people both within and out of this great, democratic, or would be democratic organization, viz., the NAACP, will join in this GREAT CRUSADE in making the NAACP the organization its Founders had in mind--in its advent--in 1910...

In concluding, if you please, one wishes to convey to another great organization--Civil Rights Congress--for its democratic thinking that caused it to bring to the attention of a mere average American as myself, this all important incident, my sincere thanks in appreciation of this recognition of such insignificent American...

Sincerely yours

Fred Herman

23-29-5

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

February 20, 1948

THE COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

Department of Anthropology

23-25-76

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Though time and distance make it impossible for me to be at the dinner to be held on the occasion of your eightieth birthday, I cannot let the day go by without sending you this word of greeting, congratulations and warmest good wishes.

It amazes me and delights me to see how you carry on. It must be a deep satisfaction to you to see how, slowly but surely, so many of the things that you have been fighting for are being turned into actuality. That more of them have not been realized merely means that the rest of us must work all the harder to see that the ultimate goal of democratic equality for all men is reached and maintained.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Melville J. Herskovits
chairman

Dr. W. E. Dubois
The National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

March 23, 1948

Dr. Charles L. Hill
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dear Hill:

I haven't seen you since we talked together on the steps of Morris Brown College in 1944. However, I kept up with y ur activities and when I was asked recently to recommend someone in philosophy to Long Island University, I recommended you. Of course, I don't know whether you would want to exchange a presidency for a professorship, but I took the liberty of sending in your name just the same.

I hope your work is going well.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-25-47

I ~~shall (_____)~~ deeply regret that I cannot be present because of previous engagement. be present at the Dinner for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, February 23rd, 1948. Enclosed is check for ..... reservations

for .....

Curtis Publishing Hill
Cheyney, Pa.
2/10/48.

Please return before February 14, 1948.

Make check payable to E. R. Alexander.

SUBSCRIPTION $7.50

Reg Info

Miss Edith Holden
Rock Ridge
Greenwich, Connecticut

February 23, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

22-40-40

My dear Dr. DuBois:

May I add my congratulations on your eightieth birthday, although rather belatedly?

I have recently read, with much interest, your book on "The World and Africa", and have recommended it to friends.

My special interest is in connection with Liberia, for it was my grandfather, the Rev. John P. Knox, then a minister on the island of St. Thomas, West Indies, who was young Edward Blyden's pastor, and who was responsible for his going to Liberia for his education, when he was refused admittance to an institution in this country.

A few years ago I tried to find more facts about the life of Dr. Blyden, to supplement the family story, but not knowing where to look, I was not successful in discovering much more than had come down by word of mouth. But, just a little over a year ago, Dr. Blyden's grandson and namesake arrived in this country for post-graduate study, and the leads which he has given me have revealed a wealth of material on Dr. Blyden's life and accomplishments.

One reference I have found linked your name with his. Do you have any personal recollection of Dr. Blyden, or anything which can be added to the material I am now collecting on his life and labors? Edward W. Blyden, III, hopes to write the story of his grandfather's life, and all the information I am gathering is to be turned over to him for this purpose.

With best wishes to you in the great work which you are doing,

Yours sincerely,

Edith Holden

March 26, 1948

22-40-41

Miss Edith Holden
Rockridge
Greenwich, Connecticut

My dear Madam:

Thank you very much for your congratulations on your birthday. I never met Dr. Blyden, but I know of him and have greatly admired his work. If there is anything I can do to help his grandson in writing his grandfather's life, I shall be glad to do it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:elh

3 copies

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

OF NEW YORK

MINISTER
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

STUDY
TEN PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

October 13, 1948.

23-39-85

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have been intending to write you about the sore trouble I feel over the present situation in relation to yourself and the N.A.A.C.P. The report of the request for your resignation was a dreadful shock, and incredible to me on the basis of the information which was sent me. I went to the Board meeting on Monday afternoon and spoke on your behalf, emphasizing my sense of grief and shame over the whole matter, but I fear I accomplished little! I did not seem to find, nor did others who spoke as I did, the way of correcting satisfactorily the original mistake made at the meeting a month ago. I am still quite upset, and, if you have any suggestions of what I may be able to do, will you let me have them. I am convinced that things cannot be left as they are.

Before I could write this letter, there came to my desk an advance copy of the souvenir book which is being published by my church in celebration of the opening of our new building. In this book I find your noble and all too generous tribute to me. I feel humble as well as proud, for it seems to me that you stated an ideal of service from which I fall all too short. But as a testimony to your friendship, enduring now for nearly forty years, I clutch it to my heart.

With deepest thanks and highest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

John Haynes Holmes

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
~~2302 Montebel~~lo Terrace,
~~Baltimore 14~~, Md.

October 21, 1948

23-39-26

Rev. John Haynes Holmes
The Community Church
10 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

My dear Mr. Holmes:

I deeply appreciate your kind letter of October 13, and hope with you that all may turn out for the best.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

OF NEW YORK

MINISTER
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

STUDY
TEN PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16. N. Y.

November 19, 1948.

23-33-20

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks for your kind and appreciate letter. I am more than happy to act upon your request that a copy of our Dedication booklet be sent to your wife in Baltimore. A copy will be mailed promptly by our church office.

I am deeply sorry to hear that Mrs. DuBois is so crippled, and thus unable to get about. I am writing her this morning to express my sympathy.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

John Haynes Holmes

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE II
SPECIALIST ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

February 21, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
Hotel Roosevelt
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

All of the John Hope's large and small are joyfully celebrating with you your 80th Anniversary though from a distance.

I have heard the name "Dubois" spoken in my home with the warmth of close and understanding friendship; and with pride in the persistent and enduring accomplishments of an esteemed colleague as long as I can remember.

As a young and very inexperienced teacher at Atlanta University, I derived inspiration and courage from my contacts with you. As the years have passed since the thirties when I was privileged to know you as friend and colleague, I have repeatedly recalled with ever deepening comprehension the wisdom of your counsel, some of which I followed and some I did not. And thus, it is even more keenly appreciated today than then. At that time, the opportunity to know personally the man --Dubois-- whom I had admired from a distance for what he had done and was doing was quite enough for a beginner in a very topsy-turvy and depressed world. But more important to me, particularly at that time, was the feeling which I got from you that your interest in me stemmed not from the fact that I was the son of a close friend but from a confidence in me as an individual and in the prospect of my making some real contribution in the broad social objectives which we shared.

23-25-3

As to the significance and total impact of your return to Atlanta University upon that institution at a crucial transitional period of its existence and upon the future course of the private Negro institutions of higher learning as a group, I believe only a few people have a full comprehension. Only time and the clarity of a long backward view will reveal the full implications. I am grateful as I know my father was that you came back to join him in his quest for an educational environment of lofty purpose, unquestioned excellence, and freedom; one in which mature scholars of vision, courage, and devotion to high social ideals might teach and be challenged by the best minds of our youth -- without fetter and devoid even of the unspoken assumption that their course was circumscribed.

You were a fitting symbol of this aspiration. Your presence expressed this determination in a period when Dad was preoccupied with the necessary, though to him always irksome, task of making secure the economic future of the institution so that these educational objectives could progressively unfold with the years.

From such rich soil able leaders -- consecrated, courageous, and free -- emerge. The rapidly accelerating rate of social change both national and international in which you continue to play such a vital role make such leadership among our people and minorities the world over increasingly pressing.

And so, my friend, on this day my family and I join with countless thousands in congratulating you on a long and full life of ever-growing attainment in the interest of people and add the trite but meaningful statement -- thanks for everything!

Sincerely,

John

Tech Copy

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
December 28, 1948

The Manager
Hotel Gotham
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Sir:

Please reserve for me a room and bath for January 11th and 12th, 1949.

Kindly confirm this by letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

HOUSTON, HOUSTON, HASTIE & WADDY
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
615 F STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

TELEPHONE NAT'L 7058

WILLIAM L. HOUSTON
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
JOSEPH C. WADDY

WILLIAM H. HASTIE
COUNSEL

October 5, 1948

22-34-12

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I enclose copy of a newspaper column from this week's Afro-American, Red Star edition, concerning you and Walter. Any errors or inaccuracies are from the head, not the heart.

Yours sincerely,

Charles H. Houston

Charles H. Houston

encl.

October 7, 1948

23-37-2

Mr. Charles H. Houston
615 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

My dear Mr. Houston:

I have the clipping which you sent me. I think it is very fair. I thank you for it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

arrived March 15, 5:20 PM

American Consulate.
Ponta Delgada, Azores,
APO # 406, c/o P. M.,
New York,
Mar. 5, 1948.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am happy to say that I have just received my travel orders to go home on statutory leave. Hope to arrive the latest before the end of the month, by plane. If I know in time will let you know. Will go to Washington first

Hope to receive a line from you before.

Love to you & Mrs. DuBois. I am not too well myself.

Sincerely
Lillie Mae

23-37-20

for consultation before going home.

American Consulate,
Ponta Delgada, Azores, APO #406,
c/o P. M., New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I sent you a hurried letter by the Portuguese airmail post, but as the weather is very bad it is possible that the letter is still in the post office, therefore, I shall send this on the next shuttle plane coming over from our air base at Terceira.

23-37-21

I hope to see you soon. The day after my return from the base hoppital at the Air Transport Station at Terceira, where I had been for 15 days, I received my travel orders with permissio to proceed to the U. S. on statutory leave and report to Washington for consultation upon arrival. Gee! I am happy about going. I will fly from Santa Maria to New York by Pan Airways, but will not be able to say the date until the arrival of Vice Consul George and wife, who are due next week. I have quite a bit of work also to finish and close up my house. I will spend a day in New York and then proceed to Washington. Have you any suggestion? A letter might reach me before my departure. At any rate I will let you know as soon as I make definite arrangements, and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you upon my arrival.

Pardon this irregular writing, the machine is a bit unruly. My kindest regards to Mrs. Du Bois, Yolande and daughter, also to your own good self, and hoping to see you in the near future, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Lillie Mae Hubbard

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

(33)

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NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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1948 APR 24 AM 8 41

WEB DUBOIS=20 WEST 40 ST=

23-37-22

:HOPE TO SEE YOU 26TH ONLY ARRIVING NEW YORK IN SEPT:

=LILLIE MAE HUBBARD.

(26)

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

4735 Forestville Ave, Apt 2
Chicago 15, Ill., May 5, 1948.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have not written earlier, in reply to your letter of Apr. 21, which was received too late to reply by letter before the 26th as I have not felt well. I was somewhat disappointed at not seeing you, but presume your plans were previously made & could not be broken.

I have not been really ill, but have not felt like writing. I have simply relaxed and stayed around the house. Everyone is complaining because I do not go out, but I am just being lazy.

I put in for extended leave, which I think will be granted & it will carry me over to Aug 16 in and around Chicago, after which I will return to Washington for 6 weeks in the Dept. and will be there until Sept. 25th. I hope to return by ship, but this depends upon the Dept.

I am awaiting definite instructions from the Dept. as approval must come from the Consul (Wharton) at my post. I am sure he will be upset about the 6 months absence, but I am learning to think of Lillie Maie.

I took 2 treatments in Washington for the int. parasites, but was advised by my physician to take another one. It takes time to be rid of them.

Love & best wishes. Write me.

Sincerely, Lillie Maie.

23-37-23

23-37-24

June 29, 1948

Miss Lillie Maie Hubbard
4735 Forrestville Avenue
Apartment 2
Chicago 15, Illinois

My dear Lillie:

I have your letter of May 5, and I hope that by this time you have become rested and feel better. I shall be in New York during September, and I hope to hear from you and see you. Let me know what the Department decides.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Hubbard]

U. S. Marine Hospital,
Baltimore, Md.,
Sept. 3, 1948.

23-37-26

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks very much for your letter of a few days ago.

As you will note, I am here in Baltimore. I hadn't the least idea there was segregation here, & when I tell you how I felt when I saw it, it was no pleasant feeling. I feel bitter, but what can I do about it.

The Naval Dispensary advised the State Dept. to send me to Bethesda, but their excuse for not sending me, they (Bethesda) do not like to take State Dept. women.

I had another test at the Naval Dispensary Aug. 19th which revealed that the "ascaris lombricoides" still are present & I do not want to return to the Azores until they are cleared.

I came here this p. m. I had registered in the Foreign Acts. Training Unit of the F. Service Institute & was brushing up on accounts as there are so many changes. I also want to brush up on other things while here, and also use this means of prolonging my stay in the U.S. The 24th of this month will be 6 months since I arrived. Since my return to Washington I have been making time

there ar 2 other ladies here.
Let me hear from you, & if you're in Baltimore drop in.

Love & best wishes,
Sincerely
Lillie Marie.

P.S. Sending this by special in case you're here still over the holiday. M.

23-37-27

there ar 2 other ladies here.
Let me hear from you, &
if you're in Baltimore drop
in. Love & best wishes,
Sincerely
Lillie Marie.

P.S. Sending this by special
in case you're here visit over the
holiday. M.

23-37-27

[Hubbard]

1115 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.,
Washington 7, D. C., Sept. 27, 1948.

23-32-25

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks for your letter of sometime ago, haven't answered you before because I've been ill, also very busy here in the Department. I also spent apart of two days with your lovely family in Baltimore, which I enjoyed to the highest. I do admire your grand-daughter who was kind enough to accompany me to a movie, which we both enjoyed, also we had a very nice lunch at the Penn. rr station. I suppose you have heard all about it.

I found Mrs. Du Bois looking fine and apparently in good spirits, also Mrs. Williams.

I have just been informed today that it is most probable that I will be leaving by plane next week for the Azores. I do not know the date, but will let you know immediately when I find out. Will you be in New York next week? I don't know how much time I will have, but can arrange for at least a day. Have you any suggestion to offer? If so, please let me hear from you immediately.

All the best to you until I hear from you, and the Hunts often speak of you and have been very much upset over the article they read in the Afro.

Until I see you, I remain

Most sincerely yours,

Lillie Mae.

P.S. ~~This~~ I shall try & get a room at the Hotel McAlpine 34th & Broadway. I stayed there one night upon my arrival in March.

~~Lillie~~

September 30, 1948

Miss Lillie Maie Hubbard
U. S. Marine Hospital
Room 503
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Lillie Maie:

I hope you are enjoying the accommodations which we are furnishing you in Baltimore, and that you are showing signs of improvement.

I get to Baltimore once in a while to see my family, but not as often as I would like.

If I should come down, may I call on you? Let me know how you are getting on.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

[Hubbard]

American Consulate,
Ponta Delgada, Azores, APO No. 406,
c/o Postmaster, New York, N. Y.,
Dec. 16, 1948.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have been so very busy since my arrival, that I have had very little time for writing letters, although I have written many mental ones to you that did not get any further, but I cannot let the holidays go by without wishing you a Happy Christmas.

I am now feeling well and making the best of this apparently "God forsaken spot". It was quite disappointing not to have seen you, but since my time was not my own it just couldn't be managed. I hope that I may return in 1950 and I'll see you then.

How is life serving you? Have there been any changes in your situation with the N.A.A.C.P? I hope that you have become settled again and that you will have no cause to worry. I read the memorandum you sent to Mrs. Hunt which was quite interesting.

I shall look forward to hearing from you in your spare moments, and until then, believe me to be

Most sincerely yours,

Lillie Marie

FLORIDA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
WILLIAM H. GRAY, JR., *President*

TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

LOCAL CORRESPONDENCE
DIVISION OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
AND TEACHER-EDUCATION

Reg for Info

22-39-05

December 10, 1948

Dr. W. E. D. du Bois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

It has been suggested by Miss Edith L. Bornn, Research Secretary of the Caribbean Commission of Trinidad, that you may be able to assist me in compiling a bibliography of Negro history of Latin America. I am particularly anxious to acquire information about outstanding Negroes.

Any assistance which you may be able to render in this connection will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Herman C. Hudson

Herman C. Hudson

December 17, 1948

22-39-06

Mr. Herman C. Hudson
Florida Agricultural and
Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of December 10, may I say that you will find a short bibliography of the Negro in Latin America in the "Encyclopedia of the Negro" preparatory volume, revised edition, 1946. Also, Dr. Irene Diggs, Professor of Sociology, at Morgan College, might be able to help you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-20-6

Dear Hugh — This is the guy who wanted to know about Negroes and the Red Cross. Can you prod them a bit!

Langston

CHICAGO JAN 4 21 9:30 PM 1948 ILL.

SAVE THE EASY WA
BUY U.S. BONDS O
PAYROLL SAVING

UNITED STATES POSTAGE 3 CENTS 3

Mr. Langston Hughes.
#634 St. Nicholds ave.
New York, (30)
New York.

To Sorry Tho

1664 W. Waseca Place.
Chicago, (43) Illinois.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

23-25-69

1201

301

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N119 PD=HARRISBURG PENN 23 506P 1948 FEB 23 PM 5 4?

DR W E B DUBOIS=

HOTEL ROOSEVELT 45 AND MADISON FISK UNIV DINNER=

:TO ME AS TO MILLIONS OF OTHERS YOU HAVE BEEN A GUIDE AND INSPIRATION SO WITH GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION HERE IS WISHING YOU MANY HAPPY RETURNS=!

LANGSTON HUGHES=(

634 St. Nicholas Ave,
NY, NY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1116 New Hampshire Ave.
Washington 7, D.C.
Dec. 13, 1948

22-40-128

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Thank you for sending me that statement of your side of the N.A.A.C.P. case, and I intended to write you some time ago, but I have been ill and am still unable to do anything not absolutely necessary. I felt very indignant when I read of the way the board treated you and I made up my mind to write Arthur Spingarn at once & express my sentiments, but for the above reason have not done so yet.

No matter what differences of opinion on details and small things

there may have been, your long and tireless fight for human rights here & elsewhere deserves better treatment and consideration.

Many to whom I have talked feel as I do. I know that the present administration is zealous and faithful, but they haven't your vision and comprehension of tendencies and world problems nor your fearless approach. It seems to be the fashion to seek favor at court to obtain what used to be obtainable by everybody now.

Your old friend and admirer here in fair health also. The arthritis is crippling him up more & more but he still gets around some.

Kindest regards to Mrs DuBois. Hope her health is improving some. Do come to see us when in Washington.

Ever sincerely yours, Lucille Atcherson Hunt.

22-04-22

December 17, 1948

Mrs. Ida Gibbs Hunt
1115 New Hampshire Avenue
Washington 7, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Hunt:

I appreciate very much your kind letter. I am going to leave this organization. I am going to have a chance to continue writing and be free of the very unpleasant surroundings which have developed here. It is a little hard to rationalize the attitude of persons here whom I had counted as good friends.

When I am in Washington, I shall be sure to look you up. Give my best regards to your husband and I shall be glad to have you write the letter that you have in mind whenever you have the time, it ought to be good for his soul.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Huntington Public Schools.]

November 18, 1948

REG. MAIL

The Superintendent
The Board of Education
Huntington High School
Huntington, L. I., New York

Dear Sir:

It has been more than a month now since Mrs. Marie N. Granger, of the Huntington Branch NAACP, and I addressed the Board of Education regarding the integrating of materials on the Negro into the curriculum of the Huntington schools. At that time, you indicated that the matter would receive immediate attention and that something would be done to democratize the curriculum, especially as to the securing of materials on the Negro. I am writing now to find out specifically just what you have accomplished.

You will recall that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is planning to survey the school situation in your section very soon in order to determine the degree of discrimination that is being practiced. One of the things we emphasize strongly is the curriculum to find out whether the schools are giving equal attention to materials on all groups in our social order. From what I was able to learn at the meeting of the Board on October 18, Huntington has been quite derelict in this regard, and there was no indication on the part of the Chairman that the Board would ameliorate existing undemocratic conditions.

Although it is NAACP procedure to take action to see that institutions conform with laws outlawing discrimination, the Association prefers that the schools themselves take steps to remove any un-American practices that exist, and it stands ready to cooperate in this. We shall be glad to assist you in any way that you feel we can help in integrating materials on the Negro in the Huntington schools.

We would appreciate hearing from you about this matter at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
A

HHSss

83-20-26

[Huntington Public Schools] Nov. 18, 1948

Mrs. Marie Granger and I of the Huntington Branch NAACP adduced

It has been more than a month now since I spoke to the Board of Education regarding the integrating of materials on the Negro into the curriculum of the Huntington schools. At the time, you promised to see that the matter received immediate attention and that something would be done to democratize the curriculum, especially as to the securing of materials on the Negro. I am writing now to find out specifically just what you have accomplished. implicated by Lynne

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We would appreciate hearing from you about this matter at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

23-20-19

HUNTINGTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

HUNTINGTON, NEW YORK

BOARD OF EDUCATION
EARL W. CHAPPLE, President
CLARENCE G. BRUSH, Vice Pres.
CHARLES W. BECHTOLD
FRANK J. METZGER
HOWARD H. OLSEN
J. GORDON THOMSON
HARRY J. WAREING

LYLE L. MORRIS
Superintendent of Schools

SHERBURNE P. SWEETLAND
District Clerk

CLAUDE ROGERS
Treasurer

November 22, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Assistant Director of Special Research
National Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

I have your letter of November 18th which you sent registered with a return receipt requested. The tone of your letter would not inspire one with the desire to cooperate more than the law demands. We are not accustomed to responding to orders or threats. However, in regard to your question as to what has been accomplished in Huntington to "democratize the curriculum", I will say that we have been examining material left by you and Mrs. Granger and certain books are in each of the schools dealing with the Negro people.

23-20-27

As you admitted at the Board meeting, there are no books in which the material is integrated to your satisfaction. Even if there were, it would not be possible for us to purchase such books at this time. We operate on a budget which is approved during the preceding year. We may purchase materials only within the limits of the budget. I may state also that the committee from the N.A.A.C.P. reviewed only a very small number of the books which we now use. No request has been made for additional books.

You state that it is your impression that "Huntington has been quite derelict " in the matter of giving equal attention to all groups. It is our contention that Huntington is no more derelict than other schools. When material is available, I can assure you that Huntington is ready to use anything that is for the betterment of all pupils.

You intimate that we may not be conforming with laws regarding discrimination. That is definitely a false impression.

In conclusion I will say that if you would spend more time in dealing with activities of some who pretend to represent the N.A.A.C.P. we should be able to participate with much more harmony. Recent events, inspired by children of members of the N.A.A.C.P., have done more to retard better relationship than anything that has come to my attention. Any efforts to improve the conditions of which you complain would be much more effective if directed by local residents.

Very sincerely yours,

Lyle L. Morris

Lyle L. Morris
Supt. of Schools

23-20-28

LLM:ap

[ENC. from W.A. Hunton]

Copy - 24 Du Trans Reuse, 1948

257 McDonough Street
Brooklyn, New York
September 14, 1948

42/6C/27

Dr. Arthur B. Spingarn, President
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Spingarn:

I was deeply shocked to read today of the action of the Board of Directors of the NAACP on September 13 terminating the employment of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.

That action, in my judgment, definitely confirms the correctness of the warning contained in Dr DuBois' memorandum that the Association is being diverted, for the sake of petty political opportunism, from the principles for which it is presumed to stand.

It should be manifest that a man of Dr DuBois' integrity and understanding would make a public declaration such as he did only if firmly believed it to be necessary in the public interest. It should also be manifest that ones obligations toward the supporters of an organization and the general public cannot be sacrificed in the interest of keeping "confidences" within the top leadership of the Association.

The summary action against Dr. DuBois is coupled with an amazing indifference as to what members and supporters of the NAACP may think about the issues raised in his memorandum. Mr. White and the Board of Directors may consider that silence is the best answer, or perhaps the only feasible answer.

Speaking simply as a rank and file member of the NAACP, I must say that I consider the policies of the organization to be the property not merely of the top leadership but of the membership as a whole. Since the Board's action in the case of Dr. DuBois indicates that this is apparently not the case, I must regretfully request cancellation of my membership in the NAACP.

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

3-25-48

[Hunton]

Received from:

OK W. A. Hunton

Telegram from Dr. DuBois

3-25-48

23-21-88

[Hurd, M.S.W.H.]

lecture

March 26, 1948

23-29-14

Mrs. W. H. Hurd
606 N. New Braunfels Avenue
San Antonio, Texas

My dear Mrs. Hurd:

I want to thank you very much for your kind hospitality while I was in San Antonio. I was sorry not to see you again before I left. Especially I want to pay a little something for the food and trouble of keeping me. Won't you write me here and let me know what I should send you. I enjoyed my stay very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Little Assembly - U.N.

LEGATION OF ICELAND
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Ref. 7.B.1

28 January, 1948.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Director,
Department of Special Research,
Color and Democracy,
20 West 40th St.,
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

23-46-7

Dear Sir:

I wish to thank you for your letter of January 22nd and the enclosed copy of An Appeal to the World.

As this matter is of relatively less interest to Iceland than many other countries, owing to the fact that we have no colored population in Iceland, I regret to inform you that it will not be possible to have this booklet printed in Icelandic and published there.

Furthermore, I think it would be more appropriate if some other nation, which is more concerned with the problem described in your booklet, should have this matter placed on the Agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its next meeting, rather than have Iceland do it.

Sincerely yours,

Thor Thors

Thor Thors,
Minister.

In fact

18514 JUN2 '48

TWO EIGHTY LAFAYETTE STREET • NEW YORK 12, N. Y.

WOrth 4-6945

GEORGE SELDES, *Editor*

22-31-15

May 30th

Dear Mr White:

I am about to sail for Eyrope to get the materials for a new book, and one of the subjects I want to look into is the new plan for a vast African exploitation: natural resources and manpower.

I suppose you have considerable information on this subject, and I would appreciate your sending me whatever you can. I have some items, for example, a statement by Oswald Mosley the British fascist, in which he foresees the revival of the grandeur of the Empire, based on intensive exploitation of Africa.

Jacques Soustelle, who is with De Gaulle, foresees Africa as the beginning of a new century, as America was a century ago.

Naturally enough, none of these wouldbe exploiters of Africa want to do anything about the people of Africa except work them for their benefit.

I think would would make an excellent chapter for my new book, I hope that you will be able to send me some information, and I remain

Cordially yours

George Seldes

22-31-16

June 9, 1948

Mr. George Seldes, Editor
IN FACT
280 LaFayette Street
New York 12, New York

My dear Mr. Seldes:

Mr. White has referred your letter of May 29, to me. I think you will find a good statement of the African situation from the native point of view in my book, THE WORLD AND AFRICA, published by Viking in 1947.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[India]

Baxter

Miss Outerbridge

INDIA DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
350 FIFTH AVENUE ROOM 6212
NEW YORK 1, N.Y.

No. 161 January 30, 1948

23-46-3

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Sir,

We should be grateful if you would kindly arrange to send us six copies of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD.

Yours sincerely,

P. N. Subramanian

PNS/mc

P. N. Subramanian
Superintendent

Notice to Baxter Feb. 2, 1948 3:25 PM

INDIA DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
350 FIFTH AVENUE, ROOM 6212
NEW YORK 1, N.Y.

20 March 1948

#490

Dear Mr. Dubois,

I am to acknowledge with thanks your letter dated 22 January 1948 and the enclosed copy of "An Appeal to the World".

23-46-2

The Government of India has brought the appeal to the notice of the Indian Council of World Affairs, which is prepared to give publicity in its journal to any contribution on this subject which might be sent to them by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples.

Yours sincerely,

S. Dhaman
20/3/48

S. Dhaman (?)

W.E.B. Dubois, Esq.,
Director,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

*. A white lady in the person of DR HELEN GORDON STEWART, who" recently left the island, I thinks for other fields. The post has been filled by a Ma GOCKING who"s an exceptional NEGRO

45 Cotton Hill
Boissiere Village
Maraval Rd
26/5/48

10

DR W.E.B. DU BOIS
Prof of Sociology
Atlanta University

TRINIDAD, B.W.I.

23-2 3-12

The WEST INDIES

My dear Doctor

Ever It was my intention to have written you, although, we"re total strangers but not by But we the Lord were always something to cross my path. Sir but what has re awaken consciousness within me is your book which Ive read for the second time (AFRICA THEN AND NOW) through the good graces of the CENTRAL LIBRARY which is in my district.

I must inform you its free and the books in their possessions are released to all and sundry, especially books by NEGRO authors. I must state, that although paying at our PUBLIC LIBRARY the aforesaid books if in their larders, are kept for the nobility.

The Chief of our CENTRAL LIBRARY do not poses such traits as my false pride, arrogance & love-of-self which is sup-

Dear Doctor

Just to-day, I received pictures from an AFRICAN Prince who's studying at Belfast University. Ireland. Im certain that you heard of him as he's also an athlete (a noted high jumper)

PRINCE ADEDOYIN

23-23-13

ping the life blood of our NEGRO community

Sir as I think you're aware this island is a conglomeration of races and all other peoples minus the AFRICANS or NEGROES owns their clans or Associations call them what you may

At a meeting recently which was held by a now defunct Association (THE WEST INDIAN NEGRO ASSOC) which was born final and a quarter years ago and died mid-March, I was lauded openly by a majority and cursed by the minority who imbibes the British methods of democracy practiced here by imperialists. I pointed out that the only way to build a real ASSOCIATION was to put aside politics for awhile & take up race-consciousness. For Im ashame to say that NEGRO politicians just climb on our backs to reach their goals, in the end turning GOVERNMENT stooges. My Dear Sir relative to Africans or Negroes around the West Indies I must inform you that through the ill-

23-23-14

doings of these in the ascendancy here, race consciousness is ebbing. The majority of black people here are ashame to speak of their * AFRICA. Watching the various islands, we conscious one can be termed orphans: for instance, Jamaica have her Bustamante, Barbados Grantley Adams, Grenada her Marryshow, Bermuda a Dr Gordon But heaven knows I'm ashame to say that Trinidad depended on Albert Gomes a Portuguese who let ~~her~~ us down, so we're orphans.

My dear Sir Im thinking that doubtless there's something in the air which we breathe here that causes the lack of cohesion. For instance in APRIL 1942 Mr Mulvi Kirpalani who'd just arrived from CEYLON gave Indians here $21.000 for the purchase of INDIA HOUSE then lately by public subcription and donations from loyal INDIANS THE HIMALAYA CLUB was recently built costing $24.000. But alas ten NEGRO capitalists cannot conceive the idea of even giving an AFRICA HOUSE for $1.000 oh its quite ridiculous, and shameful.

Oh what a tribute to that love of consciousness I must inform you that just

23-23-15

Last week I received book CASTE, CLASS, and RACE from no other person than PROF OLIVER CROMWELL COX of TUSKEE GEE (who's a son of this soil) whom I corresponded with, through being a freind of his relatives.
In this island let me inform you, on entering the home of the meanest INDIANS you'll certainly see pictures of their PEOPLE adorning the walls alas but visit the most intelligent NEGROES white pictures adorn theirs. And what a contrast? WHITES do not deem it fit to put an AFRICAN or NEGRO picture in their lavatory.
Dear Doctor I'd be grateful to you in sending me an autograph picture of yourself so as to swell my collection of NEGRO notables. Also I'd be thankful for any old literature you may have relative to the NEGRO You can escpect also copies of our island's papers which would be quite interesting to you. At the same time pardon me for my lengthy letter to which I give thanks in anticipation of a reply.

I remains
Ever a race-conscious Negro
Vincent K. Innis

July 7, 1948

Mr. Vincent K. Innis
45 Cotton Hill
Boissiere Village
Maraval Road
Trinidad, B. W. I.

23-23-16

Dear Mr. Innis:

Thank you for your letter of May 26, which has just arrived. It was some time in reaching me, since I have been away from Atlanta University since the Fall of 1944. I appreciate your interest.

I am enclosing an autographed picture and sending you under separate cover a few pamphlets.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

Letter of Appreciation I

45 Cotton Hill
Bissiere Village
Maraval Rd
16 — 9 — 48
WEST INDIES

10
DR W.E.B DU BOIS
20 WEST 40th ST
NEW YORK 18. N.Y.
U.S.A

22-38-23

My dear Sir

I cannot find other suitable words to explain to you for my carelessness in not posting to you letter (which I'd written since in acknowledgement also thanks for your lovely photograph sent me also some interesting pamphlets titled BEHOLD THE LAMP) than the FORGOTTEN FACTOR" the little and yet big word SORRY" for my carelessness.

Sir but I trust that you'd over look my blunder I do know that papers were posted by & I hope they were interesting to you please also look out for some more.

Showing your picture to many of my friends and other groups they are thoroughly in love with it. Sir at present eight of them entering my home has answered correctly who the picture resembles.

And do you know who really your portrait resembles? no other personages than the late EDWARD VII & WILHELM II who was KAISER of GERMANY, I viewing the jaws as strikingly the latter.

22-38-24

Sir in papers Im sending you'll see what a vortese the WEST INDIES is in for FEDERATION. It were a heyday in JAMAICA'S history, when her leaders Mr A BUSTAMANTE were granted an audience by the KING of ENGLAND, also her HON MR HAROLD ALLEN were knighted, Sir I do think its a tribute to African peoples, hoping I that you serve as an AMBASSADOR, seeing that the afore said gentlemen be placed in your forthcoming NEGRO YEAR BOOK. Dear Doctor, last week one of our papers revealed that an ENGLISH gentleman or EDITOR had bought out a large printing concern which was solely for the NEGRO use. Sir Im very glad for that's another link to our UNION With the greatest Regards towards your movement for the success of the NEGRO

~~For~~
Dr W. E. B. Du Bois

I remains
ever an ardent NEGRO
Vincent K. Innis

22-38-25

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WJS-17

Grand Hotel
Heidelberg, Transvaal
Union of South Africa
August 16, 1948

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Some time ago (Letter 12 of 21 April 1948) I wrote of a Mr. Cameron and his part in the movement of capital from England to the Union. In reply you suggested that I discount this one bit of evidence as indication of a trend, while at the same time admitting that it might have some significance. You asked, "How much significance?"

In the past few weeks some interesting data has come to my attention that shows much about the financial position of the Union. The major sources of information for this letter are:

1) The address of Dr. M. H. de Kock (Governor of the Reserve Bank) at the annual meeting of stockholders of the South African Reserve Bank on 28 July 1948.

2) The Budget speech of the Minister of Finance, Mr. N. C. Havenga, before the Union House of Assembly on 9 August 1948.

These statements picture the internal financial position of the Union today and show how that position will influence her foreign trade in the future. The idea of flight of capital from England is bound up closely with the discussion.

Facts and Figures

In a discussion of this type it is essential to use figures. While the first reaction of almost any reader is to veer away from figures, particularly the large ones that are involved in summaries of international trade and government budgets, it is impossible to get much of a feel for the situation unless the magnitudes and relative sizes of the figures are pretty firmly in hand.

From the welter of figures that appear in the two sources mentioned, and from other authorities, I have put together the few figures that appear below. I suggest that they be merely glanced at before going on to the written material that follows. It is probable that as the statements of Dr. de Kock and Mr. Havenga are read it will be convenient to refer to the figures again.

Some Basic Foreign Trade Data

Total World Trade - Imports & Exports 1938 - $46,500,000,000

United States of America Foreign Trade

Year	1938	1945	1947
Export	$3,000,000,000	$9,600,000,000	($14,000,000,000 est.)
Import	1,844,000,000	4,000,000,000	(6,000,000,000 est.)
Favorable Bal. of Trade	1,156,000,000	5,600,000,000	(8,000,000,000 est.)

Union of South Africa Foreign Trade

Year	1938	1946	1947
U of SA Imports	$384,000,000	$856,000,000	$1,160,000,000
Exports including Gold	424,000,000	596,000,000	680,000,000
Favorable Bal. of Trade	40,000,000	----	----
Unfavorable Bal. of Trade	----	260,000,000	480,000,000

Current Trade Deficits (Unfavorable Balance of Trade) - Excluding Gold

Year	1947
With Sterling Area	$320,000,000
Outside Sterling Area (including USA)	560,000,000
With USA	400,000,000

Gold Production

Year	1938	1945	1947
Value Realized	$360,000,000	$412,000,000	$388,000,000

National Income (at prices for year indicated)

Year	1938	1946	1947
U of SA	$1,800,000,000	$2,880,000,000	($2,940,000,000 est.)
USA	75,000,000,000	180,000,000,000	200,000,000,000

Population

Year	
U of SA (white)	2,335,000
U of SA (other races)	9,000,000
U of SA (total)	11,335,000
USA	140,000,000

93a-15

One of the unfortunate characteristics of the bulk of our civilized Western citizens is the inability to grasp the meaning of numbers above a thousand. Most of us never have to deal with things (tangible) that file past or are visible in even that limited magnitude. And because of lack of experience most of us have no inducement to be concerned with larger numbers. When it comes to intangibles there is even less incentive, and the group of interested and understanding people is far smaller. Even those of us who try to deal with large numbers ought to confess that we really have but a limited physical conception of a million or a billion. The important thing that we must bear in mind is that these figures are not isolated. They are related to one another. Once this is clearly seen it is convenient to more or less drop the struggle to comprehend millions and billions and concentrate on the interaction of these giants.

The Corporate Nation

Whenever I am confronted with large figures that have resulted out of a multitude of transactions I am forced to simplify the scene in order to appreciate what is going on. It helps my own thinking to regard every nation in foreign trade as a corporation. The people of a nation are all busy earning a living, spending their incomes, and merrily or otherwise joining in the scramble of offering or receiving currency for goods or services. These activities lead them into positions where desires to buy or sell outside their own political area are created. Just as among individuals, corporations and nations cannot spend more than they earn. For brief periods it may be possible to do so at the expense of accumulated savings or resources. When these are gone further spending will pile up debt. And creditors look askance at debt unless the debtor can convincingly demonstrate that present spending will assure future earnings large enough to pay current expenses and in addition pay back the debt. For the next few tens of years I have the conviction that Africa will be much engaged in this kind of "convincing demonstration".

As individuals we rely upon our own discretion and wisdom to guide the disposition of our income and expenses. In corporations the directors, acting through a treasurer, similarly dispose of income and expense. Nations of the democratic tradition engage elected representatives and ministers or cabinet members to act as a directorate. These individuals utilize a Reserve Bank and its Governor in much the same way as a corporation uses a Treasurer.

Thus it is that the Governor of the Reserve Bank of South Africa opens and closes the valves of currency flow in and out of the Union, and keeps careful records as to rate of flow and the meter readings that reveal the quantities that pass in the several directions over certain periods. From his experience in handling the financial plumbing the head of the Reserve Bank is in a singularly good position to summarize the position of the "nation corporation" by which he is employed.

What the Stockholders Learned from the Governor

I am making use, verbatim, of about half of Dr. de Kock's address. To date I have not seen a better presentation of the Union's economic

position and prospects. Thus:

A - "GENERAL REVIEW OF THE LOCAL FINANCIAL SITUATION"

"I have considered it necessary in the circumstances to set out and analyse the available statistical data concerning gold and exchange transactions during the past year in order to show not only the volume and variety of such transactions, but also the nature and extent of the complications which arose in connection with the Union's balance of payments and which were, of course, reflected in the local financial situation generally.

"The principal sources of these complications were, firstly, the excessive inflow of capital from the sterling area, and secondly, the excessive expenditure in countries outside the sterling area, particularly in the United States. While neither of these movements was entirely unexpected, both of them developed much further than we had reason to anticipate last year.

B - FLIGHT OF CAPITAL

"The transfer of capital from the United Kingdom to the Union, which had first looked like becoming an abnormal movement about the middle of 1947, was viewed with concern by both sides during the discussions last September, in connection with the gold loan; but as it was felt at the time that there was some prospect of the movement soon slowing down to appropriate dimensions, and that interference with the traditional free flow of funds between the two countries should be avoided if at all possible, it was decided to wait and to watch the situation.

"The influx of capital did slow down appreciably toward the end of 1947, but it revived again early in February of this year, after the devaluation of the franc. Thus, when in March it showed clear signs of being a sustained flight of capital, steps were taken under the Union's Emergency Finance Regulations to impose restrictions on capital transfers from the sterling area to the Union. These restrictions, which were aimed particularly at prohibiting the inflow of "hot" money and further funds for investment in real estate and "uneconomic" activities, served immediately to reduce the flow of sterling into the Union.

For a time the freedom to purchase South African securities still afforded too wide a scope for capital transfers from the sterling area, but since May there has been no evidence of any abnormal inflow through that channel. While new capital transfers are still being made for purposes and in amounts approved by our Exchange Control, there also appears to have been some repatriation of British funds still lying idle in the Union.

"The unprecedented net influx of capital from the sterling area which must have been about £180,000,000 for 1947 and the first half of 1948, has distorted the whole financial picture in the Union. It has brought about an appreciable net increase in the cash reserves and the deppsit liabilities of the commercial banks and thus in the quantity of money in circulation, notwithstanding the record deficit in the Union's balance of payments on current account which should otherwise have operated in the opposite direction and reduced the available supply of money and the credit creating capacity of the banks.

C - ADVERSE TRENDS OBSCURED

"It has, in fact, served to obscure the underlying adverse trends and to introduce additional inflationary pressure at a time when anti-inflationary influences were required in order to counteract the growing disequilibrium.

"This inflationary pressure has manifested itself in various ways. It has caused lower money rates and higher prices for real estate, gilt-edged securities and dividend-paying shares than could otherwise be justified or maintained, with all the present and prospective repercussions associated with exaggerated price movements.

"It has led directly and indirectly to an undue demand for local and imported goods of all kinds which has made it necessary to retain rigid price control over a wide field. What is particularly disturbing in present circumstances is that it has revealed itself in excessive expenditure in the dollar area.

D - CAPITAL & INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

"While much of the capital from the sterling area has certainly been instrumental in bringing about useful and welcome industrial development, there has also been ample evidence of the establishment of non-essential or uneconomic industries in the Union whose requirements of both plant and raw or semi-manufactured materials have been obtained mainly from hard-currency countries, but whose exports, if any, have found their way to the sterling area.

"In this connection, therefore, we have had to sell hard currencies against a receipt of sterling which cannot be used to replenish our supply of hard currencies. The undue stimulation of secondary industries has also caused a greatly increased demand for labour and relatively high wages, thereby diverting labour and materials from the gold-mining industry which under its present cost-price relationship cannot compete effectively with other industries but which nevertheless is our principal source for acquiring hard currencies.

"There is no doubt that capital from abroad is absolutely essential to enable us to take advantage of our legitimate opportunities for expansion and new development, but to the extent that it has actually entered the Union far in excess of the genuinely exploitable opportunities or of the available physical capacity and labour resources it has led to the use of funds for uneconomic purposes and to an undue drain on our gold and hard-currency resources. While the excessive inflow from the sterling area has now stopped and permitted automatic disinflationary influences to operate again, it has left in its wake various unsound features in our economy which it will take some time to correct.

E - EXCESSIVE DOLLAR EXPENDITURES

"With regard to the question of excessive expenditure in countries outside the sterling area, the Union's total net deficit on current account

our principal export product in terms of the currencies of our principal suppliers has remained practically unaltered since the beginning of the last war, while the prices of the commodities and services required by us from them have risen very considerably and have in many cases not yet ceased to rise, secondly, the abnormal requirements of imported goods in connection with the opening of the new goldfields, the establishment of new industries and the expansion of existing industries and associated activities; and thirdly, the undue increase in the supply of money in the Union which has been caused mainly by the tremendous influx of capital and, to a smaller extent, by the increase in bank credit, and which has helped to accentuate the effective demand for goods from abroad.

"It was hoped that the surplus gold reserve which had been accumulated during the war, plus the new gold output and the inflow of capital, would be sufficient to meet not only the back-log of demand for producers' and consumers' goods, but also the requirements for expansion and new development until relief could be obtained from increased mining and industrial production.

"So far, however, the gold has had a smaller exchange value abroad than we had anticipated, while the inflow of capital, although more than sufficient as a total entity, has come almost entirely from the sterling area and the surplus receipts of sterling have directly and indirectly contributed towards increasing the current deficit with the dollar area without being available for helping to meet that deficit.

"The result has been on the one hand, that our gold and dollar reserves have shown an appreciable decline since 1946, quite apart from the gold loan, and, on the other hand that there has been a large increase in our sterling balances.

G - PROSPECTS OF RELIEF

"It is possible that there might be a substantial decline in imports from the dollar area in the near future, firstly, on account of the increased anticipatory purchases by Union importers and evidence of overstocking in many lines of consumers' goods, secondly, because the sterling area might be able to supply a larger proportion of our requirements, and, thirdly, because the continuation of total imports at the recent high level should bring about a considerable decrease in the supply of money in the Union now that there has been a severe contraction of the capital inflow.

"The third factor has already begun to have its effect, and a continuous decrease in the quantity of money should have a disinflationary influence on the South African economy. With the gold reserve at its present low ebb, however, it might be dangerous to rely too much on such an automatic and prompt reduction in our dollar imports.

"In any case there is the possibility that, for a time, a decrease in imports of consumers' goods might be offset by an increase in imports of producers' goods, particularly in view of the many developments which are taking place in the Union and because there is still an appreciable

with such countries (excluding exports of gold) exceeded the gold output by about £40,000,000 in 1947.

"During the first half of 1948 this deficit continued at an even higher rate, namely, at an average of over £5,000,000 per month in excess of the gold output. Thus, our gold reserve which had dropped to £110,000,000 in February, 1948, when the gold loan to the United Kingdom was effected, declined further to £88,000,000 on July 16, 1948, while our dollar balance fell from about £10,000,000 to £2,000,000, i.e., a decrease of £30,000,000 altogether. At that date the gold-reserve ratio stood at only 7½ per cent. above the minimum of 30 per cent. required by law to be held against the Reserve Banks note and deposit liabilities.

"The sales of dollars by the South AFrican banks, which under the Emergency Finance Regulations may only be made against evidence of actual purchases of goods or other approved expenditure in the dollar area reached a record high level during the second quarter of 1948 and indicated gross merchandise imports from the United States and Canada at the rate of over £150,000,000 per annum.

"These abnormal sales of dollars apparently included heavy purchases of goods in anticipation of import control, but even after making some allowance for such additional purchases it would appear that the level of our expenditure in countries outside the sterling area, mainly in the United States, was still substantially above what could be maintained or justified in the circumstances. In view of the difficulty of obtaining producers' goods at short notice it must be assumed that the anticipatory purchases were primarily in respect of consumers' goods.

"The Union also continued to have a large deficit on current account with the sterling area, and this deficit would appear to be running at about the same rate as in 1947 for which year it was estimated at £80,000,000. Owing, however, to the large inflow of British capital in the meantime, our sterling balances were still £10,000,000 higher in the middle of July than at the end of 1947 notwithstanding the fact that no gold had been sold to the United Kingdom except for the settlement of non-sterling expenditure and that a sterling payment of £14,500,000 had been made to the Victoria Falls and Transvaal Power Company as the purchase price of their electricity interests in the Union.

"Our sterling resources (present sterling balances plus the sterling equivalent of the gold loan, namely, £140,000,000) should be sufficient to cover the Union's net payments to the sterling area (including possible withdrawals of liquid funds) until 1950.

"The whole of the gold output for the next two years should, therefore, be available to meet our deficit with countries outside the sterling area, but, as stated above, this deficit has for some time been considerably in excess of the current gold output.

F - BASIC CAUSES OF DISEQUILIBRIUM IN BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

"The basic causes of the serious disequilibrium in the Union's balance of payments are, firstly, the growing deterioration in our terms of trade with other countries due primarily to the fact that the price of

backlog of such goods to be worked off.

H - INFLATED USA PRICES vs. STABLE GOLD PRICE

"With regard to the basic factor of the present unfavourable relationship between the monetary price of gold and the prices of commodities generally, there does not appear to be much hope of any early relief of a substantial character. We had relied on at least some decline this year from the highly inflated level of commodity prices in the dollar area, but this has now been rendered unlikely by the extensive United States programmes for European recovery and for rearmament as well as by the reduction in taxation, all of which will contribute toward the maintenance of effective demand.

"There is also the possibility that, when the decline does come in due course, the new level might not, at least for some time, be low enough alone to provide adequate relief for the Union as a whole, and the gold mining industry in particular. Furthermore, there does not seem to be much likelihood of a rise in the world price of gold in the near future. As I said last year, we must not, on account of self-interest, lose sight of the fact that, from the viewpoint of the countries with whom the gold price under prevailing conditions might exert an inflationary influence at a time when inflation still has to be combated over a large part of the world, and we must, therefore, reckon with the probability that an upward adjustment of the monetary price of gold might only be seriously considered in international circles if and when deflationary pressure again asserted itself.

"There is, moreover, not much prospect of any significant increase in gold production being achieved soon. The difficulty with which the gold mines have had to contend is not just one of rising costs and a contracting margin of profit, however critical that has become for several mines, but also that of a shortage of European and native labour and certain essential materials due mainly to the competing demands of other activities in a rapidly expanding economy. For this reason the mines have for some years been able to work only at from 80 to 85% of their milling capacity. Thus, in view of the paramount importance to the Union of an increased gold production, and to the mines of lower costs per ounce of gold with a larger output, all the public authorities concerned should regard it as a matter of the highest priority to assist the mines wherever possible to work nearer to full capacity.

I - CAPITAL FROM USA

"There is the further possibility of seeking to obtain larger amounts of capital from hard-currency countries. Recently the United States and Switzerland have shown signs of growing interest in industrial and mining investments in the Union, and there is reason to believe that considerable scope still exists for attracting capital from those sources for both private and public investments in the Union. In the prevailing circumstances, the Union could legitmately approach the United States for new capital in view of the fact that the funds were required for purposes which would directly or indirectly increase the productivity of the

Union, and would also enable the Union as a whole to maintain its purchases in the United States on a higher level than would otherwise be the case.

"Owing to the growing scarcity of investable funds in the United States, however, it is doubtful whether capital could be raised there in adequate amounts to cover the Union's net expenditure in the dollar area during the next few years (i.e., after allowing for the gold which would be available for that purpose), unless such expenditure showed a substantial decline from the present level.

"In the light of all these facts, therefore, we have to face the unpleasant probability that the drain on our gold reserve might continue for a longer time than we could safely afford. Under the present statutory requirements our "free" gold reserve amounted only to about £18,000,000 at July 16.

J - USE OF UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA GOLD RESERVES

"A further amount of gold could, of course, be released from our reserve if the minimum reserve ratio were reduced from 30 to 25%, as was done in the United States in 1944, and/or if it were provided that all the foreign assets held by the Reserve Bank could be deducted from its liabilities to the public before calculating the reserve ratio.

"The latter measure would be a logical one in the circumstances, because our present large holding of sterling, and also that of dollars, represent the counterpart of an equivalent amount of our liabilities and can be used at any time for making payments in the currencies concerned, whether on account of withdrawals of funds or settlements for goods and services.

"Surplus gold and exchange reserves are accumulated in times of favourable balances of payments and should be used unflinchingly to meet deficits as and when they arise, provided that there are good prospects of correcting the disequilibrium, by automatic or official action, before such reserves are exhausted.

"Moreover, while we still believe in the maintenance of a minimum gold reserve in the Union, we consider that the reserve requirements could with advantage be relaxed in a time like the present when the country is engaged in expanding its capacity to produce and export, and when we have large sterling resources which, although inconvertible into hard currencies, can be freely used in the sterling area.

K - IMPORT CONTROL

"The question is, however, whether steps should not be taken to obviate the possibility of the continuation of excessive imports of consumers' goods to the ultimate detriment of much-needed capital equipment and materials for the expansion of our mining, manufacturing, building and agricultural activities.

"One of the measures which may yet be found to be unavoidable, if adequate relief is not obtained soon from one source or another, is the re-imposition of some form of import control. Otherwise restrictive credit and fiscal policies may have to be followed deliberately in order to reduce the volume of purchasing power in the Union and thus to contract the demand for imported goods. We have already asked the banks, since last October, as a matter of public policy not to increase credit facilities for the purpose of financing imports of consumers' goods or enabling local subsidiaries of overseas concerns to remit funds to the parent companies in anticipation of local cash receipts.

"In view, however, of the expansion of bank credit in other directions, it may become necessary, in the absence of import control, to apply the contraction of bank credit generally. With regard to such restrictive action, the danger at this stage would be that, while it would be designed as a purely disinflationary measure, it might have undue deflationary effects on the general business situation due to adverse psychological reactions. Import control, on the other hand, would at least limit the general effects.

L - CONCLUSION

"In conclusion, we would like to emphasise that, although there has been a serious deterioration in the terms of trade with our principal suppliers and a disquieting trend in our balance of payments and in the general financial situation here and abroad, we do not see any cause for undue alarm or fears of a general economic depression in the Union in the near future.

"What we will, however, have to face is, as I already had occasion to say in last year's address, the occurrence of varying degrees of recession in certain branches of trade and industry, accompanied by a downward readjustment of prices.

"One of the main causes of the disequilibrium in our balance of payments has been the wide scope for expansion and new development afforded by a concurrence of circumstances, namely, the discovery of extensive new goldfields, the stimulation of industrial development under the influence of world shortages and bottlenecks, on the one hand, and new local prospects, on the other; and the attraction of large amounts of overseas capital of which the bulk, however, came from the sterling area.

"The outcome has been that expansion has proceeded at too rapid a rate and that abnormal capital expenditure has been, and still is being, incurred, much of it in the dollar area, which will ultimately increase our supply of foreign exchange or reduce the demand for foreign exchange, but which in the meantime is using up an appreciable portion of our gold and exchange resources.

"Another cause has been an excessive volume of purchasing power in the Union (due to various factors, of which the excessive inflow of capital is one), and too high a rate of consumption at a time when great

developments necessitating heavy capital expenditure are being undertaken.

"The obvious remedies for these maladjustments are (1) to slow down the tempo of expansion and consolidate first the significant gains in many directions which we have made in recent years before launching out again on big expansion programmes, and (2) to accept a lower standard of living until the capital expenditure on new mines and industries is bearing fruit on a substantial scale.

"There is a growing shortage of capital all over the world, and we cannot expect to continue to receive from overseas all the "risk" capital that we could usefully employ in the exploitation of our available opportunities during the next few years.

"We shall thus have to rely more on our own capital resources and consume a smaller portion of our national income during the process of necessary or desirable capital creation which will ultimately enable us to enjoy a higher standard of living again.

"We are still in a strong position compared with most countries. After having paid for over £600,000,000 imports during the past 2½ years we still had, at July 16, a gold and dollar reserve of about £90,000,000, sterling balances of almost £60,000,000 (more than enough to cover possible withdrawals of liquid funds) and a gold loan of £80,000,000 repayable in sterling as and when required or in gold early in 1951 in respect of any remaining balance.

"We also have the advantage of a regular gold output which should, in one way or another, be maintained at the rate of about £100,000,000 per annum until the new goldfields reach the production stage. Our banking system, moreover, is in a relatively sound and liquid position.

"The gold and exchange resources of the Reserve Bank (including the gold loan) represent 95% of its note and deposit liabilities and over 50% of the total quantity of money in circulation in the Union; and while a large proportion of these resources is not convertible into hard currencies, they are, nevertheless, freely available for use over a considerable area in terms of international trade.

"Thus, if we husband our resources and make the best use of them for the development of the country, and if the business community co-operates wholeheartedly in the long-run national interest, we should be able to maintain a sound financial position and strengthen in the meantime our capacity to mitigate the effects of whatever disturbances may take place in the world economic situation."

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Position Taken by the Minister of Finance

Although it can be assumed that there is close cooperation between the Reserve Bank and the Government, it is also true that Government is the boss. Dr. de Kock has carefully pointed out the position of the Union and indicated some possible lines remedial action. What is the attitude of Government? Mr. Havenga has:

1) Taken a strong stand against spending.

"I find a general tendency in the country to assume that we can afford everything that we would like to have, that we can spend without counting the cost.... I am aware that the country is developing rapidly and that development costs money. For many years we have been mortgaging future spending power by creating unavoidable burdens from pensions, rehabilitation of citizens and interest on war debt. We have to earn all this before we have a further residue to spend on new services and public works."

2) Warned against dependence upon foreign capital.

"I must draw the attention of the House to the fact that for State expenditure we are now almost entirely dependent upon the internal loan resources of the Union. Moreover, we share that capital market with the major municipalities and organizations like the Electricity Supply Commission, the building societies and mortgage concerns. The British capital market used to be a regular source of supply for Union gilt-edged securities. It is no longer available to us. Overseas capital is, of course, at liberty to migrate to the Union.... We have drawn and continue to draw a large amount of capital in this way. We cannot build our program of public capital expenditure on this. The element of stability in our program must be our own formation of capital, the savings of our own people."

3) Affirmed the Union's continued financial ties with the United Kingdom.

"Neither the Government of the United Kingdom nor this Government regards it as in the interests of its people that the flow of genuine investment capital should be limited by anything except the needs of the United Kingdom for capital for its own reconstruction. The foreign exchange difficulties of the United Kingdom in relation to hard currencies do not exist inside the sterling area, and it is the desire of both Governments to retain the Union's membership of the sterling area."

4) Emphasized the relation between capital equipment needs, the dollar shortage, and import control ----.

"..... the war caused destruction and unreplaced wastage of the capital equipment of Europe.... America, has, consequently, become the major source of supply for many vitally important capital goods and a wide range of consumption goods, and will remain so until European recovery has been completed. For us this means that we must find dollars to pay for our heavy imports from America, or go without. The latter alternative, if we have to come to it, will inevitably mean import control...."

5) But has declared in favor of voluntary import control.

"The Government hopes, with the assistance of the commercial community, and the public which they serve, to avoid that disagreeable necessity. It would retard development of the country, place irksome restrictions on the commercial community, produce scarcities and introduce artificial limitations in the daily lives of our citizens, and it would restrict international trade in one of the few countries where it is still flourishing. We have not yet come to that stage."

6) Has declared in favor of using gold reserves.

"The gold cover of thirty percent is subject to the provision that it can be reduced. Reserves which are subject to cast iron limits are no reserves at all, since they are then immobilized exactly when they are required for the purpose for which they were established."

7) Expressed fear of future recession.

"I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that many of the expenditures to which we are now committed are of a nature which makes it extremely difficult for any Government to curtail them.

Interest on Public Debt ----------	$50,800,000
Pensions ----------	60,800,000
Social Welfare ----------	16,800,000
Provincial Administrations--------	73,200,000
Education ----------	33,200,000
	$234,800,000

These five heads account for nearly half of our yearly expenditure - and are continually rising. .... revenue cannot be expected to continue (increasing[illegible]) indefinitely. We are floating on top of a wave of expenditure. When that wave breaks the trough will be deep. The heavy yields of different taxes - so high now - will decline severely on all fronts when the inflationary forces now at work have spent themselves."

So?

To the consuming public in the Union these facts and figures mean very little indeed. Only gradually will the effect be felt. While now

we can have Quaker Puffed Wheat or Post Toasties for breakfast here at Grand Hotel we can expect this will soon not be possible. Things like Crackerjack will disappear off the shelves of candy stores. ----Sellers in the States should be prepared to accept this condition.

It seems likely that if the flow of foreign capital to the Union ceases import control will become law. The high European standard of living - of which South Africans are extremely proud - may have to suffer a temporary decline in the interests of investment in the future. Money in large quantity is needed to bring the goldfields of the Free State into production. And, more particularly, much of the capital equipment that must be found for that development must be bought abroad. It is probable then that people here will have to sacrifice personal purchase of some of the imported things they have enjoyed in favor of the very impersonal imports such as steel and machinery.

Even admitting this change in buying habits, there are still difficulties in the way of mining development. At the moment, for example, East Rand Proprietary Mines are installing a steam hoist in a new shaft. This is technically a step backward. It is a necessary step because it is impossible within reasonable time to secure delivery of electric winding engines.

Sincerely,

Whitman J. Severinghaus

Whitman J. Severinghaus

Received New York 8/26/48

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WJS-18

Grand Hotel
Heidelberg, Trans aal
Union of South Africa
August 23, 1948

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

We have had a fortnight to allow the impressions of our long journey to sink in. During that time I have been working my way through some of the books that shed light on the problems that have come to my attention. But it will not be in this letter that you will find out much about the places and people we have seen. Since first we contemplated this tour I have been plagued with the recurring question: "Why go?" And because I have had to work the answer out for myself I hope to engage your interest in this personal quiz contest.

It is said that travel is broadening. This gets bandied about by such people and in such ways as to lend luster to the phrase. But on a job such as this it is a far too inadequate statement. Why is it broadening? And in what ways? How can the net return to the traveler per mile of journey be increased? What are the techniques of travel?

By this time I have knocked about the world enough to be unimpressed by sheer mileage. Judging from the advertising value in building up the prestige of the world traveler, mileage still remains a common yardstick. In this respect I would rather use the term "sense of proportion" as the goal to shoot at rather than the stark cold mileage figures.

I have made up a map. You will find Southern Africa superimposed on the map of the United States at the same scale. I find this a useful device in acquiring a "feel" for how far it is from here to thar 'n back agin. Two things stand out from the map. One is the huge size of the African continent. It dwarfs our own USA. The other significant thing is the relatively small size of the Union of South Africa compared to its hinterland. This latter point is of concern to me.

We have been in the Union now for about 7 months. In addition to diligent study of Afrikaans, I have dug rather intensively into the life of this area. In fact, I have been absorbed in that work, and in this area. In July we shut up shop in the Union and pushed off for new and different parts. In doing so it was brought home to us that there is much more to Southern Africa than the Union. Its stature shrank back to better proportion when viewed from Beira, Blantyre, and Lusaka. Perhaps we have been a bit too absorbed in the Union. This realization is one of the values of travel.

I have thought much about the duties and privileges of the observer. It is possible to travel in a manner not far different from that accorded an export model refrigerator. It is put in a box, the destination is stamped, and the lump is pushed and hauled about until it arrives. The refrigerator, being in the box, derives nothing from its experience. Of course, it is but a machine - it has no faculties for observation. The human traveler is better equipped. The question is how to employ those faculties to accomplish more than the refrigerator in the box.

The observer:

1) can see the land and the things on it. He can make note of how it is heaped up and leveled out. He can size up the rivers that flow through it. He can watch for the things that grow out of and live upon the land. These are matters of Nature. Then he can see the people, what they look like, how they conduct themselves, how they have adapted themselves to Nature and, if at all, vice versa.

2) can hear the sounds that come to his ear and to which he carries his ear. Among a multitude of sounds only a few will have meaning. The noises of Nature help in establishing the intensity of Her activity. The noises of people require much interpretation. For most travelers, in most places, most of the noises of language mean nothing. We are gifted with but little ability to understand other people because of languages. It is important then to find the interpreter. And he is less useful if he is merely a translater. The valuable interpreter is the man who is sensitive to both languages, who will add explanation without sacrificing accuracy on either side. But perhaps most important is attitude. Though the observer can know the words spoken it is quite another thing to understand. To do so requires a willingness to listen at length without being influenced by prejudice of long standing and without jumping too soon to conclusions.

3) can speak, in which action the comments on hearing apply. And in addition he must make simplicity of speech his guide. This is a part of taking the attitude of the receiver, as opposed to the giver of information and judgment.

In seeing and hearing the observer is totally passive. These are receptive faculties. (It is, of course, possible to listen and look "aggressively" or intently - matters of personal conduct important in their own right.) If there is room for distinction, it would seem that speaking is the most difficult faculty to employ. I have never worried over differences of language. It has been just good fortune perhaps, but to date through my own efforts or through interpreters I have been able to get along well enough to satisfy the occasion. The more difficult problem is one of selection. It is impossible to talk to everyone. Frequently when setting foot on strange territory the observer is acquainted with no one at all. So, whether their station be high or low, the observer must pick out some as sources of information. When time is short this process of selection is hardly worthy of the name. Instead, those who happen to be about become sources. In this situation the

the observer must depend upon his own perceptions to form judgments as to what manner of man he confronts.

With more time at his disposal men of knowledge and importance can be ferreted out and approached. It happens that wisdom sometimes evades men who have the characteristics already mentioned. But whatever the combination, the observer must assign a value to their evidence and relate this evidence to what other information he gleans.

People are commonly unaware of what is going on about them. It is almost useless to ask, "What are the happenings in your community; what is their significance and what are your views?" It is not so much that people don't know; rather it is that they have never had any reason to face up to issues and organize their own ideas about them. So it is up to the observer to discover what is in the air by himself. With some idea of current and local matters he can be more engaging in phrasing questions.

Again most people are modestly certain that their daily life and its problems are of no interest and significance to anyone else. One of the most difficult things I have encountered is the tendency to sheer off to larger matters. This tendency is stronger if the local person is aware of my connection with an organization such as ours. It is on the whole better to be interested and anonymous. But this is a human failing we all share. We prefer to be badly informed and to speak badly of great things than to concern ourselves with the situations we know best.
---- But there is another side to this situation. People quite naturally wish for and expect respect for their opinions. When the traveler addresses a question to a local resident the answer is likely to be in generalizations that derive from the accumulated information and experience of the interviewee. This kind of an answer is valuable only if it does not take in too much territory. In my own work I prefer to work from the general issue into the details as supplied from local people. With this done in several neighboring areas I then feel in a position to do the summing up and the correlation on my own.

In arriving at what is current in a locality I rely heavily on the local press. This habit was acquired during the war years. I still have copies of the English-language papers from Accra, Gold Coast; Natal, Brazil; Karachi and Calcutta, India; Kunming and Chungking, China; etc. I brought up this matter at a dinner in Northern Rhodesia where we were the guests of the Acting Governor. Several officials present were very sceptical, even cynical. They took the position that all papers (and I include periodicals) are biased due to conditions of ownership and editorial policy. I do not deny this. But I make a reservation based on the use to which I put the papers. The traveler needs to know the issues. It would be obviously a mistake to accept the answers given or indicated by the press. But so long as freedom of publication is afforded by the local system of government I have confidence that editors and managers will include in their papers the issues which engage the attention and interest of their readers.

These things may not be valid for a controlled press. I have only a limited experience with papers and periodicals dominated by government.

In following up issues the traveler ought, I think, to be acutely aware of the fourth dimension. Probably due to my experience and training I am more than commonly sensitive to conceptions of "flow" and "trend" — two notions common in statistics and engineering. Where no records are kept, as among the tribal Natives of Africa, time has only a limited significance. They live in the present, conditioned somewhat by whatever influence memory brings to bear. Because there are no records to analyze and bear witness to truth or fiction, and because memories are treacherous, the net result of several centuries of memory is superstition. And it is largely superstition that controls the regard of the Native for the future. His past is cloudy and his future almost completely dictated by circumstances outside his control.

One of the distinctions of Western life is our accumulation of data. For centuries this data, largely left in the hands of professional historians, was little better than the ballads of the ancient bards. The improvement over the ballad was limited to making records less appealing to ordinary folks, and to the institution of a series of qualitative rehashes wherein the professionals vied with each other in "might-have-beens". In more recent years we have embarked upon a program of collecting that has gained even less acceptance by the ordinary people. We have engaged in assigning numbers to human activities, thereby trying to measure and assess the importance of human energies. This has required classification and labeling and the establishment of series of figures that have continuity. Out of this kind of work it is possible to look back into the past and "see" growth and recession of human forces at work and play. Depending on our skill in identifying and classifying these forces, we are in a position to analyze relations between forces. If and when this kind of thinking is well enough developed, and if in being quantitative we do not overlook our needs and peculiarities as humans, perhaps we shall be able to exert beneficial control over our future development.

(Yet we in the Western pattern are not too far ahead of the African Native at times. I need only to point out the large numbers of people who place their safety in such a superstition as "lightening never strikes twice in the same place," etc. ----)

It is incumbent on the traveler to comb through the records and from them determine as much as possible about the nature and direction of human activities in the area through which he passes. This is true, at least, for the observer who would do more than be another historian, another writer of records. This is not to say that the observer must be forced into the dangerous field of the prophet. There is a nice distinction between forecasting and the presentation of one or more trends. Perhaps the difference lies only in the words, "this will happen" and "this appears possible (or probable)". Certainly there is more humility in the latter method, particularly when the observer offers alternative developments and indicates degrees of probability.

To do this combing is a painstaking and time-consuming task. And it is never ended. This fact is of extraordinary importance to those who wish to do more than just record events. It brings home forcefully one characteristic of today's world - our capacity for rapid change. (Whether or not we have the capacity to adapt ourselves to these changes is another question.) The traveler will ordinarily find that the people he meets are very much less aware of trends and relations between trends than he is himself. This statement presumes, of course, that the traveler has alerted himself as indicated above. Thus, the observer is put to it to discover early the interests and particular abilities and knowledge of the man with whom he converses. This is in one sense no more than courtesy. This should not be taken to indicate that the observer is the possessor of superior knowledge or wisdom. Rather it means that the observer, taking a broad outlook and equipped with information always slightly out-of-date, is very much in need of current, active information and opinion. The people whom he meets are the current forces in the community. They power the trends. The observer ordinarily is neutral. He is there to comprehend, not to influence.

I like to think of people in the vector sense. Each is going somewhere. Each has a certain force, and a certain speed. Each encounters friction and obstacles. This conception is not to mechanize men. Indeed, as soon as the observer tries to put his finger on these several characteristics he finds that the subject is sheer human being. The subject commonly does not know his own mind and convictions well enough to fit his reactions into this rigid analysis. Nevertheless this is a knack that the traveler must develop. Only by conversing with numbers of men and integrating their varied reactions can he acquire a "feel" for the resultant convictions and ambitions of the people in an area.

As to the importance of talk in getting at local situations I will quote from George Gallup's, "Guide to Public Opinion Polls":

> "Fifty years ago James Bryce came to the conclusion that the best way to ascertain public opinion was to move 'freely about among all sorts and conditions of men ... noting how they are affected by the news or arguments brought from day to day to their knowledge' by means of 'unbiased persons with good opportunities for observing.' Moreover, he believed that 'talk is the best way of reaching the truth, because in talk one gets directly at the facts.'"

I am coming more and more to the belief that there are broadly two types of people whose views are competent. They are - 1) people at the top of their organization and 2) people near the bottom who are closely tied to the actual implementation of policy and decisions made at the top. Thus, in Salisbury I was pleased to be able to spend four hours with a young surveyor who has done a portion of the preliminary survey work on the Sabi River project. I should now like to be able to talk with someone in the Colonial Service, very near the top, who knows the "big picture". ---- A job for the future.

So far I have written down matters of procedure and shown how the task looks to the observer. But what about the observer himself? I think I have tied up that part of the picture already. I repeat a paragraph from my letter to Mr. Groth:

> "Perhaps the only distinguishing features of my observations here are in my point of view. I look upon developments here out of my training as an engineer, my experience with people and situations in the Army, and my further training in finance, accounting, human relations, and administration gained at Harvard Business School after the war. My guiding principle is to find out how the problem looks to the business community. How does the thing look to the management of industry? How will these business managers react? What will be their solutions and why? These are the questions I keep in mind."

This is "my angle."

There is still the opening question, "Why go?"

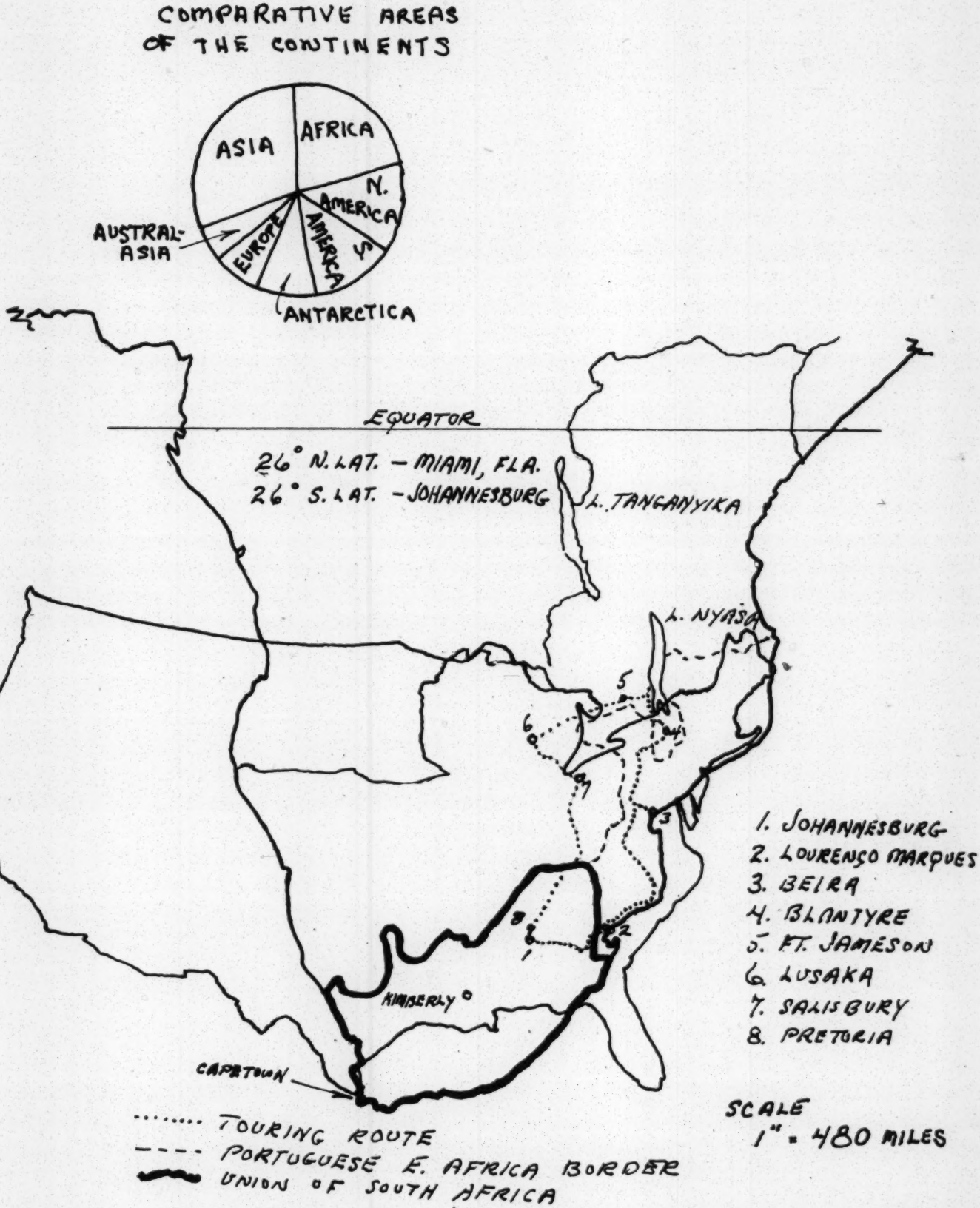
The answer may be put this way: "In order to do the things written down above." The next two or three letters ought to give a more substantial answer.

Sincerely,

Whitman J. Severinghaus

Whitman J. Severinghaus

230-15


COMPARATIVE AREAS OF THE CONTINENTS
ASIA
AFRICA
N. AMERICA
S. AMERICA
EUROPE
AUSTRAL-ASIA
ANTARCTICA
EQUATOR
26° N. LAT. – MIAMI, FLA.
26° S. LAT. – JOHANNESBURG
L. TANGANYIKA
L. NYASA
KIMBERLY
CAPETOWN
1. JOHANNESBURG
2. LOURENÇO MARQUES
3. BEIRA
4. BLANTYRE
5. FT. JAMESON
6. LUSAKA
7. SALISBURY
8. PRETORIA
TOURING ROUTE
PORTUGUESE E. AFRICA BORDER
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
SCALE
1" = 480 MILES

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WJS-21

Grand Hotel
Heidelberg, Tvl.
Union of South Africa
7 October 1948

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

In 1934 a borehole was sunk 4000 feet below the surface on a farm some eight miles North of Odendaalsrus. No payable gold bearing ores were struck. The hole was abandoned. Ten years later another exploration company took over the borehole and went 400 feet deeper. The core recovered proved to be from the Basal Reef - the same formation that has supplied such vast quantities of gold on the Witwatersrand. Since then development has been gathering momentum.

In April 1946 a borehole five miles south-east of Odendaalsrus yielded a core showing intersection of the Basal Reef with an assay value equal to 23,037 inch-pennyweights. This amounts to a value of US$2200 per ton of ore. In 1946, the average yield per ton of ore milled on large Witwatersrand gold mines was $7 per ton. --- It was due to core assays of this nature that extravagant estimates of the gold of the Orange Free State were widely circulated. The previous Minister of Lands stated: "From what I have seen on the spot I have not the slightest hesitation in declaring that the Free State goldfields will not only rival but will eclipse those of the Rand." (From "The Star", 11 Sept. 1946.) Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, head of the Anglo-American Corporation (which holds the leading interest in the new fields), is often heard expressing his more modest opinion. He puts the annual yield at US$200,000,000. This compares with US$400,000,000 from the Rand each year. It is significant that at present there is not a single producing mine in the area. The estimates are based on some 250 borehole results plus the evidence of magnetometer surveys. These are now of sufficient number to provide reliable data as to the extent and payability of the new area. At this time it is worthwhile to assess the meaning of this new gold mining area.

Remembering that the national income of the Union runs at about the US$2,800,000,000 level, and that the value of gold won from current operations is about $400,000,000 annually, it is clear that adding from 50% to 100% to the rate of gold recovery will have an extraordinary impact on the Union's affairs.

I propose, therefore, to present some of the problems that will be encountered, some of the related developments, and deal briefly with rate of development of the new field .

First look at the graph attached. The initial discovery of gold on the Rand took place in 1884. Thirty years passed before that field was brought to full development. The Orange Free State development can be dated from 1946. G. Carleton Jones, consulting engineer and two term past President of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, said on October 26, 1946: "It is likely to take the best part of ten years before the new mines have reached their maximum production...." Using this opinion as a guide I have shown on the graph a rapidly increasing rate of production to 1960. The final annual yield is such a subject of controversy that I have extended this rate to show a high level (equal to current Rand production) as well as the lower (50% of current Rand) level favored by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer. You will also note that Rand production seems to be nosediving toward extinction. The authority for this estimate is based on the "Capacity of Witwatersrand Gold Mines to Employ Labor in Future" as noted in the report of the Lansdown Commission (Union Government) of 1943. By the evidence of this report, the Rand mines will be almost out of the picture by 1970. Since the export of gold has been necessary to pay for about half the imports of the Union over the past two or three decades, the continued availability of gold is essential to the high standard of material comfort enjoyed by the Europeans of the Union. Also, the Government sorely needs the revenue from mining taxation. Before the war one-third of its total revenue came from direct taxes on the mines. Budgets since the war have run to US$480,000,000 per year. Of this amount the mines have contributed about US$80,000,000. In addition the indirect contributions of the gold mines to the economy are of enormous importance.

The graph, then, indicates how critical the period 1950-1960 will be for the Union. What are the factors controlling the development of the new mines of the Free State?

In general the technical aspects of Free State gold are not much different from the existing Rand mines. This much is known:

ore bodies are not quite so deep,
the temperature gradient is higher,
the ores seem to be richer.

Just how these variances will balance out in determining the profit and loss on OFS mines cannot be determined until the shafts are sunk, drives penetrate the ore bodies, and the gold is actually recovered from the earth. On the whole it appears that needs for capital, machinery, and labor will be very nearly on the basis of Rand practice.

But in searching for these three essentials probably the first will be most easily obtained and the third the least easily. Rand mines need 360,000 Natives for full production. The half-hundred mines of the Rand are, at the moment, operating with less than 80% of this number. At present there are only about 4500 Natives at work in the OFS gold area. Over the next eight years the demand will grow to 60,000; or perhaps to over 100,000. To assume the Rand mines will close down at a rate that releases labor in a timely fashion to the OFS area is dangerous. It is probable that mine managements will do their utmost to keep Rand mines running not only as long as possible,

but in particular until the OFS mines are producing substantial quantities of gold. Thus, in spite of the fact that many mining groups have interests both on the Rand and in the OFS, and although the Transvaal Chamber of Mines exercises coordination among the groups, it is still true that both areas will be competing for a limited supply of Native labor.

Under the present mining methods an increase in pay for the Native is not necessarily the magnet that will draw laborers. For one thing, well over 90$ of the labor needed is the "raw Native" type and not vastly persuaded by an increase in pay. More important, perhaps, are the dual considerations of labor efficiency and the nature of the work to be done. Moving the broken reef rock out of stopes is purely hand work requiring a very minimum of skill. Increased pay will therefore merely increase labor costs without commensurate return in reef tonnage handled.

Worse, perhaps, at the moment, is the shortage of European tradesmen and supervisory personnel. The Government miners' training schools can handle 1800 apprentices. This year there have been less than 600 in training. Because local (U. of S. A.) men are not entering mining much effort has been made to secure miners from abroad, particularly from England. Some success in this direction has been achieved. The situation would be worse if Native labor were plentiful. And in the long run, it is the Native labor problem that will cause the greater difficulty. European labor, usually skilled, can be secured through immigration, but the prospect of securing a daily working force of over 400,000 Natives in the period 1950-60 is causing much scratching of heads.

Turnover, about 100% yearly at present, complicates the problem. There has been some talk of trying to get away from the migratory labor system. This would require the provision of housing for Native married males and their families plus an increase in cash wages sufficient to make up for the loss of food formerly grown by the wife (or wives) in the Reserve. Economically the mining organizations are not in a position to take this step. Even if they were, political opinion would not tolerate this increase in Native population in urban areas. (Over 50% of the Native labor force comes from outside the Union.)

Mechanization is not the answer to the labor problem. Possibly the use of conveyor belts will help a little, but there is no mechanical reply to the challenge of narrow, inclined, variable width stopes. Only thousands of Native hands have the flexibility (at low cost) to get the broken rock on the belts.

Also, if mechanization means more European workers, it must be remembered that the cost of adding a Native is $170 (cash wage) yearly as compared with $2100 per year for the European. (1946 averages)

Machinery and mine supplies have traditionally been the preserve of British manufacturers. Because the Union holds large sterling balances, probably Britain will remain the source of supply. But deliveries are slow and uncertain. Probably if American suppliers interested themselves in the market and could deliver the goods, the mining interests would shift some of their buying. Rand mines paid $120,000,000 in 1946 for materials, machinery, and supplies (excluding food).

Steel is short. ISCOR (Gov't I&S Corp.) turns out about 600,000 tons of product a year, selling at about $80 a ton. Belgium or US steel delivered on the Rand costs double the ISCOR price. It is this kind of situation that is pushing up the costs of mining, particularly the new fields of the OFS. Pressure is being brought to bear against the Government to subsidize imported steel - so far with no success. The cement situation is worse than steel.

Capital has so far been available as needed. But so far demands have been moderate. The OFS field will require in mining company capital alone about $400,000,000 over the next 5-6 years. But to this amount must be added the capital to:

1) build cities to serve 150,000 Europeans (this will also require facilities for about 250,000 Natives exclusive of the mine Natives)
2) build power station capacity of about 400,000 kilowatts to serve the new mines and the new urban areas
3) build a water system, drawing on the Vaal River, to supply 50,000,000 gallons of water a day to the Odendaalsrus area
4) install plant and distribution system to supply 50,000 HP of compressed air (at about 100 psi.) to the gold mines
5) build the roads and railroads to serve the new urban area and the mines.

The most difficult and expensive of these projects is water supply. By 1955 combined demand from the Rand and the OFS will run to 125-150 million gallons per day. Since the flow of the Vaal at Vereeniging varies between 1½ million and 90,000 million (flood) gallons a day it is clear that the entire watershed must be engineered into a condition that will impound enough water to level out the flow. Competent opinion here holds that by 1975 the entire water resources of the Vaal above Vereeniging will be absorbed.

What is the attitude of Government in the face of these problems? The Malan Government has already taken administrative steps to slow down immigration. People from the Opposition say that the Government is at particular pains to throttle down the flow of English immigrants to the Union. The present Government, through its policy of "apartheid", will scrutinize every attempt to bring more "foreign" Natives to the mines. This is particularly true if there appears to be any chance that they might remain. Although the Government must be aware of the critical importance of gold production, it has not yet moved to insure the use of foreign exchange for the capital goods needed for the development of OFS mines. To do so would mean import restrictions unpopular with a large part of the voting public. In the long run the Vaal River will probably be taken over by a TVA scheme. At the moment there is insufficient sense of urgency among the voters to put through this most urgently needed plan. There will be a struggle between the "riparian rights" (farmer) group and the mine-industry combination before the appearance of a Vaal Valley Administration.

On the whole the Government position with regard to OFS is vague and un-coordinated. But place your bets on the financial power and the skill of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines.

One factor of extraordinary importance is the price of gold. At $35 an ounce (determined primarily by the USA, but in recent years enforced by the International Monetary Fund) profits and payable ores are defined at current levels. Inflation in the USA and England puts an increasing squeeze on the

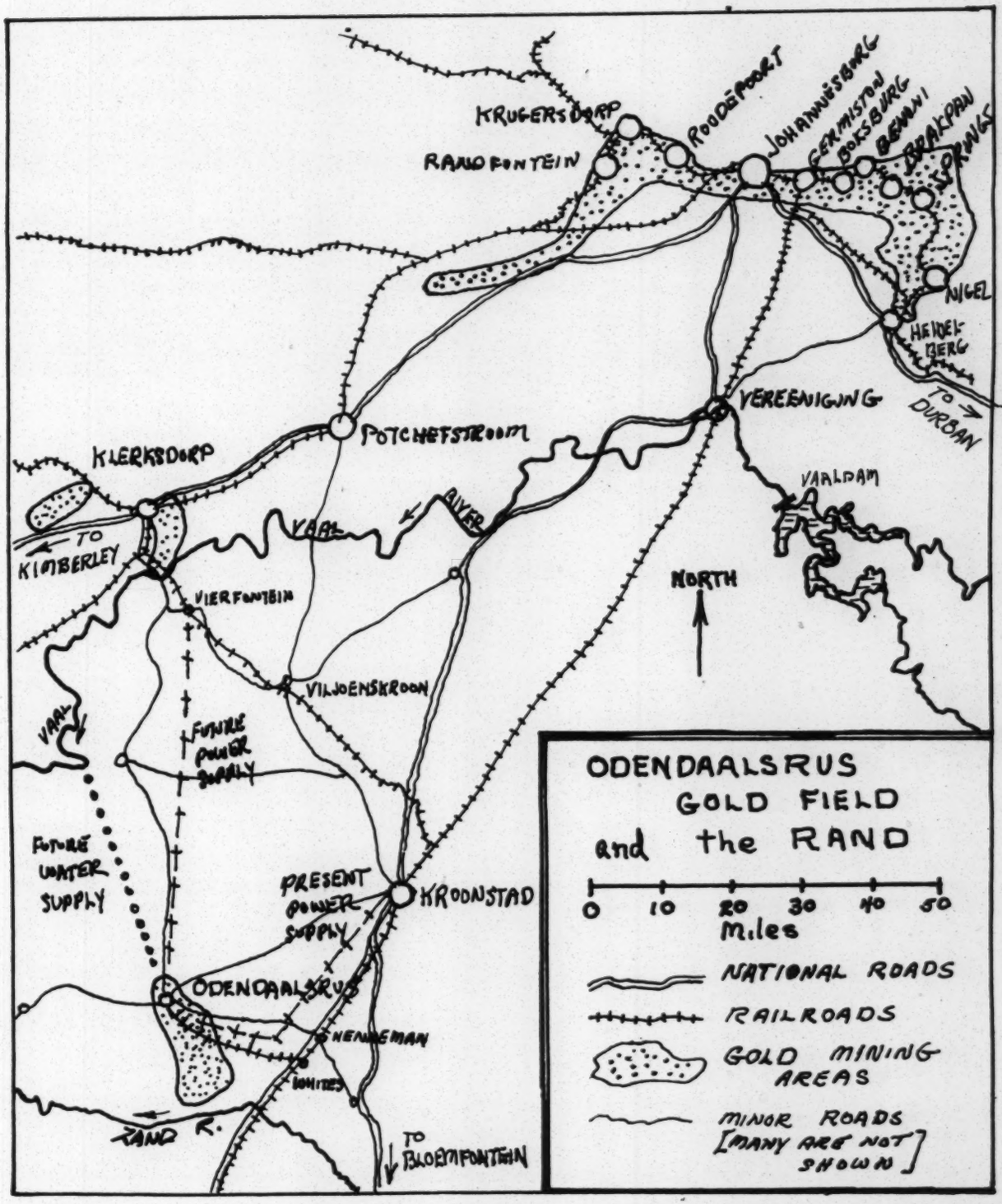
mining companies. Influential groups in the Union want a higher price (particularly in US and Canadian $$$$) for their major export. As Dr. A. J. Bruwer put it recently: "...we have reached the stage where our representatives on the Board of Governors of the Fund should inform the Board that, unless we are accorded a higher price for gold, we would have to consider withdrawing from the Fund. ...And let the doubting Thomases forget about the possibility of our not being able to sell our gold should we take a firm stand against the deadly apathy of this new international oracle of Delphi." This is, of course, a private opinion, but Dr. Bruwer did not hesitate to hook up his "take a walk" proposal with the recent statements of Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, before the UN.

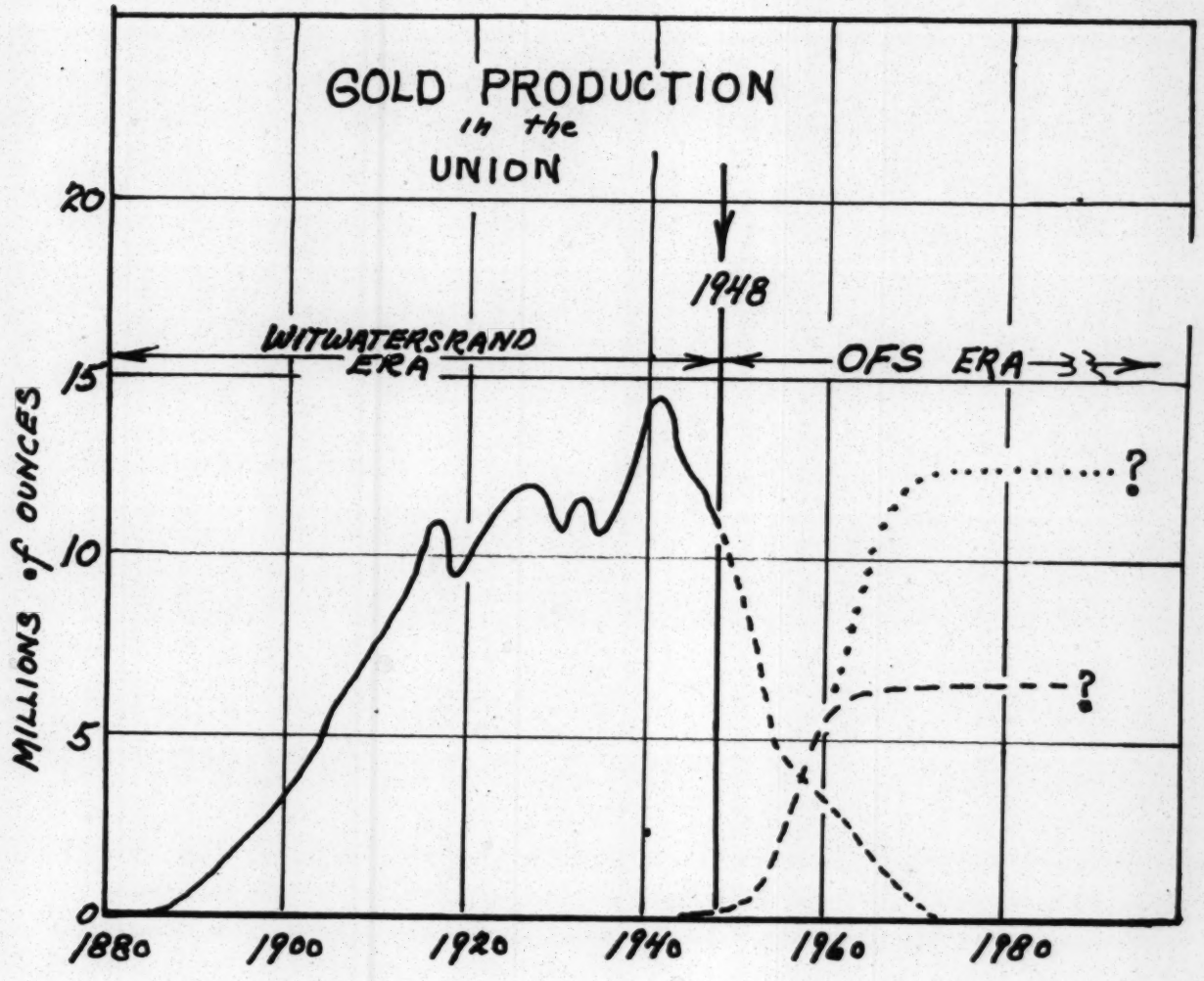
Referring again to the graph I want to caution against placing much confidence in the portions extending into the future. Should the price of gold go up the Rand mines will continue to produce much longer than at the present price. And it can be expected that progress will be more rapid in the OFS. On the other hand, if US and British prices to on rising, (with no increase in gold price) rapid shutdown of Rand mines is assured, and slower development of the new area is to be expected. With these powerful levers in mind, however, the factors that have been discussed are valid -- and of grim importance to the Union of South Africa.

Sincerely,

Whitman J. Severinghaus

Received New York 10/13/48.


KRUGERSDORP
ROODEPOORT
JOHANNESBURG
GERMISTON
BOKSBURG
BENONI
BRAKPAN
SPRINGS
RANDFONTEIN
NIGEL
HEIDELBERG
TO DURBAN
VEREENIGING
POTCHEFSTROOM
KLERKSDORP
VAALDAM
VAAL RIVER
TO KIMBERLEY
NORTH
VIERFONTEIN
VILJOENSKROON
VAAL
FUTURE POWER SUPPLY
FUTURE WATER SUPPLY
PRESENT POWER SUPPLY
KROONSTAD
ODENDAALSRUS
VENTERSMAN
BOITSES
VAAL R.
TO BLOEMFONTEIN
ODENDAALSRUS GOLD FIELD and the RAND
0 10 20 30 40 50
Miles
NATIONAL ROADS
RAILROADS
GOLD MINING AREAS
MINOR ROADS [MANY ARE NOT SHOWN]


GOLD PRODUCTION
in the
UNION
1948
WITWATERSRAND ERA
OFS ERA
MILLIONS of OUNCES
20
15
10
5
0
1880
1900
1920
1940
1960
1980
?
?

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WJS-22

Grand Hotel
Heidelberg, Transvaal
Union of South Africa
25 October 1948

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

During the past couple of weeks Dr. D. F. Malan has visited South-West Africa with some extremely interesting purposes in mind. Dr. Malan is the Prime Minister of the present Nationalist Government of the Union. South-West Africa is a Class C Mandated Territory as provided by the League of Nations, and is very much under the control of the mandatory power, the Union of South Africa. This status dates back to 1920, and was a direct result of the actions of Generals Botha and Smuts, who in 1915 led the Union troops to victory over the Germans of South-West Africa. Since that time the Union has cared for this political ward. From time to time there has been much talk about SWA as the Union's "Fifth Province" but nothing has been done. Dr. Malan is now concerned with cementing this great awkward half-member into the family fold.

Why?

Pressures come from at home and abroad. At home Dr. Malan enjoys a slim margin in his Government. By certain operations that will bring 6 qualified House of Assembly members and 2 Senators to Parliament from SWA, the Prime Minister hopes to strengthen his position. This, at least, is an aspect of party politics that has basis in logic and wide currency. This situation is the catalyst speeding the political action.

The basic chemistry of this SWA-Union of SA marriage is derived from factors in the international scene. The United Nations have put new blood in the withered old frame of the League of Nations. Voices from abroad speak in terms that remind the Union and SWA that the latter is today still a mandated territory. As such it is subject to interference from people who maintain the validity of the Covenants of the League of Nations. These people from abroad look with suspicion and distrust upon the activities of the Union in discharging her "sacred trust according to the high principles of the League". Just what their dis-satisfaction will lead them to do is unknown. It is, in fact, hard to identify the persons and agencies that might take action to disturb the situation. Nevertheless, the Union and SWA are anxious. They don't want to be locking the barn after the horse is stolen.

But this present situation has wider significance. World interest in Africa seems to be wakening. Agencies and Governments which prior to World War II had little reason and no license to be concerned with Africa are now

probing into the area. The United Nations is a sounding board for cries of liberty and freedom for backward peoples. England is being questioned about colonial policy a little, and about management of mandates and protectorates a lot. And it must be borne in mind that Southern Africa is thickly sown with these political monuments to public concern over backward peoples. Thus:

South-West Africa	Class C Mandated Territory - 1920
Bechuanaland	Protectorate - 1885
Swaziland	Protectorate - 1903
Basutoland	Incorporated into British Empire 1869 after appeals from the Basutos
S. Rhodesia	Colony with local responsible government - 1923
N. Rhodesia	Protectorate - 1924
Nyasaland	Protectorate - 1891
Tanganyika	Class B Mandate - 1922
Kenya	Colony - 1919, but coastal belt remains under legal sovereignty of Sultan of Zanzibar
Uganda	Protectorate - 1893
Somaliland	Protectorate - 1884
Zanzibar	Protectorate - 1890

What the world thinks about the legal and moral responsibility of the British Government toward these areas is open to question. Any move to form a United British Africa will certainly bring out world opinion. But if outside opinion could be avoided there remain the internal problems of securing agreement between these several differentiated areas. The immediate problem concerns directly only two areas. If in the future British Africa can be unified, the number of difficulties will increase geometrically with the number of areas. The SWA situation is thus a testing ground for events that may later transpire in the country North of the Limpopo.

SWA is an area 2/3rds the size of the Union (or 1/10 the size of the USA, or 1.2 times the area of Texas). The Namib Desert extends along the West Coast to a depth of 60 to 100 miles. Along the Eastern border is the Kalahari Desert. The inhabited portion of the Territory lies between the two deserts, is grass land enjoying less than 10 inches of rain yearly and subject to severe periodic droughts. In the extreme North (a Native Reserve area) the climate is semi-tropical; rainfall is 24 to 30 inches per year. European farmers have to depend on boreholes for water supply and soil cultivation is scarcely possible. Ranching and mining are the only sources of wealth. There are no secondary industries. Along the arid coast for some 250 miles between Swakopmund and the Orange River is a reputedly fabulous diamond area. The stones lie loose in the surface sand, and the whole strip is patrolled to keep off occasional and illegal fortune hunters. Copper and vanadium, more important among several metals, have been mined in SWA. Perhaps there are deposits that will prove valuable in the future.

On the whole, the country is not inviting nor rich in natural resources.

Two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000) Natives inhabit the Territory. Some 40,000 of these work on farms, mines, or in urban households. The balance are engaged in sustaining themselves from day to day, and in providing descendants.

The first European settlers (as opposed to missionaries and traders who frequented the country in the earlier half century) arrived about 1890. In the 60 years since then the European population has grown to about 32,000. These are the people with whom Dr. Malan is presently concerned. Since during the first half of this 60 year settlement period the area was in German hands, it is to be expected that the German element in the population is of more than ordinary importance.

At no time has the German population (excluding temporary elements such as troops and officials) exceeded 10,000. In 1936, 16 years after the Territory was mandated to the Union and just prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, the composition of the population had reached an interesting state, thus:

Afrikaans speaking	-	18,000
English speaking	-	2,400
Bi-lingual (A & E)	-	280
German speaking	-	9,600
Others	-	420
Total		30,700

BUT OF 9,600 GERMAN SPEAKING PEOPLE, 6,240 WERE NATURALIZED UNION OR BRITISH SUBJECTS.

Through the thirties Hitler came to power. His agents were active in South-West Africa. Many Germans in the Territory came to support the Nazi program. Others were pressured into support. Strong measures were taken by the wartime Union (Smuts) Government to control SWA. In 1942 about 5000 Germans in the Territory were denaturalized. The Nazi regime in Germany called a number of Territorial Germans back to the Fatherland, generally for military duty. At present families are separated as an aftermath to this kind of action.

The pre-war Union Government was Nationalist. Since June of this year the Union Government is again Nationalist. For reasons and emotions of long standing in the Union, there is an affinity between the SWA Germans and elements of Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party. It is thought that most of the Germans have their sympathies with the SWA branch of the Union Nationalist Party. (At present, of course, this branch is active only in SWA politics, being opposed by the SWA United Party, not a branch of Smuts' UP.) It appears to be part of Dr. Malan's plans to quickly (by oath) re-naturalize

the 5000 de-naturalized Germans. He also aims to bring back to SWA those family members now in Germany. These steps will strengthen his position in SWA.

But it is still a gamble. Here is why. In June of this year 11 out of 12 elected members of the SWA Legislative Assembly are members of the SWA United Party. These 11 are generally in sympathy with Smuts' UP. But recent by-elections have shown a strong trend toward SWA Nationalist candidates. The present voting strength is about 15,000. It will be Dr. Malan's scheme to add some 5000 German votes to the trend toward Nationalism to secure a Nationalist majority. Assuming this can be done, and that SWA does secure representation in the Union Parliament, Dr. Malan counts on securing from 4 to 6 votes to add to his present working majority of 3 (out of 153) in the House of Assembly.

(The Smuts' Government, prior to dissolution, had a clear majority of 29.)

We should not fall into the mistake of thinking that these 4 to 6 votes are the moving reason for this move to bring SWA closer to the Union. It has been an aim of every Union Government since 1920 to make SWA a 5th Province. But consider some of the obstacles:

1) Union farmers are afraid of the output of SWA farmers in meat, and dairy produce.
2) Income tax is lower in SWA than in the Union. SWA taxpayers are unwilling to lose this advantage.
3) Union voters have some doubts about taking over the debts of SWA. (Most of this debt is to the Union.)
4) It has been difficult to agree on the number of representatives SWA should be entitled to send to the Union.
5) SWA is not satisfied as to the division of powers between Union Government and Provincial Governments.
6) There has been no way to completely disregard the peculiar conditions imposed upon the Union with respect to the maintenance of SWA as a mandate.

All but the last of these matters are susceptible to negotiation between SWA and the Union. At this time SWA is being quite demanding as to what must be given by the Union. This attitude derives from the fact that the war has made the Territory currently prosperous, whereas prior to the war it was never self-supporting. Fearing that Dr. Malan will grant too many concessions, the Johannesburg "Star" (Editorial, 19 Oct. '48) has this to say: "The facts of the situation are really quite simple and need not be obscured by any assumption that the Union is compelled to bargain for the allegiance of a territory it conquered and colonised and has sustained financially for 30 years." There is ample evidence that voters in both SWA and the Union are in favor of the Fifth Province, and have sufficient conviction to overcome their mutual and separate problems by negotiation. So much for the internal situation.

The most difficult matter is the mandate. European opinion both in the Union and in SWA tends toward the notion that the mandate is out of date, that it has only a remote connection with present circumstances, and that the mandatory system ought to be abolished. Were these opinions acceptable outside of Africa, nothing would stand in the way of making the Fifth Province an accomplished fact. But the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations hangs on to the mandate provisions like grim death.

The Covenant states that the aim of mandatory administration is the well-being and development of Native peoples. Also the Covenant reads: "There are territories such as South-West Africa which.....can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above-mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population."

The language of the League has resulted in a well nigh insurmountable legal tangle over the meaning and limits of words like "integral" and "subject to safeguards". These rulings, made over a quarter of a century ago, now serve more to obstruct than to construct progress in Southern Africa. In an area where there are already too many separate governments and administrations, these old rules are providing means of access to the additional governments and agencies of the Trusteeship Council of UN. The probing and needling of this body (see footnote), shot full of principles and ideals, not very well informed, and quick to criticize, are causing resentment and indignation in the Union and in England. Council members then conclude that this reaction means the mandatory powers are trying to cover up something —— and so conditions worsen. What, I wonder, would be the result if the situation could be considered in the light of local, contemporary facts and figures?

In any event, it is certain that the Union Government will move with all speed to give SWA representation in her Parliament. Probably full Fifth Province status cannot be achieved. If this is so, closer integration will help forestall action by outsiders to turn over the administration of the Mandate to the UN Trusteeship Council. This possibility is not pleasant to the Union; nor would a similar step in Tanganyika please England.

Even cursory study reveals with crystal clarity that the basic question underlying the SWA situation is the relation of the European race to the African. This question is churning up all Southern Africa, and, as noted before, there is much outside distrust of the behaviour of the white people who are doing the living and making the decisions amongst more than 100,000 blacks. Whatever Dr. Malan may be able to accomplish with SWA, this question will go unanswered for a long time yet to come.

Footnote: In the early months of this year the Trusteeship Council put this question, among others, to the Union: "In view of the fact that the Government of South Africa has been administering the territory for a long period, to what cause does the Government attribute the continuing distrust of and lack of confidence in European rule still shown by the Africans?"

It is to be hoped that all interested parties will realize that there is no relatively short, omniscient, permanent answer. Answers will have to be found for limited problems for limited times.

Sincerely,

Whitman J. Severinghaus

Received New York 11/1/48.

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NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WJS-23

Grand Hotel
Heidelberg, Transvaal
Union of South Africa
November 4, 1948

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

This letter will be concerned, within the narrowest limits possible, with the issue of paramountcy.

"HERE LIES (according to Whitehall) PARAMOUNTCY OF NATIVE INTERESTS" -- this was the inscription on a tombstone pictured in a cartoon on the front page of the Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, "Northern News" of 15 July 1948. Underneath the cartoon was the caption: "DEAD - BUT IT WON'T LIE DOWN."

Early in July Mr. R. S. Hudson, Secretary for Native Affairs of Northern Rhodesia, addressed members of the African Representative Council in Lusaka. He said:

> "At the last meeting of this Council speeches were made referring to the White Paper of 1923 on the question of Paramountcy. I want to correct the speakers. That White Paper is now dead. ---- The important point is that the development of Northern Rhodesia is based on a genuine partnership between Europeans and Africans. As was stated in 1945, there cannot be any question of the Government adopting a policy of subordinating the interests of either community to those of the other.
>
> "We referred this matter to the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs and he agreed that what I have read out now is the policy of His Majesty's Government and I want you to see that all Africans know and understand that."

I cannot emphasize strongly enough the significance of this announcement in Africa's affairs.

The Heart of British Colonial Policy in Africa

It would be going too far to say that this is a reversal of policy. Yet, it is fair to say that this marks a sharp turn in a path long dictated by the Colonial Office. It is too early to say that the Colonial Office is abandoning paramountcy. Spokesmen of that office will be vehement in denying abandonment. They will insist that this is but a development of the old policy; a modification

made necessary by changed conditions. The events of the next few years will determine the real meaning of this recent announcement. At the moment it is enough to realize that the Colonial Office has made a decision of immense consequence to social, economic, industrial, and governmental progress in British Colonial Africa.

Paramountcy was dictated by the sense of moral responsibility and trusteeship of the British people-at-home toward the backward black, but human, African. This sense reached a zenith at a time in world history when economically the people of the Island were enjoying unprecedented prosperity - prosperity which it seemed would go on and on. In these circumstances the African areas were a matter of economic indifference to the people-at-home. Indeed, at times these far-off areas were more a financial burden than a help. The liberal policy of paramountcy could be established and indulged by a generous people almost as a philanthropy.

Paramountcy held that Africa belonged to the Natives. Paramountcy held that European efforts and ambitions in Africa must never cause the Natives to be forced off their lands or into agreements or conditions inimical to their wellbeing and development. Paramountcy categorically held that some day in the future the Natives would develop to the point of governing themselves in a democratic manner, and under such self-government would be able to compete economically with the more advanced civilizations. I say categorically because I have not found in my searches (though too limited) any specific declaration to this effect. Rather it has been official policy to avoid dealing with where the policy might lead.

I wish now to make it abundantly clear that this paramountcy was born and nurtured, protected and pushed forward, solely by the insular British. The emigrant, the man who came to Africa to settle, could never see the policy of paramountcy of Native interests.

And it is interesting to note that "Native interests" - at least up to the present time - have always been conceptions held by non-Natives. The English people-at-home had their ideas. The settlers had their own ideas. The two conceptions have infrequently coincided. In fact, friction between colonist and Colonial Office has been at the bottom of repeated attempts to secure autonomy of one sort or another in the several British political units of Africa.

Where autonomy has been secured the doctrine of paramountcy has perished. This is particularly evident in the Union of South Africa. There the opposite policy is pushed too hard. Paramountcy of European interests is necessary and strong in any and all party platforms. It goes hand in hand with the Union Nationalist policy of "apartheid" (separation) - and the United Party (Smuts' party), though rejecting "apartheid" would scarcely dream of denying paramountcy of Europeans. There is a strong element in the United Party that supports a philosophy of limited social, economic, and political development for the Natives.

Somewhere between paramountcy for Natives and paramountcy for Europeans lies the hope of the future in Africa. Perhaps this is what the recent change of policy in Whitehall is aimed at. I do not propose to construct an opinion of what the new policy, the new administrative activity, the new mental attitude, will bring to Africa. Rather, I want to say a few words about motives for the change, then try briefly to fill in the background of the policy of paramountcy.

Motive Behind the Change of Policy

I hope there will not be charges against me of "kicking England while she is (temporarily) down" due to what I now have to say. I try to be objective. In being objective it is useful to get as close as possible to facts.

It is a fact that in 1800 the population of England, Wales, and Scotland was only 10,500,000. In 1931 the same geographical area was inhabited by 45,000,000 people. Since then the population has not stopped increasing.

In the years since 1800 we have experienced the industrial revolution. The England-Wales-Scotland area was in the forefront of that great change. The people gradually left the soil for industry. Being a great sea-faring nation, ships brought raw materials from all over the world. These became finished goods. The goods were sold. The manufacturers (meaning the Island people) became rich. For a long time wealth and power and wellbeing were the order of the day.

In 1861 the proportion of rural to urban population was four to five; by 1881 the town population was double that of the country districts.

But other peoples began to learn the arts of manufacture. Some were nearer raw materials. Some conceived of ways of production that, coupled with nearness of raw materials, adequate power, and nearness to markets, enabled these new producers to cut into British preserves. Japan was one (textiles), the United States was another. The Continental powers did their bit. At the same time the number of people living on the island rapidly increased; competition became fierce.

Riches could buy food. Food was relatively cheap. So were raw materials. All was well.

But today there are so many mouths to feed. The only way to earn in order to buy food is to add value to raw materials. This is the only way the people of the Island have to secure food. One of the grim possibilities (it is possibly not a certainty) today is the inability to add sufficient value to keep the people fed.

What is the trouble? Too many people on the Island? Cost of food too high? Competition too stiff? Cost of raw materials too high? Lack of sufficient manufacturing know-how? ---- Probably a little of all these things. But the Government seems to have seized on two in particular that affect Africa: cost of food and cost of raw materials. The Government wants and desperately needs the minerals, the agricultural raw materials, and the food that Africa may be able to provide.

This need is the motive for change of policy.

It is not immediately apparent that desire for food and raw material is related to Native policy. It would be easier to see the connection if the British Government had decided that it must export large numbers of its people to Africa. To persuade them to make the move it would first be necessary to assure them of security against the demands of the multitude of blacks. If such a point of necessity is ever reached by the British Government, I believe that such assurances would not be slow in coming. But as matters stand today the urgency is directed toward securing the territory to the needs of the Island economy. To develop the African territories requires the loyalty and whole-hearted co-operation of the present European population, the acquiescence of the Natives, and a larger number of European workers and supervisors than presently available in the area.

As will be shown later, the present European (which means largely British for the areas of British East, and Central Africa) population is disgruntled over the long-established policy of paramountcy of Native interests. This population is pressing as never before for responsible government - even for dominion status. This would be (possibly) catastrophic to the Island population, now that the Island must look to the African territories for support. It is both convenient and necessary, thus, for Whitehall to make an appreciable change in its policy. Quite suddenly Whitehall realises that any policy which visualizes these desperately needed territories in the hands of an unsympathetic and uncontrollable government is henceforth impractical.

An African territory as another European-dominated dominion would be uncontrollable though probably not unsympathetic. The same territory in Native hands might be not only uncontrollable, but also unsympathetic.

It becomes important, therefore, to acquire some feeling for the degree of policy change necessary and tolerable; remembering that the degree of change deemed necessary might not be tolerable to certain political areas outside the sterling area.

The Decline of Native Rights in the Cape and (later) in the Union of South Africa

I propose here to use a series of quotations that give in words of more authority than my own what has happened in the southernmost part of Africa. (Quotations from "An African Survey" by Lord Hailey, Second Edition, 1945.)

> "In the comparative study of systems of government in the African territories, the significance of the position of the Union of South Africa lies in the fact that today, among all the countries of the continent, it, Egypt, and Liberia are alone independent of external control." (p. 144)

> "The constitution granted to the Cape in 1853 extended the franchise on equal terms to all male British subjects, on the ground

that 'all Her Majesty's subjects, without distinction of class or colour, should be united by one bond of loyalty and a common interest'.

".... The introduction of an education qualification in 1892, though of general application, was intended to keep blanket kaffirs off the register. The same Act raised the general qualification to property worth US$300 or (yearly) income of US$200." (p. 150)

In 1903 a Native Affairs Commission "found that in the Cape there were 8,117 registered native voters out of a total electorate of 135,168, and that in 7 constituencies out of 46 the native vote was strong enough to determine the issue of an election." (p. 151)

In 1908-09, the National Convention to decide the Constitution of the Union discussed the native franchise. "The Cape delegation, supported by the High Commissioner, ... proposed a uniform franchise dependent upon a civilization qualification, which would have admitted some natives while excluding some of the poor whites." (p. 151)

"The political system recently instituted by the Representation of Natives Act of 1936 rests on the negation of any extension of the Native franchise, an attitude justified by General Hertzog on the ground that under a constitution which admits the possibility, however remote, of a Native majority in the electorate, the Native is 'a danger to the white civilization in South Africa'." (p. 131)

Thus, today in the Union, especially under the Nationalist Government now in power, Native paramountcy is not even an issue. The European population as a whole is persuaded to the doctrine of white supremacy. The liberals among the Europeans want to see a gradual change from a vertical color line ("apartheid") to a horizontal color line (equality of rights and duties on the basis of civilization qualifications). The more rapid the change advocated, the less acceptable is the liberal advocate, in general.

The Rise and Decline of Paramountcy of Native Interests in British Colonial Africa

The origin of paramountcy is quite easily traced. It had its beginnings over a century ago, thus:

"The British settlements on the West African Coast were a legacy of the slave trade, which, so far as British legislation and the British Navy were able to enforce its suppression, was abolished in 1807. The settlements remained; the humanitarian movement saw in their development as centres of legitimate trade the means of establishing an interest which would have strong motives for co-operating in the abolition of slaving and slavery. Thus at an early date that intimate connection between idealism and commerce was established which has exposed African administrations to the easy cynicism of those who see in every declaration of interest in the African's welfare the veiled intention to secure benefits for the mother country." ("An African Survey," p. 132)

In 1879 Gladstone conducted a great oratorical campaign. "Russia was aggrandized and hostile, Europe in ferment, India at war, Africa (the war against the Zulus) stained with blood. And why? Because, said Gladstone, there was something beyond political necessities, there were moral necessities. Let them remember that in the eyes of Almighty God the sanctity of human life was no less inviolable in the villages of Afghanistan than in their own towns." ("The Miracle of England," by Andre Maurois, p. 444) - This had application to the Native in Africa, as well, and its impact on the British people must have helped prepare the way for their insistence on paramountcy at a later date.

"In those British East African territories where European settlement has taken place an opposition has frequently revealed itself between the aims of local opinion, which has favored the South African segregation policy, and public opinion at home, which has taken the view that Native interests deserve more explicit consideration." Local European communities hold that devolution, culminating in full responsible government as applied to other British peoples overseas, is applicable also in their case. But the British Government's declared policy in regard to territories where the native population form the great majority, "has been formulated in a series of statements which, though made with special reference to Kenya, express a general philosophy. The Devonshire White Paper of 1923 stated that:

> 'primarily Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail.... In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races.'

"At the same time, it has been felt desirable to make it clear that the paramountcy of native interests is not to be interpreted as justifying neglect of the vital interests of the European community, and that the ultimate trusteeship of the imperial government does not preclude the grant to that community of a share in the government of territories which they have made their home." The White Paper of 1927 enunciated the 'dual policy' of economic development — "elsewhere defined as that of increasing native production in the reserves pari passu with that of European plantations — and the government's desire to associate more closely in this high and honourable task (of trusteeship) those who, as colonists or residents, have identified their interests with the prosperity of the country'." (The above three paragraphs from "An African Survey", pages 135-136.)

The Joint Committee on Closer Union (1931) concluded "that the European Community should have a right to effective representation,

and to protection against policies which would fundamentally change the economic conditions on the basis of which they settled in the country. .... they add that 'the doctrine of paramountcy means no more than that the interests of the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population should not be subordinated to those of a minority belonging to another race, however important in itself'." ("An African Survey", page 137)

With this interpretation, the doctrine of paramountcy was already losing force. The almost imperceptible edging over toward white paramountcy continues in the announcements of July, 1948; or if this statement is too strong, the old policy of assuring the Natives and alarming the white settlers is clearly overturned by the words:

"That (1923) White Paper is now dead. The important point is .... partnership between Europeans and Africans. There cannot be any question .... of subordinating the interests of either community...."

This declaration is of limited usefulness. Quite certainly there will be issues in which the interests of the two communities are at opposite poles. In this event, shall white or black prevail? If I read the trend correctly, the white community will be favored, out of economic necessity. This will be a strain on Whitehall's deep sense of moral responsibility. But let us look at the sort of backing and filling that this sense of responsibility has already engendered.

Some Indications of the Foundations of Policy in British Colonial Africa

The Colonial Office has been aware, of course, of the difficulties of doing justice to the claims of both sides without harming either. Up until now it has been possible to smother the clamorings of the Europeans by the simple expedient of pigeonholing and temporizing. This sort of activity has appeared to favor the Natives, although in fact it is doubtful if it has done anything more than preserve to them their life - unchanged rather than advanced.

Some of the mental wrestling behind this kind of activity is revealed in these statements: (Quotations from "An African Survey")

"The principle underlying this policy (of indirect rule), the validity of which is still challenged by other colonial powers, notably France and Italy, is that Native institutions are in themselves of value as agencies of government, and that a replica of European institutions in Africa is not the aim of policy most to be desired even in a distant future. .... it is possible that a development deliberately based on African institutions may lead to some new type of self-governing organization." (p. 134)

In regard to the British Crown Colonies, the accepted policy may be said to have for its objective the creation of institutions designed to assist each unit to achieve the highest social and material advancement which its own peculiar circumstances permit." ..., In relations

between motherland and colony, "practice has been to allow as wide a field as possible for local initiative both in legislative and executive activity. It is not to be doubted that it has thus secured the full value of the personality and the sense of responsibility of its officials, a benefit which may be held to outweigh the fact that the results achieved are unequal, and that the systems followed in the different units present a diversity which must be a source of bewilderment to foreign observers." (page 247)

"In discussing the question whether the colonial and protectorate councils are likely to halt permanently at the present stage, or to develop on the lines followed elsewhere, we met with the fact that the political future of the African colonies has never been made the subject of systematic consideration in Great Britain; ...." (page 250)

"It is not in the British tradition to explore far-reaching constitutional issues until the force of circumstances makes it essential to do so; and it is not reasonable to expect that any government would now enter on an explicit commitment regarding the future status of the African colonies." (page 252)

"Long tradition has given the English public a wide experience of colonial affairs; it is characteristic that its sentiment is as keenly aroused over moral as over material issues." .... Continental opinion is that British "policy is indeed characterized as a series of improvisations which depend for success not on logical outlook, but on exercise of a traditional skill in accommodating principles to circumstances." (page 142)

(George Bernard Shaw said, "You will never find an Englishman in the wrong. He does everything on principle. He fights you on patriotic principles; he robs you on business principles; he enslaves you on Imperial principles.")

But to quote Mr. Shaw here is to make light of Colonial Office difficulties. I would not like to give the impression that the home Government has the power and responsibility as a sovereign to straighten out African problems. One illustration will suffice to show how international obligations intrude:

In Northern Rhodesia (today) "the franchise qualification is occupation of property of the value of $1000, yearly income of $800, orownership of property of the value of $8000. A voter must be a British subject, be able to write, and must not live a communal or tribal life; this provision appears to envisage the acquisition of the franchise by educated natives, but for this purpose some revision of the qualification would be required since Northern Rhodesia is a protectorate and the natives have not the status of British subjects." ("An African Survey", page 170)

Some Concluding Remarks

I admit to myself of having given Whitehall and the people behind that office a rather severe inspection in this letter. I hope, however, that the choice and alignment of quotations above (for which I am responsible) has not missed the mark of objectivity. Probably the most fortunate part of the recent declarations is the introduction of the conception of "partnership". Whatever the pitfalls may be in working out that conception, it is, nevertheless, a step toward unification and co-operation. There should be no tears shed at the passing of "paramountcy". Even advanced with the best intentions in the world, that policy would never beget anything but division, friction, and worsening of racial relations.

There is a body of opinion holding that the methods and attitudes prevalent in the Union of South Africa are not sufficiently constructive to secure (in the long run) a productive social structure, and a peaceful one, among the several races of that political division. The white population to the North of the Limpopo is still too small in relation to the black to make the two areas at all comparable. This condition may be shortly remedied. For, as Sir Edward Grigg wrote in 1944:

> "Whatever arguments may now be advanced against it, however, the fact is that white settlement is irrevocable in Southern and Eastern Africa; and there is no branch of human activity of which the maxim holds more true that, if you do a thing at all, you should do it wholeheartedly."

And also:

> "The relations of black and white cannot, however, be solved by any method which makes the interests of either predominant; and it is generally recognized now that the doctrine of trusteeship has serious limitations." (page 97, "The British Commonwealth")

Whether or not he could foresee the economic urgencies that now drive the efforts in British East Africa is open to question. But these urgencies will operate to settle the area "wholeheartedly" with whites. And if he is right about the general recognition of the defects of trusteeship, then I, for one, am eager to see the newly proclaimed policy of partnership put in its place. So far it has not been tried. Perhaps the partnership policy may be the candle that will light the way through the social and governmental darkness of Southern Africa.

I should like to believe it significant that Mr. Chilesche (Native delegate to the recent London conference on Northern Rhodesian constitutional problems) said to the African Representative Council on his return: "I urge you to realize that there can be no separation of interests. Our race and the white are mutually independent, and sympathy and understanding are needed on both sides."

Sincerely,

Whitman J. Severinghaus

Received New York 11/15/58.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

(Mrs. W.J.S.)

Grand Hotel
Heidelberg, Transvaal
Union of South Africa
November 29, 1948

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Many books, periodicals, magazines and newspapers carry information and articles on the Native problem of South Africa. The problem of the black man in Africa is a tremendous one. It must be solved. Yet where can one start?

I am much too new to this country, its history, and its attempts to answer the needs of the blacks and the whites, to offer a solution. Instead I am passing on to you the incidents, told to me as true fact, that color the ideas of the South Africans. It is from such incidents that consciously or unconsciously people form ideas - good and bad - about handling the Native problem.

* * * * * *

One day out on the Viljoen's mealie farm, Onkel Villy and his son were walking over the lands when they saw two strange natives. They were picking mealies - stealing. He quickly came abreast of them and tried to find out what they were doing. They had no business being on the farm, but became surly and nasty when questioned. Onkel quickly sent his son to the house for the rifle. Auntie had been watching, had the gun ready, and Perry hastened back to his father. The Natives were becoming very restless and ready for anything, so Onkel pointed the gun at them and told them to get out. Whereupon the one native grabbed the barrel of the gun and tried to get it away. The tussle became fierce; the Native was out for revenge; so in due time Onkel was forced to shoot him.

The two Viljoens were taken to the Nigel jail for this offense along with the gun. This left Auntie alone on the farm, unprotected from the natives by either family or gun, 9 miles from town and unable to drive. Somehow she caught a lift to the Heidelberg Police Station.

To them she demanded: "My husband, my son and my rifle are all away from the farm. I am all alone with no protection. I demand that my husband, my son, and my rifle be returned to me. I cannot stay alone on the farm after what happened with no protection."

She got her request. The police know that a white woman must have protection.

So far Onkel has had to kill three natives on the farm for various offences. He has been warned about killing any more, but Auntie said to me that she would take the gun herself rather than have their safety imperiled by a bad native.

* * * * * *

The Harvey's boy called Tom is very fond of children. He is a good native, honest, but slow. Since the Harveys don't speak Afrikaans and Tom speaks only broken English, his stock answer to any question is, "Yes, Missus."

One day, Paul aged two and a half, had been very naughty. His mother spanked him and put him to bed to punish him. This produced a great deal of screaming. His mother went in to quiet him and there by the foot of the bed stood Tom with the tears streaming down his face. He was unhappy because his little charge was crying.

* * * * * *

When the Harveys were in Durban, Tom was left to guard the house. He slept on the floor of the kitchen and had nothing to do but clean the floors and see that the house was safe.

The Harveys arrived home late at night - no sign of Tom. They managed to get in and to sleep and next morning Tom showed up as usual. When questioned it was found that three blocks away a house had been burgled that week and Tom in his anxiety had not slept most of the nights. So, on the night that his "Baas" was coming he felt things were safe and had gone to bed and to sleep. This he told in his halting speech.

23a-18

Later I found out that one night the robbers had attempted to get into the house and Tom had put up such a good fight that the natives left the house untouched.

* * * * * *

There is a widow living in Heidelberg all alone in her house. Sometime ago she noticed that a native was hanging around her house day after day, getting more and more "cheeky". This disturbed her and she called the police and asked for protection - at least to have a patrol car come around by her house every hour or so during the night to see if things were all right. She received no cooperation. She called the police again and told them that if she had no protection she would do as she thought best.

One night, all alone, she heard something. She got out of bed, reached for her gun, and went to see what was going on. A native was just in the process of climbing through the window. He wouldn't stop, just kept coming in. She shot him.

Next morning she called the police and told them to pick up one dead native in her front yard. She was protecting herself.

* * * * * *

Tom came in on Saturday night to say Goodnight to his baas. He had a broad grin on his face. "Tom, have you been drinking?" said his master. "Yes, baas," said Tom with the grin getting wider. "Me see friend girl and have much to drink. Better go to bed now."

* * * * * *

Mrs. Robertson had a native girl who did the housework - a very nice, capable girl - but she had the "native smell". Mrs. R. was desperate - the smell permeated every nook of the house. One day she heard of a solution - Bicarb of Soda used as a dusting powder. But the difficulty was not to insult the girl.

An old dusting powder can filled with the soda solved the problem and the native girl went off quite happy with her present and used it faithfully and to great effect. But it didn't last forever, and one day she came to her missus with a brand new can of powder. Mrs. R. was in a tight spot for the regular dusting powder was no good. She quickly said to the girl, "The powder Missus gives you is much better. I will give you some more." The native was pleased with her gift.

* * * * * *

The Bells have a lovely native girl. She grew up with Mrs. Bell in the Free State and seems like one of the family.

The night we were there for dinner Germ came to serve - a beautiful girl with a bright orange sweater showing off her immaculate white uniform. Except for her coloring she looked like a white girl. What was my amazement when I happened to glance at her feet. She had no shoes on.

* * * * * *

Another dinner party took place at Miss Goodwin's - an elderly lady who has lived in Heidelberg for 64 years. The dinner was formal, a party of ten. The serving was done by Lettie in her quiet, efficient way. But strapped on her back, fast asleep, was her little picinnin.

* * * * * *

Anna is one of the maids in the hotel. One day she and Mrs. Schmidt, a boarder, were looking out of the window down the street. Anna spied a black nigger with a dirty apron on. He had just come from the bakery. "Look at dat swine," said Anna. "He bakes de bread, de dirty fool." The natives, too, have their standard of cleanliness.

* * * * * *

Last Christmas at the Archers, we had Aunt Jemima pancakes, a rarity over here. Each morning Naptha would appear with pancakes for me on my breakfast tray.

In March we went again to visit the Archers with another American couple. The dinner was cooked by Naptha with no guidance from his Missus. A delicious meal appeared, but one dish had no name - had never been seen before. Suddenly our hostess exclaimed: "I know - it is a pancake. Naptha thinks Americans live on pancakes and this is his contribution!"

* * * * * *

Stealing goes on a lot over here. I have been told that usually the places that are burgled are ones where a native has been working and knows the layout. Grand Hotel was broken into the other night. We have a night boy on duty but as soon as his work is finished he goes to the kitchen. Always there is a door open on the first floor at the back where guests come in if they are late. We have often used this entrance after a movie.

This is the entrance the thieves used. They came into the lounge on the first floor, forced open the little cubby hole into the bar and stole some eighty pounds. This was discovered about three o'clock after they had gone.

This is what happened. Three boys got off the 12 o'clock train and were seen by the Native policeman. He didn't ask them for their passes though the curfew for Natives had sounded at 11. Later, on his rounds, he saw them in a garden near the hotel, hidden in the corner. He then asked them for their passes and they produced one made out for the three of them and signed by a man in Johannesburg. Even this obvious error (for all Natives must have their individual pass) didn't make him wonder about them. And then they stole into the hotel and got their money.

23a-15

Mr. Shevel, the proprietor of the hotel, and the police thought the boys would take the train. They took the car and rushed to the Johannesburg RR station to watch for the natives. No one was there. They came back to Heidelberg. Someone told Mr. Shevel the boys worked at Brakpan, about 20 miles from here. Then the native girl at the hotel talked in Zulu with the Native policeman and identified the thieves as ones that had previously worked at the hotel.

Before driving over to find the boys, the exchange was notified and no calls were to be put through to Brakpan to give the men time to get the boys unawares. The boys were caught, already at work on their jobs. And in their rooms were hidden the bags of money. Unfortunately for the natives each had taken one of Mr. Shevel's antique coins which identified the money and the robbery.

The boys were brought to the Heidelberg Police Station to await their trial. Two of the boys worked at Grand Hotel while we have been here. One is Joe, who looks like a black Jerry Colonna, the other Peter. We liked both of these natives but who can tell their traits by looking at them?

* * * * * *

When Mrs. B. was a girl they had an old Native, male, who used to run the kitchen. In those days in Pretoria there were always parties in the house and with a big family there was always a crowd over the weekend. This Native loved to cook and there was nothing he liked more than having visitors and a crowd of young people. All one had to do was to say to him - "Could you have something to eat for a group of 50 tonight?" And at 11 O'clock supper time, on would come all sorts of goodies, sandwiches, fruit, sausage rolls, tea - enough for everyone.

But there were times when no one was spending the weekend there, and just the family of nine was around. Then the Native would get very blue and would go all around the house setting out onions in dishes, until the whole place was an onion patch. When asked why he was doing this, he would say, "This bring company." Sure enough it never failed, for before nightfall someone would unexpectedly turn up to spend the weekend and Amos could cook to his heart's content.

He had been with the family for over 20 years when suddenly he wanted to go back to his kraal. This was a great blow - like losing a member of the family. Off he went on his leave. Not too long after he was back. They asked him how his home was. He told them he had taken a wife but she couldn't cook, and when he started to do the cooking he lost face with the other male natives, so he left his wife provided for and came back to work.

During the Boer War the children were put in boarding school in the Cape. Two years later the Mother went down to see them and left Amos at home. But he couldn't stand it - not enough family around. So he started out on foot to walk the thousand miles to Capetown to see the family. Now at that time there were no pennies in the Transvaal Republic, only silver. All along the way people gave this old Native pennies to help him along. But to Amos they were no good and he threw them away. He was a mighty sorry man when the family told him that his pennies would buy things in Capetown.

132-15

* * * * * *

I hope you have enjoyed these stories. They are fun to collect and are a part of the everyday life of South Africa.

Sincerely,

Sally Severinghaus

Sally Severinghaus

Received New York 12/13/48.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WJS-25

Grand Hotel
Heidelberg, Transvaal
Union of South Africa
December 1, 1948

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Last May, in the first general election since the end of the war, the United Party (General Smuts) government was repudiated and a new Nationalist Party government was formed under Dr. D. F. Malan. There are great differences in policy and attitude between the two parties. These differences have been gradually showing up in the actions and words of the new government.

In the middle of November another election was held; a by-election; it normally would not attract much attention. I think this time it is of much interest. Here is why.

Who was elected? Sam Kahn.
Why is he worth noticing? Sam Kahn is a Communist - white, but Communist.
To what position? Native Representative in the lower House of Parliament for the Western Cape Province.
Who elected Kahn? Natives.
Size of majority? For Kahn - 3026. For Buchanan (UP) - 754. For van der Merwe (Nat.) - 194.
His job? By laws passed in the 1930's the Natives of the Union were given certain indirect representation in Parliament. All Native Representatives, in fact all members of Parliament, must be Europeans. The lower house is vastly more important than the Senate. In this body are three Native Representatives from the Cape Province. Natives of the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Transvaal have no representation in the lower house. Three representatives from Natal and the OFS (combined) present the views of the Indians. Together with 150 ordinary members from European electoral divisions, the total number in the house is 156.
Kahn is one of the three Native Representatives for the Cape in the House.
In the Senate are:

a) Elected Senators (8 for each province)	32
b) Nominated Senators (one half of whom are to have knowledge of the "reasonable wants and wishes of the Coloured Races of S. Africa," and all nominated by the current Government)	8
c) Senators elected by the Natives	4
d) Nominated to represent Asiatics of Transvaal	1
e) Elected to represent the Asiatics of Natal	1
Total	46

The Communist Party made its appearance in the Union in 1921. Since then

it has had but meager success. All Europeans fear and hate the doctrines of the Kremlin. All, of course, but a few; Kahn is one from the few. The great field for the Communists is among the non-Europeans.

I do not propose to editorialize on the outcome of this election. Rather I will present South African opinion from the several sides, letting each define itself.

Sam Kahn - South African Communist

"'The Communist Party, of which I am the leader, has always been the spearhead for full political, economic, educational, legal, and social rights for all the people of South Africa. We believe that the fight for complete acknowledgement of the personal rights and dignity of Natives must be waged not only in Parliament, but chiefly outside Parliament by the people themselves through their own organizations, so that in our own time we can win freedom and democracy.'"

(Moses Kotane, Secretary of the Communist Party, wrote this as Kahn's belief, in a pamphlet circulated during the electioneering period. The quote above, and what follows immediately below, are taken from "Die Transvaler" of 24 November 1948. This paper takes the extreme Nationalist side in South African politics - so much so that now and then its opinions embarrass Dr. Malan.)

"He laid the following election platform before the Native voters.

1. Extension to all Native men and women the democratic right to vote in all Parliamentary, Provincial, and municipal elections, together with the right of eligibility to run for office in such elections.
2. The repeal of the pass laws, the humiliating permit system, all head tax, and the necessity of carrying work contract documents.
3. Annulment of all color barrier, segregation, and discriminatory laws including the law of city areas.
4. Establishment of the right of Natives freely to seek work in cities or on farms, the right to undertake work in any profession, vocation, and as trained (legally recognized) tradesmen, and the right to establish unions.
5. Ending of the system of low wages for Native laborers, farm workers, and mine workers, and the provision of a minimum wage of US$2.00 per day plus cost of living allowances sufficient to keep pace with the constantly rising cost of living.
6. Establishment of the right of Natives to travel freely, to live, and to own land in any part of South Africa, and concurrently that private and public servitudes according to which the sale of land to persons on grounds of race or creed becomes forbidden, be declared unlawful.
7. The immediate grant of more farmland with irrigation works to Natives so that more people and livestock can be supported.
8. Education in schools and universities and the provision of school books to Native children on the same basis as to white, and the same pay for Native teachers.
9. The end of 'sakdorpe' (Native squatter towns built of corrugated iron, odd boards, and burlap), hovels, and slums, and immediate construction of dwellings for Natives at rentals they can afford.

10. Recognition of the leading Bantu tongues, as with English and Afrikaans, as official languages of South Africa.

11. Appointment of qualified Natives in civil service and the courts.

12. Creation of a national health service with free necessary medical, dental, surgical, clinical, and hospital treatment.

This program constitutes the life necessities and aspirations of the Native, according to Mr. Kahn. Also in the pamphlet Mr. Kahn is shown to say: 'I condemn apartheid and the Nazi conceptions of white supremacy. South Africa belongs to all the people and is not a white man's land. If Dr. Malan and Mr. van der Merwe want apartheid, let them leave South Africa and make room for race harmony.'"

This account comes from part of an account of the election in Afrikaans, for consumption by a reading public that is almost entirely both Afrikaans and Nationalist. The headlines over the account read:

> "COMMUNISTS AT PRESENT WORKING MUCH HARDER - DR. MALAN MUST LEAVE THE COUNTRY SAYS NEW MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT - PROPAGANDA STRIKING WITHIN."

I need hardly to say that this kind of winning election platform has caused alarm in both the United Party and the Nationalist Party. What the two groups have had to say about it is detailed below.

GOVERNMENT

Dr. Malan, speaking to the Nationalist Party Transvaal Congress in Pretoria (prior to Kahn's election) is reported in "Die Transvaaler" of 17 November as follows:

"Our policy is not one of oppression. We want to make the future of the white man safe, but this is not oppression. (I) have no doubt that the Government is going to get more support from the side of the Natives than was expected at the outset. Now for the first time the policy (apartheid) is being laid before the Natives. Thousands of them have already voted for the policy. The job is great and I must warnagainst overhastiness. We shall abandon no part of our policy. First it will be necessary clearly to draw the line between white, coloured, and Native. Only then can appropriate legislation be enacted."

OPPOSITION

Shortly after the Kahn election the UP held its convention in Bloemfontein. "The Star" interviewing Major Piet van der Byl, Minister of Native Affairs in the former UP government, reported his reactions:

"During the years between the two general elections of 1943 and 1948 Communism made no headway among Coloureds and Natives. In fact fewer votes were cast for Communism in the '48 election than in '43. No Communist was elected to the Native Representative Council which is representative of advanced Native thought, early this year. Only a few months ago Mr. Buchanan, who is a moderate and whose views are known to thousands of Natives in the Cape, was returned unopposed to Parliament. Now he is defeated by an avowed Communist by more than 3000 votes.... It must be obvious to every thinking South African why this has happened. Completely frustrated by the policy of apartheid, the Natives are becoming fervent Communists. They are being driven to it. No one is less

Editorial, "Die Transvaaler" of 24 November (after the election):

"The result of the election of a Native representative for the Western Cape makes all concerned about how the present situation came about. That an outspoken Communist, Sam Kahn, has been elected by the Natives, is readily significant. But that an ardent champion of the Natives in the Ballinger tradition (which strives for liberal equalization on many issues), namely, Advocate Buchanan, was so crushingly defeated by Kahn, says much more. It means that the United Party, in spite of all its concessions and policy of Native appeasement a la Hofmeyr, will make in course of time a path for Communistic influences. It means that Communist influence, as a result of UP policy has had a chance to spread. Now this is just the start - unless the Nationalists can turn it back. The so-called independent representatives of the Natives have indeed been constantly UP-minded and UP-supported.

Should Kahn now side, just like the so-called independents, almost always with the UP (apparently because his policy for the most part agrees with that of the UP where color problems are concerned), his support will create great embarrassment for them. This will indeed make the public open its eyes more to what the UP color policy brings with it. Also, the UP must begin to think about this.

Seen from the Nationalist view, this result has established more than ever the point that Native representation in Parliament must be repealed. When some time ago General Hertzog (founder of the Nationalist Party) had to yield to pressure from the Smuts-Hofmeyr-side, he didn't anticipate the mis-use of representation for agitation - especially the infiltration of Communism through that channel. (The 1st draft bill, incorporating Hertzog's view, did not give representation to the Natives. The interested in Communism than the Native - if he is fairly treated."

Mr. Buchanan said after his defeat:

"I am an optimist and I hope this result will stimulate white South Africa to a sense of its danger, and to jerk it into action to remove the cause of Communism by immediately providing a square deal for all sections of the community. If this Communist victory calls all persons of good will among all races together to put Christian principles into action, then this apparent defeat can and will be turned into a great victory."

"Die Volkstem", a UP paper in Afrikaans said:

"Apartheid is the cause of the deterioration in relations between Europeans and Natives, which is strikingly illustrated by the election. The Nats have achieved exactly what they are trying to prevent."

A Capetown delegate to the UP congress declared that before the Nationalists came to power Communist meetings on the Capetown Parade used to draw audiences of about 20. Now they mustered between 3000 and 4000.

Mr. Marais Steyn, M.P. for Alberton (Tvl.) says: "The Native is losing faith in the great principle of Christian trusteeship because of Nationalist propaganda, That propaganda, together with the policy of apartheid, has frustrated the Native to such an extent that he is willing to grasp at Communism or any other straw." (From "The Star" of 25 November 1948)

General Smuts opened the Bloemfontein UP Congress just after Kahn's election. Referring to apartheid he said that it had caused so much bitterness among the Natives that they had now elected a Communist to represent them in Parliament. Smuts declared apartheid "a base and sordid political policy". He maintained that the future of South Africa depended on good relations between black and white - and that this could not be achieved through apartheid.

Earlier this year General Smuts made clear his views on Dr. Malan's governmental

2nd replaced the 1st and created the present position.) Meanwhile conditions have so changed that it is now very clear that Native representation is becoming a danger to South Africa in a further respect.

Before it becomes too late the matter must be dealt with as Dr. Malan has repeatedly announced as his policy, namely, Native representation in Parliament must be abolished. In this work the UP ought to share - if they read the signs correctly, and if they turn their attention to the opposition Britain (from whence they ordinarily take the example) is actively bringing to bear against the spread of Communism in law making bodies and in the civil service."

policies. He warned that abrogation or diminishment of existing political rights of non-Europeans would encourage the formation, possibly on a Communist basis, of a united non-European front against the Europeans. "Apartheid," he said on 21 September in Parliament, "is just a false and misleading catchword to exploit the color prejudice of this country, stampede public opinion, and make people believe that the policy of the UP is one of equal rights and may lead to the downfall of white South Africa."

The Third Side

And what about the non-Europeans themselves? Their opinions are largely personal. There are several organizations that speak for Natives, Coloureds, and Indians, but none has real power in government. In a practical sense the important thing at present is the understanding of what the Europeans propose to do with non-European matters. But among some 8,000,000 non-Europeans an increasing number are becoming articulate. These men are not passive to the conceptions held by the 2,000,000 Europeans.

In December of 1947, while Smuts was still in power, Dr. A. B. Xuma in his presidential address to the African National Congress said: "The so-called Representation of Natives' Act is in fact a mis-representation of Africans. The only honest and proper representation of any section is direct representation of common franchise, as a beginning was made under the old Cape franchise system. That is what we are fighting for and that is what we must have if political progress is to be made in this country."

More recently Native comment is available; comment that pertains to the Nationalist government now in power. "A whole book can be written on either the merits or demerits of apartheid. So let us not be in a senseless hurry to condemn. Let us not conclude prematurely that the reptile whose tail we see is a snake, for it may turn out to be a lizard. If apartheid means parallel development of the type described by Dr. Eiselen, then the Native should be the first person to ask for its immediate implementation. What hope have we under the old system?" —— This is Mr. A. C. Motsepe, speaking as president to annual conference of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association on 12 October of this year.

So it is with all observers as with the Africans themselves. It is unwise to quickly condemn, or be hostile toward, the policy of apartheid. While there is no space here to discuss the views of Dr. Eiselen, it is worth noting that his interpretation of apartheid is perhaps more constructive than the interpretation of either of the major political parties. Yet is is reasonably certain that Eiselen votes Nationalist.

Motsepe said in his address that the Government had so far done little that the Natives would not wish it to do. The education grant of US$24,000,000 was higher than anything before received.

And in the midst of this controversy, and particularly the accusations being thrown at the present Government, it is interesting to note the opinion of one delegate to the Transvaal Congress of the Nationalist Party. He said: "The whites, as worthy trustees, will have to educate the Natives. The whites will have to shoulder the cost. Education, instruction, training - these are the ways to reach the Native. The Communists train them and the Government can gain by giving something better. The Natives must be protected with the Christian army."

Sincerely,

Whitman J. Severinghaus

Received New York 12/13/48.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WJS-26

Grand Hotel
Heidelberg, Transvaal
Union of South Africa
7 December 1948

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

South Africa, its people say, is devoted to the idea of free enterprise.

The term has been so much used that it no longer has any unique definition. For the purposes of this letter, however, let us say that free enterprise is obtained when a man with initiative can organize men, money, materials, machines, and time to produce goods or services, and that in the effort he is restricted only by the Golden Rule. This is a picture of one extreme. The other extreme is the condition of complete control by government. Recognizing faults in both extremes, nations today provide circumstances for production somewhere along the scale between total control and total freedom.

My experience in a productive system was acquired in the States. I was conditioned to the industrial atmosphere there. When we arrived in South Africa we met people who displayed confidence in freedom of enterprise in the Union. From time to time I have had reason to believe that the atmosphere here is not nearly so clear for industrial enterprise as in the USA. Only recently a chance meeting with an enterpriser set me to chasing down the origin, nature and effect of apprenticeship laws in the Union.

Mr. Anderson is the head of the Brakpan Engineering Works. In the USA we would think of this firm as a general machine shop doing diversified manufacturing in relatively small job lots. As with much of South African industry, the mines are the source of most of Anderson's orders. He employs about 50 people.

Anderson is a Scot. He is essentially a mechanic, and only more recently in his 60 years has he been a manager. I first met him when he drove into a farmyard in his 1938 Hudson sedan. Three days ago he came again while I was at the farm. My farmer friend did not recognize the car - a new '49 Hudson. When Anderson's grizzled face became recognizable behind the wheel, farmer strode out to greet industrialist. "You're a B_____ Capitalist, Andy. Must you come out here to swank your new car?" Anderson stuck out a great, gnarled hand and grinned his reply: "Maybe you are right, Willie. But I have worked hard for this."

Willie's vrou took Anderson's wife into the farm-house. In a couple of minutes she sent out great cups of coffee. We sat under the blue gums and talked. Willie asked Andy about his business. "Worse than ever," he complained. "I have more work to get out than I can possibly get done. Everyone wants his work done first, of course, and I'm the chap to take all their demands and make explanations." I asked the cause of slow output. "Mechanics, mostly. I can't

find them. And those I do get are operators, not qualified mechanics. They can run one machine. Put them on another and they are a dead loss. But there is also trouble with the building inspectors and control. The other day one of them dropped in and wanted to know about a small shed I was putting up. Turns out that I can't even erect a shelter roof over outside storage without consulting control and getting a permit. But the worst thing is getting workmen."

For some time I have been reading of complaints about the system of apprenticeship in the Union. I asked Anderson his opinion, but Willie jumped in first. "It is not so hot." He looked at Anderson. "You remember a couple of years ago I wanted to put Perry (Willie's son) in your place as an apprentice. Perry was keen on it and it looked a good proposition. And what happened?"

Anderson took up the story. "Well, in the first place the Board decided that I did not have 'instructional facilities'. Just what they think necessary I don't exactly know. It appeared at the time that my machines were not large enough; or perhaps that there were some machines that I did not have. This is pure bunk. I can assure you that a young chap working in my shop will get far more experience and know-how in a year than he will in many large shops in three years. Our work is varied and he would have to learn to be a mechanic. In the large shops they put him on a lathe or shaver and let him work just that machine for a year."

It was clear that Anderson held the Board in low esteem. He went on.

"But there is also the monkey business of trying to get an apprentice approved. If I find a likely looking chap I have to make application to the Board. I send in his qualifications. If lucky, after about three months they say that he is suitable material. Once this approval is obtained, the apprenticeship contract may be drawn up and the boy can begin his training. — But commonly while waiting for approval the boy has gone off somewhere else and the prospective employer can't find him."

"Then you can't make the decision on your own to take on a boy, employ and train him?" At this Anderson was amused. "As an employer I can do nothing without going to the Board. We answer to the Board for everything. We go to the Board for everything." Since this system seems cumbersome I asked how it happened to be adopted. "It is very simple," said Anderson. "The Unions got the system put into law. They wanted it at a time when there were only limited job opportunities. They wanted a legal means to control the number of tradesmen. This still happens, although conditions have changed, and in general there are more jobs than trained men."

It is evident that in its administration the Apprenticeship Act presents difficulties. As usual, the law is one thing, and its administration another. The machinery established by Act 37 of 1944 is not difficult to grasp. The Minister of Labor has ten advisors, comprising the National Apprenticeship Board, to help him. These men are appointed by the Minister. At least one must be a recognized agent of management, and at least one other must be drawn from labor organizations. It appears to be entirely within the Minister's powers to select the entire Board.

230-15

The real work in apprenticeship matters falls to Apprenticeship Committees. The Board has the power to establish as many of these committees as it deems advisable. In general the committees are based on industries, and are composed of two members from labor and two members from management, plus one member appointed by the Minister. The number of committees in any area depends on the number of industries discernable and separable in the area according to the judgment of the Board. It is within the Minister's power to control the composition of these committees also. The law says: "Before doing any of these acts, however, (the Minister) must consult any employers' organization or trade union which in his opinion has a material interest in the decision."

(In the Union, by the way, trade unions and employers' organizations must be registered. "On registration the union or organization becomes a corporate body, capable of suing or being sued in its own name. The rights and liabilities of the members in their official capacities then devolve upon the body itself." Act 36 of 1937, Industrial Conciliation Act.)

The powers of the committees are worth noting. "A committee....may at any time enter upon premises where an apprentice or minor is or has been employed, and may make such inspections or inquiries....as deemed necessary. A committee may subpoena any person, other than an officer of the public service, to appear before it, ...in order to be interrogated concerning the subject of investigation, or to produce any book, document or thing which in the opinion of the committee has a bearing on the subject of investigation." Penalties for failure to attend, refusal to be sworn as a witness, failure in full and satisfactory answers, failure to produce evidence requested, and perjury are stipulated.

The Minister of Labor has wide powers to prescribe the conditions of apprenticeship, including among others:

minimum age (not less than 15)
educational qualifications
period of apprenticeship
rates of remuneration
part-time classes which apprentices shall attend
correspondence courses to be followed
full-time technical training courses to be attended
practical training to be provided by employers
proficiency tests to be undergone
circumstances governing payment by employers of fees for classes and courses prescribed
maximum number of ordinary working hours
maximum overtime during any specified period
minimum and maximum number of apprentices to be employed in the industry concerned
circumstances requiring additional pay

I call your attention particularly to the power of determination of the maximum and minimum number of apprentices to be employed in any industry.

With the Minister vested with the powers noted above it is interesting to note that the law appears to hold little restriction as to who may bind himself as an apprentice. Thus:

"Any person who
a) has the qualifications prescribed by the Minister

b) has obtained a certificate of physical fitness in the prescribed form
c) has attained the age of 15 years
d) is not required by law to attend any school

may bind himself as an apprentice in any designated trade. Minors require the assistance of their guardians, and majors may not bind themselves without the consent of the registrar."

The law does not carefully set out the position and functions of the "registrar". It is clear that his office is important. For example: "The registrar may, after consultation with the committee concerned, order an employer to take such action as the registrar deems necessary to insure that the apprentice will receive adequate training."

Further, it appears that this registrar is a clearing house for almost all the red tape involved. While there might be a certain amount of decentralization of authority under the present law, it appears that such a solution has not been employed. Last April the East Rand Juvenile Affairs Board brought out these points:

"The chairman said his firm was still having difficulty in getting a satisfactory reply from the Apprenticeship Committee about engineering apprentices. He thought the committee had far too much work to do. Mr. R. Smart (Union Rep.) said his executive agreed with the Divisional Inspector's views that there was no lack of attention on the committee's part. The real trouble was due to shortage of staff in the Labour Department. The chairman then said that he had had numerous complaints from employers on the East Rand. It was ridiculous that firms and apprentices should be kept for 12 or 18 months without a reply. Reputable firms with ample facilities for training had had their applications turned down. Many firms took on apprentices as a duty. They were often expensive for the first two years. It was a disgrace that so many youngsters had been refused, when they could so easily be absorbed into industry." (Star of 28 April 1948)

Thus far I have presented the apprenticeship picture from the management viewpoint. I am pleased to be able to let you read what an apprentice has to say:

"Sir: With reference to the report in The Star of October 26 on the shortening of apprentice training this should have been done years ago, when operatives were first given a chance to become tradesmen.

"I would like to say something about evening classes. We cannot all become engineers and draughtsmen: some of us must remain artisans to do the hard work. Why not make these classes optional? If one fails to obtain one's percentage of classes one is fined US$20, immediately by the loss of the entrance fee into the college, and then taken to court and fined again for non-attendance.

"The main reason for non-attendance is this: A firm may require an apprentice to work overtime. The apprentice finds that two hours' overtime earns time and a half--about 19¢ an hour in the second year--and gets a note to cover his absence from classes. Naturally he works as much overtime as possible, and is exempt from school for a few weeks. When this period ends--

probably because the firm finds a first-year apprentice who can do the work cheaper—he must return to classes. But he has lost what little interest he did have in the classes, and he has missed so much that it is hardly worth while returning. So he gets into trouble.

"Another discouragement is the pay. In the engineering trade it is: first year, US$6.50; second year US$9.00; third, US$13.00; fourth year, US$17.00., (all per week), cost-of-living allowance inclusive throughout. Fifth year apprentices usually receive a fairly good wage, as they take on a little more responsibility.

"Probably some crank will say that when he was an apprentice he got US$1.00 a week and had to pay off a house at the same time. We've heard it! We hear it every time we ask for a rise or complain at all. Conditions today are different. Any boy wanting to become an apprentice should either stay at school and pass his matriculation*, or, if circumstances do not permit, let him become an operative, start at US$.45 per hour, show some initiative, work for a couple of years and take a union test to become a qualified turner.

"I know—I am serving my last three months now. L. SONG"

(From "The Star", 2 November 1948)

(Pay for UNSKILLED European labor over the Union ranges from $6.00 to $16.00 per week. The average is around $8.00 to $9.00 per week.)

Finally, in assessing the situation indicated in this letter, it is necessary to remember that this is a country so in need of tradesmen that many are being sought in England and the Continent; yet at the same time it is common in politics to hear that immigrants are taking jobs away from the sons of the burghers!

Sincerely,

Whitman J. Severinghaus

* Matriculation is equivalent to finishing high school.

Received New York 12/13/48.

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Kenneth de Courcy

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INTELLIGENCE DIGEST

A REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

23-18

Produced by

KENNETH de COURCY

Issued in New York from the Office of Vice Admiral C. S. Freeman, U.S.N. (Retd.),
7023 Empire State Building.

This Review of World Affairs is an Intelligence Digest. It is of world wide repute. It is written in the briefest digest form, though each section could easily be developed into an article. The object is to give an easily read summary of vital information about world affairs so that you may know all the facts.

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AN INTELLIGENCE DIGEST

REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

(incorporating the WEEKLY REVIEW)

OVERALL STRATEGIC PLANS

In recent Digests it has been explained that:

1. After 1953/4 Russia will be very much stronger except for oil.
2. The balance between the west and the east will begin to change in favour of the east from 1950 or 1951 onwards.
3. A war would be a much more serious affair if both sides had the atom bomb and other advanced weapons than if only the west possessed them. Moreover, as Russia already possesses vastly superior numbers of trained soldiers, once she has atomic as well as other weapons the situation will be extremely grave for the west.

In consequence of all this the American General Staff, Mr. Churchill and General de Gaulle—who all appear to be in complete harmony—feel that things must be brought to the point of decision before a change occurs in the relative strengths of the Powers. They, and most experts from whom they get information think that once Russia has the atomic bomb in production, and can in that respect face the western Powers on equal terms, things will become very serious, and if matters drift until Russia can face the west with all round superior force there will be a crisis of unprecedented gravity in human affairs.

With all this in mind, therefore, very important overall strategic plans were recently made and they were fully described last month in these pages.

All this planning has been disturbed by Mr. Attlee's nervousness that such a policy will sooner or later bring about a far-reaching split in his own political party, and thus alter things to his disadvantage in British home politics. This very much disturbs Mr. Attlee.

THE FAR EAST AREA

On top of all that the collapse in China is swift and far-reaching and has put all the Far East defence projects into jeopardy. (A full report from an eye-witness whom we recently sent to China is given later in this Digest.) The comment in *The Times* that Chinese Communists have had very little help from Russia and are not subordinate to Moscow is very misleading. The campaign in China is reckoned by the Kremlin as being of first importance and its direction is Russian. All the details of this are known to the best observers. *The Times* is going to be proved as wrong over this as over Greece and much else in recent years.

The collapse in China makes Japan more important and a report on this aspect of the Far Eastern problem also appears later. Australia and Ceylon are also ranking higher. The far-reaching development of Ceylon as a strategic base is certain and much will be moved there from Singapore. Australia is also going to become much more important. She is in need of far-reaching industrial and other development and much too little attention has been given to this.

REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

The Near and Middle East area, also of great importance in the overall strategic plan, is still difficult to organise because, (a) the Palestinian war remains unsettled, and (b) the much dreaded winter has come to Greece without a settlement with the rebels. This is in large measure due to America having failed to supply enough mountain artillery and aircraft.

A high U.S. official wrote to our office the other day complaining that this was not true. He said he had personally visited the Greek front and everyone he saw was satisfied.

We can only say that he must have had a bad interpreter. Our head office at once replied that we should be glad to fly a special observer to Greece at once who would be ready to tour the front with the American official concerned and have him meet the Greeks he evidently missed on his recent trip. No reply has been received. Our top observer has of course himself visited the Greek front. The Greeks bitterly complain that, though they are the world's leading experts on guerilla warfare, their opinions are not listened to, and that they have pleaded for more mountain artillery and aircraft neither of which have come in sufficient quantities.

Moreover, not nearly serious enough efforts were made to repair the ghastly roads up to the front which knocked transport to pieces and slowed down communications.

There has been great negligence in the Greek business this summer with the consequence that Greece must remain at least partially mobilised, imposing a dangerous strain upon an already exhausted country. This gravely weakens the whole Near Eastern position.

THE WEST EUROPEAN AREA

The defence organisation of western Europe is disturbed by two main things, (a) lack of understanding with Spain, and (b) the disturbed internal condition of France. Political inhibitions are the trouble in the case of Spain and very little is being done to put things right.

The French case is rather different. As everyone knows, de Gaulle is gaining strength. He would probably have risen to power by now had it not been that:—

1. Modern France has a temperamental difficulty in arriving at positive decisions of this kind and inclines to prefer provisional arrangements and compromises.

2. de Gaulle, though the leading anti-Communist, welcomed and recognised as such by most patriots, did himself a great deal of unnecessary harm by his earlier bitter anti-Petainism—the majority of the French having been Petainists at one time or another—and his ruthlessness towards political opponents at the liberation.

3. Many people accuse him of having compromised with both Russia and the Communists and the two personal accusations made against him are:—

(a) That during the war he allowed his security police to be unscrupulous.

(b) That he ought not to have given orders for the already half dead Laval to be shot, if necessary in bed.

Even strong critics of Laval think de Gaulle was too rough in this.

Finally, he is accused by some people of having recently refused to support

a number of desirable *governmental* anti-Communist measures; they allege that he alone wants the credit for clearing up the mess.

All these things have together combined to slow down the process of his return to paramount importance if not to power. The time lost by all this may in history prove to have been fateful.

THE CASE FOR DE GAULLE

On the other hand a very strong case can be made for de Gaulle and millions of the French support him. He is a profound patriot, personally entirely honest, and if not clever he certainly has great intuitive gifts. He is, moreover, honestly anti-Communist, has advanced and sensible views on defence, and has shown more foresight over international affairs than is yet known.

A short time ago we said that his letter to President Roosevelt after the Yalta conference, when published, would put him amongst the top ranking prophets. He warned Roosevelt that the Yalta agreements would prove disastrous, and said that all preparations for the defence of western Europe against the Soviet Union should be started at once and that the critical state of affairs which was revealed only much later was already in the making.

That letter will give de Gaulle great importance in French history. It may soon be published and will, of course, help in contemporary politics. He foresaw what was coming, and many of the things now being done about defence were things he broadly advocated a long time ago.

POLITICS VERSUS STRATEGIC NECESSITY

It can thus be seen that while the top ranking strategists have devised a first-class plan to meet the present dangerous situation, political and physical events in almost every sphere are either working against them or holding things up.

Only the great African base is relatively untouched by immediate threats though there are many lurking dangers. Moreover, the development of Africa is going forward much too slowly. There is a great deal of talking but far too little action. It could not be clearer that without a far-reaching development of Australia as the main strategic rear base for all Far Eastern projects, very little can be done in those parts. Without the rapid development of Africa neither the Near and Middle East, nor western Europe, can be defended.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRITAIN

THE LABOUR PARTY

General election time in Britain is approaching. Whether it will be 1949 or 1950 depends upon a number of things not yet clear. Whichever year it is, however, the election is not far off.

Up to the Edmonton by-election the Labour Government seemed to have recovered a good deal in recent months. It is by no means certain that Mr. Attlee's team would have been heavily defeated in an election held during 1948 up to the month of November. If they had been defeated at all it would have been a rather narrow margin making strong government extremely difficult.

It remains to be seen, however, what Edmonton really means.[1]

[1] At the Edmonton by-election the Socialist majority of 1945 was reduced by nearly 16,000 votes.

Mr. Churchill has always thought, however, that in the end Foreign Policy will do as much if not more than anything else to bring the Government down. This could very easily prove to be the case.

THE CONSERVATIVES

A small handful of Conservative leaders understand the political situation very well. Lord Woolton and a few of his colleagues know that although their party members are more enthusiastic than for many years, the broad mass of the people has not yet moved into the Conservative camp. They know too that many members of the Shadow Cabinet are in danger of making the same mistake as Mr. Dewey. (Mr. Truman, for example, made about 100 speeches more than Mr. Dewey and worked altogether far harder.)

Some of the top ranking Conservatives don't at all like the idea of spoiling a pleasant week-end by going to some remote province for a speech on Saturday night. Others have long ago refused to go to difficult areas where they think there is little chance of winning. All this causes great dissatisfaction to the more hard working party members and is the way to lose the election.

Unless the whole of the Shadow Cabinet gives up everything between now and the election for stumping the country in season and out of season, the Conservatives may have the same shock as the Republicans have recently had in the States. Moreover the leaders must constantly visit the bad areas if they wish to make a better impression in the good ones.

CONSERVATIVE POLICY

Lord Woolton has improved the organisation, and Mr. Christopher Holland-Martin has raised a fair sum of money; the Central Office Secretariat is devoted, hard-working and much more efficient, but Shadow Cabinet members are not playing their full part, and the Conservatives are therefore in great danger. The party will make a great mistake if it relies upon the Government's bad administrative record, or public dislike of controls, or anything less than a convincing constructive policy which makes the ordinary citizen feel there is something positive for which it is worth while to vote Conservative, if necessary for the first time.

The Conservatives have much more than a party job to do. They have a national mission to perform. The nation's whole thinking needs drastic change. Amongst other things is the need to change the widespread shamefacedness at personal success.

The successful citizen is essential to the nation. Yet he is the object of a vast propaganda which suggests some discredit in wealth or success. This is fully supported by modern taxation—the heaviest penalties and restraints fall upon the successful man, woman or business—success is attacked by every possible means from almost every side.

A great philosophical change is needed—followed by really large reductions in taxation and death duties. The Conservatives must preach all this by every means.

They will never attain power or serve the nation except by all out attack

upon the whole state of affairs and mind which has caused decline in enterprise and consequently in national wealth. It cannot be said too often that:—

1. Britain's present troubles are NOT all caused solely by the war. Many of them were slowly arising in any event.

2. Britain and her allies possess all the means both to settle the Russian business with relative ease and to develop a wealth exceeding anything yet known.

MR. CHURCHILL

Mr. Churchill's popularity and political importance have both increased since his Llandudno speech. The phrase that he "speaks for the nation" is pretty widely accepted.

Both his temperament and his health are unpredictable, but as things now stand he seems determined to fight hard for No. 10. His two absorbing interests are to lead the Conservative Party to victory at the next election and to finish his books.

Those closest to him say, however, that apart from these abiding desires a certain change has recently come over him. He does not want to be Prime Minister for long. He would like it for a short time and then for victory to be followed by a dukedom and literature.

Whether the Crown would be enthusiastic about creating a new duke is doubtful. The Crown will, of course, be advised in the matter, and, if Mr. Churchill becomes Prime Minister, it is primarily his influence which will affect the advice given to the Crown on this subject.

Whether one thinks the policies Mr. Churchill has sponsored have been right or wrong, no one can possibly deny his enormous historical importance. He has not only proved one of the most important influences in 20th century affairs but one of the most important in very many countries. If on this ground alone he doesn't qualify for a dukedom it is hard to know who ever will, and certainly if one compares his qualifications for ducal splendours with some of those upon whom dukedoms were conferred in the past there can be no argument about it at all.

All this, however, will much depend on what happens if and when Mr. Churchill returns to No. 10. If he found himself Prime Minister in a time of major world crisis it is quite likely that, if health permitted, he would yet find power still more attractive than a dukedom and the library.

He always visibly improves physically at times of major crisis and while the body stands the strain that will probably continue to be so.

In the meantime he remains the most important living Englishman, and brings to the political party of which he is the leader all the advantages and all the risks which such paramountcy involves. And it holds very many of both.

THE FAR EAST CRISIS

All over the east there is war—relentless, bloody, sordid. The human suffering is beyond description and almost beyond imagination. To the 500,000 Arabs expelled from Israelite Palestine can be added 6,000,000 Moslems in Pakistan, 4,000,000 Hindus in India, and 55,000,000 refugees in China. Mass movements of wretched humanity have taken place on an unprecedented

scale. Asia is faced with the greatest tragedy in history. The evidence of the total failure of human government is complete and irrefutable. Something more than a cold war is going on in Asia. It is real war thinly disguised as civil or guerilla warfare. Most of it could be stopped by one word from Moscow.

In broad terms, Russia controls Manchuria, part of northern China, areas in southern China, and northern Korea. The remaining territorities are, some in greater some in less degree, within the Anglo-Saxon sphere of influence. Russia is powerful on land; the Anglo-Saxons are unchallenged and unchallengable at sea and are trying to defend those areas that can be largely controlled or influenced by sea power.

The war in the east is fast spreading. The strategy of the Anglo-Saxon Powers must be one of war. Defensive war maybe—but war nevertheless. Anything short of this would be supreme folly.

Before we can consider anything in the nature of an offensive the defensive strategy must be planned.

First, we must at all costs defend for as long as possible the south-east Asia area and contain the Russians north and west of the China Sea. This can be done only if the Kuomintang forces get enough help to hold the line of the Yangtse from Shanghai to Chungking. Failure to hold this line would create a grave threat to Singapore and probably make Hong Kong untenable.

The other defensive line runs from Japan, dangerously outflanked by the folly of letting the Russians have the naval base of Paramushiro, south of Formosa, and from there to Hong Kong and the Philippines. At least, Japan, Formosa and the Philippines must be held.

Already we are practically on the line immediately behind which some of our most vital interests lie. There is very little margin of safety. One more forward step by the Russians would be very serious indeed.

THE FAR EASTERN WAR BEING LOST

If we face the facts fairly and squarely—and to do otherwise would be a great folly—it must be admitted that we are losing this eastern war because of past mistakes and present blunders. We are failing either to inspire trust and confidence in our friends or to intimidate our enemies. Satisfied with some slight though often disturbed progress in western Europe we almost forget that there is another front on which the enemy is winning hands down. In Moscow there is leadership and a clear objective. In the Anglo-Saxon world there is little of either.

True, we have the atom bomb, which Mr. Churchill has recently described as the only thing which stands between Europe and complete subjugation to Communist tyranny. But it is possible to travel from Damascus to Shanghai without hearing it once mentioned. It is a very unpleasant prospect to small crowded Europe and highly urbanised America, but seems less gruesome to those who live in vast Asia.

In Asia the weapons are the fifth column, infiltration, civil war, religious strife, pseudo nationalist uprisings, the clash of white and colour. In all these things Russia is vastly our superior.

THE NEED FOR ACTION

The first step should be to provide against the loss of Asia with all its wealth and power by replacing it as fast as possible. The only way to do this and at the same time to build up a solid base from which to re-establish the Asiatic positions which it may now be too late to save is by developing Africa on a tremendous scale.

Review of World Affairs has written a great deal about Africa during the last eighteen months. *The speedy opening up and development of the African continent is the most important thing in the world today.* The private individual must show enterprise and help by investment of personal fortune when governments are too indolent to act. Such enterprise will not only help to save the west, but will bring great profit to the investors. On the speed and energy with which we act may well depend the future of western civilisation and the future liberation of Asia.

Equally urgent is the making of a firm alliance between the Anglo-Saxon Powers and the Moslem world.

We must also press on with the rehabilitation of Japan and support the Dutch with every available resource in the East Indies. Russian paramountcy in Japan and the Netherlands Indies would be fatal to our Asiatic positions.

TWO PEARL HARBOURS ?

We cannot do better than to introduce the reports that follow in the words of our special observer as he wrote his last dispatch at the end of the journey across the world during which he has sent us such valuable, vital information.

" The 'plane is coming down and on the horizon appears the island of Oahu in the Hawaiian group. On it is the capital, Honolulu, the picture postcard city, the delight of tourists, all complete with surf bathing on Waikiki beach and Hula-Hula girls. But is has also the grim base of Pearl Harbour, where on a Sunday morning in December, 1941, America had to pay the bitter price of over optimism and over confidence. I just wonder ; do we really need two Pearl Harbours in the same generation ? "

THE CHINA OF CHIANG-KAI-SHEK

THE CHINESE CHARACTER

China is a baffling country. There is no nation in the world of which it is harder to predict the course of events. To a European the Chinese are an exasperating people. They live in a world of dreams, remote from fact, devoid of logic and regardless of time. They dislike nothing more than a clear outline. Living in a sort of vague eternity the Chinese asks little of life, and death has few terrors.

The Chinese are extreme nationalists in the sense that they hate foreigners of all kinds. They have a strong inferiority complex and feel that they suffered many injustices from Europeans in the nineteenth century. At the same time, they are not patriots. There is very little sense of public duty and practically none of national solidarity. The only unreservedly accepted obligation is to the family to which the Chinese is completely devoted.

Besides these, there are some very attractive characteristics. The Chinese is a hard worker and if the barrier—partly distrust and partly shyness—can be broken down he is friendly, kind and sincere.

THE POWER OF ABSORPTION

China has an unparalleled power of absorption against which there is no defence. Any foreigner who stays there too long becomes mentally Chinese. This remarkable fact should always be considered in the case of diplomatic appointments. The diplomat who stays too long begins to behave and think like the Chinese and becomes useless to his own country.

It is this unique and potent atmosphere that has enabled China, despite all her weakness, to remain herself ; challenged but unchanged ; subject but triumphant. It is a striking fact that the Japanese armies which surrendered in 1945 were no longer Japanese in thought or outlook. They had lost their efficiency and their drive. Any invading force or ideology is transitory. In due course it will be absorbed.

SOME EFFECTS OF WAR

The long civil war has brought about enormous movements of population. There are 55 million refugees. Most of them are students or farmers, completely out of their depth in new surroundings. A few weeks ago our observer saw some of these unfortunate people arriving as return cargo of the airlift to besieged northern cities. They were arriving in overloaded aircraft bringing, at best, a small bundle. Herded together, with nowhere to go, but still patient and smiling, they lie down and sleep where they can, living on the pittances of private charity.

In the Celestial Temple of Peiping our observer saw 2,000 refugee students from Changchun—young men from 14 to 18. The Temple is open to all winds; the rain can sweep every part of it. There they sleep on the floor. There are no washing or sanitary facilities and no cooking arrangements. The filth is indescribable. Hungry and cold, they still go on with their studies. And there are far more miserable sights than this.

The evacuation arrangements from the besieged towns are scandalous. Besides his fare the refugee has to pay graft for the right to buy a ticket. Payment must be in gold. Often the last belongings are sold to get the gold.

THE AIR OF EXPECTANCY

There is something more than a feeling of desperation in China. There is an indefinable air of expectancy; a groping for spiritual, economic and political change—revival, call it what you will. This strange feeling that somehow or other the human family is approaching a climax is not felt only in China. Stories of similar thoughts come in from many lands. There is an awaiting—as if for some long promised sign—though these great Asiatic masses do not know what it is to which they look.

One feels that this long suffering people has reached the limits of patience and endurance. Even the slogan of foreign guilt is ceasing to be axiomatic. They wait for something new—something they cannot explain and of which they see only a faint gleam.

In such an atmosphere there is a tremendous, unprecedented chance for the Christian Gospel. If ever in history there was a weary and heavy laden people it is in China today.

It is certain that some man or power will step in and canalize the Chinese

forces to lead them in some definite direction; a formidable power indeed for good or ill.

THE GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The issue between Chiang-Kai-shek's Nationalists and Mao-Tse-tung's Communists was not always quite so clear as now. Chiang's régime was partly founded on Communist help against other war lords. Mao-Tse-tung's army was, originally, not wholly Communist although its Commanders were. There is still a certain amount of desertion from one side to the other although it is getting less. It is foreign intervention which has made the alignments less obscure and given the whole affair international implications.

There are no clearly defined fronts. There are large areas in which the opposing forces are not in contact. The country, however, is divided into hostile zones of influence. Whenever troops meet there is a fight and there is a great deal of guerilla warfare and bandit activity. From time to time one side or the other starts a large scale action, there is something like a modern battle and an important position changes hands. Then the situation is stabilised for a time.

Trade and communications are not necessarily wholly interrupted. Most of the goods shipped from the Nationalist port of Tsingtao come from its Communist hinterland.

NORTH OF THE YANGTSE

North of the Yangtse the Nationalists are in a desperate situation. Their positions consist only of pockets of resistance and a few larger areas just north of the river. In the extreme west the Province of Singkiang is still partly Nationalist but its western part is occupied by a Communist army, 50,000 strong, armed and equipped by the Soviet Government.

The western Moslem Province of Ningsia is still nominally loyal to Chiang-Kai-shek, although its army of 50,000 is under independent command. There are rumours that the Soviet forces from Singkiang are about to invade Ningsia. If they do, they should be able to take the Province.

In the north, the Peiping-Tientsin and Tsingtao areas are fairly easily provisioned from the sea although there are food shortages.

Most military observers are agreed that, unless there is some unexpected change during the next few weeks, within nine months the Communists will get control of all China north of the Yangtse except perhaps Tsingtao. Tsingtao is an American naval base and the Communists will hardly dare to attack it.

SOUTH OF THE YANGTSE

South of the Yangtse the situation is about reversed. The Nationalists hold roughly two-thirds of the country. The Communists occupy only rural areas but this enables them to interfere with communications as far south as Canton which is cut off by road and rail from Hong Kong.

Intelligence reports say that the Communists will soon be strong enough to start still more large scale offensives. The immediate strategic objective will be to cut off the Province of Szechwan from the rest of China along the border between Hupeh and Szechwan. The fall of the great granary of Szechwan would mean starvation for Nationalist China.

The Communists will have to cross the Yangtse between Hankow and Chungking, probably around Wahsien or Ichang. Once this is achieved the advance becomes easier. The next and last main objective will be Kunming (formerly Yunnanfu) in Yun Nan Province. Kunming is the centre of south China's communications, the head of the railway to French Indo-China, and has road communication to Burma. There is an excellent airport.

Once Kunming has been taken the defeat of Nationalist China will be complete and the road to Singapore open. Any move to implement this strategy is something more than just another move in the long Chinese Civil War. It will affect the whole of the Far East.

At the end of the Japanese war Marshal Chiang-Kai-shek had 39 divisions fully trained and equipped by the U.S.A.—the finest army in Asia. Since then there has been considerable deterioration and a great deal of desertion to the Communists. The Nationalist Government also had a billion dollars of hard currency every cent of which has gone.

THE GENERALS

Most of the Generals are incompetent and undisciplined. Administrative corruption extends even to the withholding of soldiers' pay. One defeat after another has caused general demoralization. A great part of the army is now little more than a disorganised horde.

Recruiting methods do nothing to improve things. In one Chinese town our observer saw some "volunteers" being brought in for training. They were manacled and chained to one another and accompanied by an armed guard. In theory military service in the National Army is compulsory, but there is no recruiting organisation.

If a General needs troops he simply sends the police to convenient villages from which they carry off any young men they can lay hands on. A regular payment to the police will buy immunity from these press gangs.

The Generals recruit and organise their own armies and arm and pay their troops with funds provided by the Government. The result is that they greatly exaggerate the strength of their forces.

There is one exception to this deplorable state of affairs—General Fu-Tso-yi's Peiping army. This General, still rooted in the old Imperialist tradition, is really honest. He leads a spartan life, disciplines his officers and cares for his troops. His army is well armed and equipped and is giving a good account of itself.

The Nationalists' greatest asset is their air force. Organised and trained by Americans it still has air superiority. Another promising aspect is the presence of an American advisory group of 2,000, which is training troops, the navy and the air force. These Americans are first-class soldiers and, given time, they may make great improvements.

One other thing should be said about the Generals. They do not lack courage. Once defeat seems inevitable these old war lords will stay at their posts. Many an incompetent and dishonest old reprobate has, at the last, redeemed himself by knowing how to die with his troops.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Nationalist China's economic situation is chaotic almost beyond description.

Graft, corruption and gross mismanagement added to the war with Japan and the civil war have created black chaos.

Food distribution is completely disorganised ; foreign trade figures are quite unreliable ; public accounting is almost non-existent.

The stubborn nationalism of the last twenty-five years has displaced most of the old foreign mercantile influences—with disastrous results. They have proved irreplaceable.

The financial adjustments of last August were accompanied in Shanghai, the financial heart of China, by a reign of terror under the guise of economic reform. The Military Governor of Shanghai is Major General Chiang-Ching-kuo, second son of Chiang-Kai-shek. In the days of Chiang-Kai-shek's Communist associations his son was educated in Russia and married a Russian woman. He has strong Communist sympathies and is using his position to put his theories into practice.

In the disguise of black market prosecutions there is persistent persecution of anyone of wealth or position in Shanghai. Arbitrary arrests, and imprisonments under deplorable conditions occur daily. Respected Chinese merchants have been executed on trifling charges.

Some observers think that General Chiang-Ching-kuo is preparing to be received into the Communist Party and by so doing to conserve the vast wealth his family has amassed. Others say that his father is going back to his old ideas, but leaving his son to put them into practice. Whatever the truth may be it is a fact that Chiang-Kai-shek is losing the support of powerful interests in Shanghai which are the very basis of his power.

THE DANGERS FROM ECONOMIC CHAOS

Failure of the financial reforms means China for the Communists. Most experts say that they cannot succeed. Besides the civil war the main reasons for the inflation were graft, fantastic budgets and widespread embezzlement of taxes. Taxation is high, but most of the taxes get no further than the local authorities or the provincial war lords. This year only five per cent. of the budget is covered by tax returns although in some provinces taxes have been collected 65 years in advance ! The rest of the budget will have to be met by the printing press. State credit is almost nil.

Already, only a few weeks after its introduction, the gold yuan was being sold in Tientsin on September 25th, at 5.80 to the dollar against the official rate of 4. Now it has had to be devalued.

Price control has completely failed. It is enforced only when the police are present. In Nanking meat can be bought only before 7 a.m. at black market prices. After that hour when the police come on the scene no meat is obtainable.

The basis of Chinese economy is the land, from which 80 per cent. of the population get their living. They are excellent farmers. It is in the land that one finds the real roots of China's social and economic troubles. Three basic measures need to be taken.

First, reafforestation, and flood regulation. The two are closely connected. As the result of widespread destruction of forest land the rivers carry away much of the best soil and silting causes floods.

Secondly, transport. Lack of inland transport gives rise to small, self-contained communities and proper food distribution is impossible.

Thirdly, rural administration. At present, villages are run by the biggest farmer or the landlord. He is mayor, judge, policeman and banker. The small farmers are completely at his mercy and have practically no contact with the provincial authorities. If the landlord is bad, as he often is, he can disrupt the whole economy of the area. A proper rural administration with professional public servants is badly needed.

The Chinese are very clever merchants but shockingly bad industrialists. They make excellent technicians but have few great industrial leaders. There is no future for Chinese industry on a big scale except under foreign management. This is the one thing the Chinese are trying to prevent.

At the same time they are trying to persuade the great Powers to prohibit the industrial rehabilitation of Japan. To give in to such demands would be the greatest mistake. The economic stability of the whole Far East is impossible without industries. Japan is the only country commercially capable of running them without outside control.

China has great mineral resources. There is good coal in the north, and lignite in the south. There are copper, iron ore, tungsten and molybdenum. These and other minerals can be developed only by foreign capital and under foreign management.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

With a few democratic trappings Nationalist China is an absolute dictatorship of the Kuomintang Party. The Young China Party and the Democratic Socialists have no substantial following and no outstanding leaders. Marshal Li's Democratic Peace League has been outlawed.

Last year's elections ended in complete confusion. There was no proper register. The National Assembly is a farce.

While the power in Nationalist China is with the Kuomintang, the Communists undoubtedly have a small majority amongst the people. The Communist Party, well organised and financed, is recruited mainly from university students, farmers and shopkeepers.

THE SOURCES OF POWER OF THE KUOMINTANG

The Kuomintang is quite unlike any European political party. It is based on patronage and is really directed by a loose coalition of two families and four main cliques.

The most important of the cliques is the Central Club, an organisation of landlords grouped round the Farmers' Bank. It has complete financial power in the rural areas, is strongly opposed to industrialisation and hates all foreigners. It is headed by the two Cheng brothers. Cheng-Li-fu, vice-President of the Legislative Yuan, is a man of considerable influence but not so powerful as Cheng-Ko-fu, President of the Farmers' Bank. These two brothers are probably the most able and powerful men in Nanking.

Second is the Wangpo military group based on some of the war lords and staff officers. Third is the group consisting of the Soong, Kung and Chiang families. Finally there is a Liberal group composed mostly of Chinese who have lived abroad and want to introduce certain reforms so long as these do not interfere too much with the existing fabric of Chinese life and society. They remember that tucked away somewhere in the Kuomintang archives is a liberal policy. They have comparatively little influence.

The two ruling families are the Chengs and the Soongs. They represent agrarian feudal interests and big capitalism respectively. The Chengs indulge in very little ordinary graft, relying mainly on the financial jugglings of the Farmers' Bank.

THE SOONGS

The Soongs are a remarkable family. One of the three sisters married Sun-Yat-sen and made the family fortunes. The other two married Chiang-Kai-shek and H. H. Kung, formerly Finance Minister, and made their husbands' fortunes. Of the two brothers T. V. Soong is Governor of Canton and has held several ministerial posts. He is a pleasant man to talk to but lives in a profuse magnificence which is an insult to the surrounding poverty. His wealth has been estimated as high as 65 million U.S. dollars—most of it safely abroad. The whole of his fortunes have been made during his political career. Were is not for the existence of H. H. Kung, his brother-in-law, T. V. Soong would be the most hated man in China. Kung is a most unpleasant man and even richer than Soong, having started his political career with nothing.

T. R. Soong is much less obtrusive than his brother, but in a quiet way has done very well for himself.

In between the rivalries of the Soongs and the Chengs stands Chiang-Kai-shek. Although married to a Soong he is said to have some sentimental attachment to one of the Cheng girls. The famous Madame Chiang has very little influence today. Her advice is no longer asked for or accepted.

THE POPULARITY OF CHIANG

Marshal Chiang is very popular in the south and loathed in the north, even in the Nationalist cities. It is said that he does not embezzle public funds and profits from his position only to what is regarded as a reasonable extent. What is difficult to understand is how, with his own ethical standards, he can tolerate the incompetent and corrupt people who surround him.

The corruption and graft from top to bottom of the whole Administration, from Cabinet Minister down to Government Office coolie, is almost unbelievable. There is nothing else like it in the world.

Perhaps Marshal Chiang's greatest weakness is his opinion of himself. He meddles with a great many things of which he understands little or nothing and tries to run most of the Government departments as well as the military operations. The result is all round confusion.

Nevertheless, there is no present alternative to Chiang's régime except the Communist party.

A MISTAKE

It was a cardinal error to encourage the Chinese to think that they had won the war and to make them one of the Big Five. The result has been that they grossly overestimate their own position in the world and try to play at Power politics.

POLITICAL INTRIGUES AT HOME AND ABROAD

The gap between Communists and Nationalists is by no means so wide as it appears. Although the Communists will not deal with Chiang-Kai-shek, whom

they regard as a renegade, the bridges between the parties are not completely broken. A rapprochement, with its international implications, cannot be wholly excluded.

Nanking is working overtime to improve its relations with the Soviet Union while appearing to keep in step with American foreign policy. A secret agreement has recently been made with Moscow to forbid any but Chinese or Russian aircraft to fly over Singkiang.

Despite Soviet backing of the Communists there is still a large Russian diplomatic and consular representation in Nationalist China. Mr. Roshine, the Soviet Ambassador—M.V.D. trained—is a very able man. Formerly Military Attaché in China, he now heads all the fifth column and M.V.D. work in close co-operation with Pavel Erzine in New Delhi.

The Nanking Embassy has a staff of 40 and the Shanghai Consulate a staff of 250. At the Peiping Consulate there are 8 Russian military experts. All these places are centres of active espionage. The Russian staffs are mostly Asiatic. They have large funds and plenty of gold, much of which is spent in bribes to Government officials.

A very reliable observer tells us that the most secret discussions of Chiang-Kai-shek and his Cabinet are known in detail to the Soviet Embassy within six hours. The whole Chinese Administration is honeycombed with Russian spies.

THE AMBITION OF CHINA

The basic ambition of Chinese policy, quite unjustified by the present conduct of government, is to assume the leading role in east Asia and to unite the Far East by the elimination of European and American influences. Chiang-Kai-shek's régime must be one of the worst in history. It is these two unpalatable facts that must be faced in framing a practical policy towards China.

Russian domination of China, however, can be forestalled only by massive and liberal military aid to the Nationalist Government. The foreign advisory and training groups should be greatly increased in scope and size.

THE NEED FOR SUPERVISORS

Economic help should be given only under the strictest supervision, otherwise it will merely go to swell the fortunes of the Kuomintang leaders and Government officials. Credits on any other terms would be thoroughly bad for the Chinese and a dead loss to the creditors.

Once the Communist danger is removed the Anglo-Saxon Powers should use the strongest pressure to clean up the whole Chinese administration so that the Chinese people with all their great qualities can have a chance to create a free and prosperous nation.

BEHIND THE COMMUNIST LINES

The Communist areas have a grim atmosphere. People have learned that it is wise to keep one's mouth shut under the régime of liberation. While it is true that were free elections possible the Communists would get a majority in the Nationalist areas, it is equally certain that in the Communist Provinces the Kuomintang would get a substantial majority.

The Communist leaders make no pretence at being a democratic majority party. They are organising an elite amongst the young and some of the peasants who have had grants of land. There are Communist schools in every village. Every hostile influence is suppressed.

Public trials are staged. The landlord, the policeman, the missionary, the Kuomintang leader, are the victims. They almost invariably confess that under the orders of American agents in Nanking they have been plotting to deprive the peasants of land. A justiciary of Moscow-trained specialists goes on circuit. Accused persons undergo severe physical and moral torture, and it is not until they have agreed to plead guilty and submit to public execution that trial takes place.

PARTY ORGANISATION—THE RUSSIAN PATTERN

The Chinese Communist Party is organised on a strictly Russian pattern. Indoctrination is on traditional Marxian lines. All teaching is based on Russian text books. Every twist and turn of Soviet policy is followed unquestioningly. The Press was loud in its denunciation of Tito's deviationism.

It is quite untrue to say that these people are merely agrarian reformers and not really Communists. There are, it is true, men who are there just because they dislike the Kuomintang and want land reform, but the command is exclusively in Communist hands; their Press and propaganda are strictly orthodox; they comply with every Russian order and are fighting in harmony with Soviet foreign policy.

THE COMMUNIST HIERARCHY

Tough, Moscow-trained General Mao-Tse-tung is not only head of the Chinese Communist hierarchy but, since July, has been in charge of the whole south-east Asia area. There are rumours, however, that he is not in quite such high favour with Moscow as he was. His chief political assistant is General Chu-En-lai, formerly in charge of the negotiations with the Nationalist Government.

Military operations are under the direction of General Chu-Teh, a war lord and former Nationalist General. He is one of the best Generals in China and one of the few people for whom Chiang-Kai-shek has considerable respect. Last year he personally directed his troops from a stretcher right in the front line. His soldiers idolise him. Owing to his declining health Chu-Teh has delegated the northern command to the also very able General Lin-Piao. Both Generals have a swarm of Russian advisers who try to keep in the background.

THE ARMY

The morale of the Communist armies is much higher than that of the Nationalists. While Nationalist troops are still deserting—the battle of Tsinan was lost by the desertion to the Communists of a whole division—the reverse is not happening on any big scale.

In fighting spirit and tactics the Communists are superior.

They have first class officers, many of them Japanese who volunteered from Russian prison camps. Many of the Chinese officers are Russian trained.

The training of troops is, by Chinese standards, good.

When the Japanese surrendered they had arms and equipment for 52 divisions stored in Manchuria. The Russians allowed the Chinese Communists to take the whole lot. Mobile repair units, Russian manned, have been sent from the U.S.S.R. Some Russian tanks have been seen recently. The Communists now have superiority in arms and equipment. They can get all they need from Russia.

Air inferiority is probably only temporary. Yak fighters and transport aircraft are becoming available and the Russians seem to be reconditioning some Japanese Zeros for use against the Nationalist air lift. Soviet officers are training 600 Chinese pilots at the Jamusau airfield, 165 km. north of Mukden. If the Communists can produce substantial air support for an attempted crossing of the Yangtse the effect may be decisive.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

In the Communist areas missionary work is effectively banned. Religious schools have been closed and many missionaries imprisoned, tortured and killed. Church property has been confiscated on the most flimsy pretexts. Mao-Tse-tung has said that he will not rest until religion has been eradicated from China. Even so he has been criticised by some of the younger Communists who want to see more blood and faster work.

COMMUNIST PLANS

The Communists make no great secret of their plans. Mao-Tse-tung hopes to have the whole north well in hand by the end of March 1949. By that time he should be well able to try the crossing of the Yangtse.

Political plans are well advanced for the setting up of a Chinese National Unity Government under Communist control but with a window dressing of "democratic" statesmen—the usual Soviet satellite pattern.

When such a Government is announced it will be the sign that a big military push to the south is imminent.

The Chinese Communists are very confident and they are looking beyond the conquest of China. They say that when general war comes they will have to bear the brunt of the Far Eastern campaign. It is for this that, under Russian directives, they are preparing. Events in China should be watched very closely. They are a good indication of Soviet intentions in a wider sphere.

KOREA—A DESPERATE SITUATION

Korea is in a desperate situation. The people are passionately patriotic but politically immature. Their leaders are honest old-fashioned patriots, but hopelessly out of touch with realities. The two outstanding personalities, Dr. Syngman Rhee and the old revolutionary, Dr. Kim Koo, are honest to a degree but have not a scrap of political sense.

POLITICAL BLUNDERS

Lieut.-General John R. Hodge, commanding the American forces of occupation, was a most unfortunate choice. He is an excellent fighting soldier but tactless and dictatorial. He thought that he could run Korea exactly as he

pleased. He knew nothing about the country and while his admirers say that he has learned a lot by trial and error, other observers say that there has been a lot of error and very little trial. He has surrounded himself with incapable mediocrities.

With their old revolutionary traditions and passion for freedom the leading Koreans refused to cooperate with General Hodge whereupon he went so far as to refuse to allow Syngman Rhee to enter the country after his forty years of exile by the Japanese. Only the personal intervention of Chiang-Kai-shek got Rhee leave to return to Korea.

Next, General Hodge tried to force the national leaders to accept a United Nations trusteeship and a coalition with the Communists. This they absolutely refused and the breach with the American authorities became complete. Kim Koo lost his head and went over to the Russians. They had promised the Koreans a government. Syngman Rhee went into retirement.

In the meantime the Russians built up a Communist army of about 100,000 men equipped with Russian and Japanese arms, nominally commanded by Koreans but, in fact, by Russians.

It is on this army that the Pyongyang (capital of northern Korea) Government is based and purports to represent the whole of Korea.

In view of these happenings in the north General Hodge decided at last to call elections in the south at which Dr. Syngman Rhee's party was overwhelmingly returned.

SOUTHERN KOREA IN DANGER

Southern Korea is in a very serious position. The northern Communists are so well armed that in the event of a political union between north and south they would completely control the country. The American occupation, which could have been highly successful, is strongly resented by southern Koreans. Russian offers of evacuation to be followed by a united, independent Korea are being listened to by a people who feel that they would rather have an independent Communist Korea than a divided country. The northern leaders, mostly Moscow trained, are playing their cards very skilfully.

In the event of war the small American garrison could be overrun in a few hours. Syngman Rhee's Government has practically no armed force. Korea is strategically important to the Russians in relation to Japan. From it U.S. bases in Japan could easily be bombed.

The country is surrounded by Communist controlled territory. In present conditions it is indefensible. The whole situation has been badly mishandled.

JAPAN—AN ENCOURAGING SITUATION

The situation in Japan is entirely different. It is hard to imagine a better appointment than that of General MacArthur. With pleasant manners and a commanding presence together with an appreciation of the value of the right word or gesture at the right moment, MacArthur has won the hearts of the Japanese. He has succeeded in getting the cooperation of an influential group headed by the Emperor Hirohito.

The Emperor is immensely popular and is loved and trusted by the nation at large. Politicians come and go—the Emperor remains the real leader.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party is beginning to be dangerous, not because of its size but because of what it might do in case of war. Unfortunately Japanese Communists have been allowed to infiltrate into the Trade Unions. In organising the National Congress of Industrial Organisations they have been able to get some influence over non-Communists.

The registered membership of the Communist Party is 85,000 and there are 15,000 secret members who are the real backbone. Everywhere there are secret cells and American intelligence officers admit privately that the Communist Intelligence Service is most efficient. It often learns things that escape the Americans.

The purging of militarists has been of great help to the Communists. Under inter-allied agreement 120,000 school teachers were removed because of their militaristic mental attitude. Many of them were replaced by Communist Party members who now have a wide influence on the young. The same thing happened in many of the public services.

AGENTS AND LEADERS

A great many Communist agents cross over from the mainland. They disperse so quickly that it is almost impossible to trace them. They carry perfectly forged papers prepared by a party member in the Japanese administration. The Communist underground is much stronger than most people suppose.

The three leaders are Sanso Nosaka, a clever political theorist ; Yoshio Shiga, chief of propaganda ; and Kyuichi Tokuda, a professional agitator and revolutionary, Secretary-General of the Party. All three have had thorough training in Moscow and are determined and fearless. In the event of war they would be a dangerous trio.

RECONSTRUCTION

The reconstruction of Japan is going ahead. The people are working really hard.

The Japanese realise that their only hope for a reasonable future is in alliance with the western Powers. There is no doubt at all as to which side Japan takes in the world conflict. She is the only nation in Asia which can decisively alter the present balance of power in the east.

It is, in any case, illusory to imagine that Japan can be kept permanently in subjection. The great problem is over-population. The *only* solution is emigration. As soon as American help stops there will be starvation in Japan unless some outlet can be found for the surplus population. On the other hand, no one wants the Japanese.

There is great bitterness against Soviet Russia. Having declared war at the last moment and borne none of the burdens of the fighting in the east, the Russians still have 500,000 Japanese prisoners. Their families have never heard from them.

A CHRISTIAN JAPAN ?

The most encouraging thing in Japan is the turning towards Christianity. Conversions are steadily increasing. There are not enough missionaries to deal

with the crowds that want to hear the Christian Gospel. The Christianisation of Japan would have immeasurable results throughout the Far East.

The Japan Bible Society plans to distribute 10 million copies of the Scriptures during the next three years.

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY—AN INTIMATE NOTE

Since September, 1947, the Empress has been having weekly Bible lessons. Almost, she is persuaded to be a Christian. The three Princesses are also having Bible teaching and are deeply interested. There is a report that the Emperor is having Christian instruction.

SOVIET STRATEGY—SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS

As we go to press we learn from a very high and reliable source that the Russians are making extensive preparations for war in the Arctic. It is one of the biggest things they have ever undertaken. It is quite clear that they regard it as supremely important.

Their air force is second to none. All the technical difficulties connected with their striking force have been overcome.

When Stalin saw Berlin he sent for those who had told him that strategic back area bombing was of little value. He was extremely angry—in fact he made a violent scene.

Since then tremendous resources have been concentrated on building up air power. It is almost possible that some of their bombers can be loaded with atom bombs.

This is of outstanding import to every consideration of world strategy.

. . . .

Besides Stalin the most important men in the Soviet Union are now Andreyev[1] and Malenkov.

THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A political crisis of the first importance threatens Iraq and Egypt. The people have not been told the truth about the military situation in Palestine; news has been deliberately falsified.

When the truth comes out—as it must—the results will be serious. There will be grave political reactions from which Soviet intrigues will make considerable profit.

LORD WOOLTON

An observer in the United States tells us that Lord Woolton was one of the few people with the acumen to forecast President Truman's victory.

[1] See *Review of World Affairs*, February 1948.

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To: The Directors of International House
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I have known Miss Helen Boardman for a number of years. Between 1920 and 1930 she was connected with my work as editor of the Crisis and served very acceptably. I regarded her as a woman of integrity and ability. Since 1930 I have not seen much of her as she has been living outside of New York, but I have every reason to believe that she would be a suitable inmate of International House.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

ALFRED W. PARKER
International Relations Service
609 Santa Ray Avenue
Oakland 10, California, U. S. A.

[INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SERVICE, 1948]

THE DECLARATION OF PEACE.

Three years ago to-day -- this very morning -- the inhabitants of Hiroshima and its neighbourhood had a most terrible experience. No sooner had they seen an enormous flash-light like lightning come down trailing mysteriously from a corner of the sky than they were startled by the tremendous sound of terrific explosions. And in the twinkling of an eye, this historic town of nearly four hundred thousand souls was blasted and shattered to pieces. The terrible atom bomb had done its work! The whole town was razed to the ground. There was nothing left but ruin and disaster all around the city. No one can give a full account of the awful sufferings and grievous miseries this single bomb brought to the living as well as to dying, while more than one thousand hundred innocent people lost their lives on that occasion. The fear and trembling we experienced are, indeed, quite beyond description.

To-day, however, suppressing deep sighs and mournful sobs, we, the survivivors, have come together to meet on this spot to have a commemoration service of this memorable event in order to renew our solemn vows to contribute our bit to the peace of the world. We are already determined to do our best for this purpose by faithfully discharging our own duties at our posts, wherever we may be. We are convinced that such is the most appropriate way of consoling the dead and their bereaved families.

With regard to war, we must say that a war of any kind is, at its best, inhuman and destructive by nature, only disgracing humanity with the ostentatious name of patriotism. Needless to say, nothing so wastes human lives and precious materials as war, while it destroys the moral life of the people whether they are belligerent or not. And very often one war begets another which is still more dangerous and far more destructive.

Such being the case, we, solemnly declare here that the peace of the world will never come out of the bellicose spirit of people, and that the development of armaments, however perfect, will never bring the peace of the world. Anything worthy of the peace of the world will come only out of the national awakening against retaliation principles on one hand, and the nation-wide movement of laying down arms at any cost, on the other. It is, therefore, our bounden duty to do our very best to permeate these fundamental thoughts and principles of peace throughout the world.

The New Japan, to which we now belong, declares the renunciation of war in its Constitution in these words: "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes." And "We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honour to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources."

There may be some, however, who entertain apprehensions concerning the possible existence of a country without a single soldier or a single air-plane or man-of-war to defend itself. To those who quote that "the weak go to the wall", or "the strong will prey on the weak", we reply that this is not the destined end of History. History, as we understand it, is nothing but the mani-

festation of the Divine Will. Contrary to popular views, it teaches us very solemn lessons regarding both the development of Humanity and the progress of Freedom. It also teaches us that against God's Will no country or principality can exist. And to our great sorrow, we have learned the objective lesson too well this time by our complete defeat in the War.

Unlike Mercy which is said to bless "him that gave and him that received", the unmercifulness of war consists in the fact that suffering and misery are brought not only to the belligerent but to all mankind. Even the victorious suffer almost as much as the vanquished. Learning these serious lessons from History, we have now come to aspire to the international peace and to declare at home and abroad that "We have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of peace-loving peoples of the world." May God Almighty forbid that any country should wage war for war's sake on such a peace-loving nation! God in History will not suffer such an outrageous act to be done with impunity!

Various wonderful inventions and improvements recently made on the weapons of war — such as poison-gasses or atomic bombs — clearly show that all humanity might possibly be exterminated, suppose the belligerents should make free use of these deadly weapons. On the other hand, we are sure that if the same effort as is made in the line of warlike preparations were applied to the promotion and preservation of peace, the realization of the dream of world-wide peace would not be impossible at all.

Such being the case, it is not wrong to say that the essentially good elements of the Atomic Age could be harnessed to the benefit of man-kind in working for lasting peace. And if so, it is not too much for us to say that those lives which were sacrificed on the 6th of August, 1945, may not have been in vain! On these and other grounds, we, the people of Hiroshima are determined to observe most faithfully the provisions made in the New Constitution regarding international peace by keeping our hand absolutely off any kind of armaments. Thus in one and the same voice we declare to the world:

We will firmly believe in the Divine Will manifested in History and will trust in the justice and faith of peace-loving people of the world.

We will establish the noble ideals of true Peace on the Earth on one hand, and we will do our best to root out all sources of war and rumours thereof, renouncing war itself and all the terrors and evils thereof, on the other.

Hereby, with awe and reverence, we read this Declaration of Peace at the foot of the Memorial Tower of Peace at Hiroshima, on the 6th of August, 1948, he Third Anniversary of the First Advent of the Atomic Bomb.

Shinzo Hamai,
Mayor of Hiroshima City
President of Hiroshima Peace Society

ALFRED W. PARKER
International Relations Service
609 Santa Ray Avenue
Oakland 10, California, U. S. A.

[INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SERVICE]

830-39

Recommended For Resolutions On World Peace Day (August 6th)

Proclamation II

In this time of greatest danger for a new global war, the combined atomic-, gas-, and bacteriological war, let us combine our forces all over the world to prevent it, if possible. To further this great aim let us remember that there exists no question of more *hasty nature* than this one. The strained relations between the great nations, and the wide-spread disapproval of that peace which is no real peace more than three years after the suspension of hostilities can, at any time, cause the atomic-, gas-, and bacteriological war that all people fear.

Many bitter experiences show that half measures are no longer sufficient. Therefore, let us forget everything that may disunite and disjoin, and unite all over the world for an *immediate action*.

There is a forum where the desire of the peoples of all countries ought to be heard: the *United Nations Organisation*. Let us support the UNO in their endeavours for peace, and also join the International Peace Propaganda Campaign, started in Sweden, with the following aims:

1. Forming a *world opinion against war* to have it outlawed as the greatest crime of humanity.
2. Replacing war, injury, and violence with *Right and Law*, the same moral Laws for the Governments and States as for the individuals.
3. Demanding, consequently, the development of the UNO towards a *Federal World Government* with an International Judicial System, obligatory arbitration of all international conflicts, international disarmament under strict control, respect of the human rights, and of the rights of all peoples to freedom, independence, and security from want.
4. In the meantime, until this has been accomplished, taking immediate measures banning total war, atomic-, gas-, and bacteriological war.
5. Obliging through the pressure of a unanimous public opinion the statesmen to realize this program and to respect their own promises and declarations.

In Sweden 30 organisations and churches, representing more than three million people, have joined this International Peace Propaganda Campaign. Also in Norway, Denmark, and Finland the campaign has been most successful, and it has gained followers in many other countries both in Europe and on other continents.

Hereby we invite all organisations, the churches and all prominent persons, the youth, the women, especially the mothers, shortly all people to unite in this *speedy action for peace*.

We propose that all organisations and meetings that are willing to pass our resolutions, entirely or part of them, would send the signed resolutions and a letter to the UNO, as we have already done, urging for lasting peace, good relations between the nations, Right and Law in the international affairs.

On behalf of the Swedish Peace Campaign Committee.

Vera Robèrt-Åkesson *Birgitta Bellander* *E. Holger Eriksson* *Bertil Petersson*

(If you approve of this movement and are willing to take part in such a peace campaign in your country, please, support the campaign by undersigning this paper, and return it, as soon as possible, to Mrs. Vera Robèrt-Åkesson, Lidmansvägen 7, Västerås, Sweden, or to the Leader of the Peace Campaign in your own country.)

VÄSTMANLANDS ALLEHANDAS TR. VÄSTERÅS

ALFRED W. PARKER
International Relations Service
609 Santa Ray Avenue
Oakland 10, California, U. S. A.

Resolution II

The undersigned meeting, organisation, representing ..... persons members consider that there is a question that can rightly be called the life-and death question of humanity, i.e. the *existence* or *non-existence of warfare*. As it is the vital question just now of all human beings, it must be distinguished from all other questions and be solved ***before all other existing problems.***

To secure lasting peace through the United Nations and make the UNO Charter, instead of some valueless words on a paper, a *real protection of Right, Peace, and Good Will* between the Nations, we the members of the .....
Organisation (Meeting)

..... demand:
Place Country

1. The realization, in the nearest future, of *all the promises* of measures for the peoples' welfare given *in the U.N.O. Charter.*
2. *The outlawry of war* as the greatest crime of humanity, and all the measures that may be needed as a consequence of this step, among other things:
   a. The cessation of the armaments competition.
   b. International disarmament under strict supernational control.
3. The replacing of war, injury, and violence with *Right and Law,* the same moral Laws for the Governments and States as for the individuals.
4. The development of the UNO towards a *Federal World Government* with an *International Judicial System,* standing above the States, with obligatory arbitration of all international conflicts, respect of the new declaration of the human rights, and of the rights of all peoples to freedom, independence, and security from want.
5. In the meantime, until all this has been accomplished, the banning of total war, atomic-, gas-, and bacteriological war.

On behalf of the .....
Organisation (Meeting) Country

.....
Chairman

.....
Secretary General

VÄSTMANLANDS ALLEHANDAS TR.
VÄSTERÅS

[International Students Club of Colorado State ...]

Lecture
Between January-May 1949
Pending

29 July 1948
6426 - St. Lawrence Ave
Chicago 37, Illinois

Lect. cover

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
% University of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia

22-33-4/4

Dear Sir

The International Students Club of Colorado State College of Education of Greeley, Colorado, is contemplating a forum dealing with national and international affairs.

We believe you would be well-received as you are a well-knowned lecturer on the above subjects. We would be highly honored by your presences. Would you kindly send the needed information concerning fees and open dates. The forum season is scheduled to begin in January and ends in May.

If you answer after the first of September, would you please address the mail to:

Jaime McClendon
3214-18th St.
Greeley, Colorado.

Sincerely,

Jaime McClendon, pres.

[International Students Club of Colorado State]

2-33-45

September 24, 1948

Mr. James McClendon
324 14th Street
Greeley, Colorado

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of July 29, may I say th t my response was delayed by the fact that I am not sure that I will make a lecture tour next year.

However, it is possible and, if I do make a tour I could speak in Colorado on the 22,23, or 24th of March. My charge would be $150 which would include all expenses.

I can not give you a definite answer until sometime in January.

Very sincerely yours,

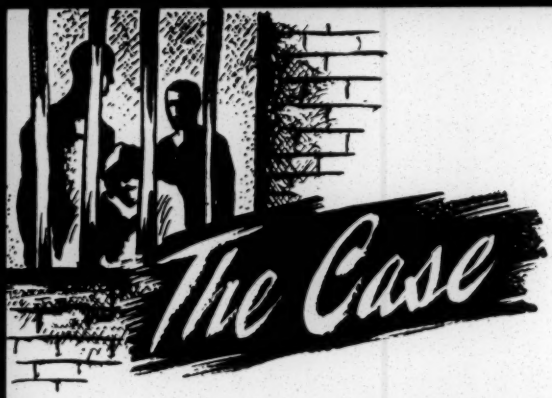
W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

32-1-1

suppose they were *YOURS*...

[INTERNATL WORKERS ORDER]



OF MRS. ROSA LEE INGRAM

symbolizes the brutality, inhumanity, and oppression of the Jim Crow system at its worst.

This widowed Negro mother of twelve, the youngest a little "crawler" of nineteen months, has been in jail since October 1947. Her story is known by many thousands of freedom-loving people all over the world.

After her husband died, Mrs. Ingram struggled to support her family by sharecropping a small farm near Ellaville, Georgia. One day her mules strayed onto a neighboring white farmer's land. This man, John Stratford, his mind twisted and warped with prejudice, grabbed his gun and came rushing out screaming, "Get those mules off my place, you ——," and began beating Mrs. Ingram around the head with the butt of his rifle. She tried to defend herself against this murderous attack, and two of her boys, Wallace and Samuel who were 15 and 13 years old, naturally rushed to help her. In the struggle Stratford was killed with his own gun. A clear case of self-defense.

Old folks say in Georgia: "A Negro has two chances, very little and none at all." And that's what faced Mrs. Ingram.

She was charged with murder and thrown into jail with five of her sons. They were held for three months and not allowed to see a lawyer until the morning of the trial. The trial lasted only six hours, the jury decided "guilty" and then MRS. INGRAM AND WALLACE AND SAMUEL WERE SENTENCED TO DIE BY THE GEORGIA JUDGE! One son was sent to the chain gang, and two younger boys were freed.

But that's only part of the story. Thousands of people all over America and Europe raised their voices in protest at this Jim Crow justice and the Court was forced to change the death sentence to life imprisonment for this mother and her two children.

Mrs. Ingram, with Wallace and Samuel, now lie in a Georgia prison and the fight for their freedom goes on.

The International Workers Order supports the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its legal fight to free Mrs. Ingram and her sons. The IWO, as the only interracial fraternal organization in the country, unites Negro and white in all its activities—in the fight against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, for the welfare, security and liberty of the people. In the tradition of our past fight for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, against the poll tax, against the lynchers, against Jim Crow and Jim Crow "justice," we stand united, Negro and white, in the fight for freedom and justice for the Ingram family.

We see that the tragedy that struck with such cruel force at the Ingram family is not just a personal thing, but a symbol of the increasing brutality which is being unloosed against the Negro people today to terrorize them, to keep them from taking their great part in the fight for peace and democracy. In a way, this notorious case of Jim Crow justice is a tribute from the white supremacists to the growing militancy of the Negro people.

As a fraternal organization, the International Workers Order feels it can make its contribution on the human side in this fight against Jim Crow. It was in this spirit that we brought two of Rosa Lee Ingram's sons to New York from Leslie, Georgia, where they had been living in two rooms with twelve members of their family. Charles and James Ingram, 17 and 12 years old, cannot read or write. They can't learn in Georgia, where school life is geared to a plantation economy, and they want to learn because they know that education makes a man unfit to be a slave. Mrs. Ingram, from her prison cell, has written letters pleading that her boys be given an education.

Charles and James Ingram have left their family and come

to these parts with two ideas—to speak for their mother's freedom and to gain an education.

The IWO has established THE INGRAM CHILDREN'S EDUCATION AND WELFARE FUND to make an education possible for Charles and James—the education that should have been theirs by right. Meetings have been organized in many cities to raise enough money to put these children through school.

Charles and James, young as they are, have spent three months in jail under a charge of "murder" and have seen their mother and brothers condemned to die for the crime of defending their lives. That experience has made them even more determined fighters of Jim Crow.

Will you help educate these young fighters for democracy? Will you help see to it that Charles and James Ingram receive the education that by right belongs to all American children?

Send in your money. Raise money in your Lodge between now and Christmas to guarantee a truly good New Year for these boys.

Send Checks and Money Orders to: Ingram Children's Education and Welfare Fund
International Workers Order
80 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

WALTER B. GARLAND	ESTELLE MASSEY OSBORNE
JUNE GORDON	LOUISE THOMPSON PATTERSON
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JOHN E. MIDDLETON	ESLANDE GOODE ROBESON
EDWARD NELSON	BENJAMIN J. SPAULDING

PAULINE TAYLOR

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION TODAY

INGRAM CHILDREN'S EDUCATION AND WELFARE FUND
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER
80 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

I enclose $..... for the education and welfare of the Ingram children.

Name.....

Address.....

Lodge No..... City..... Zone..... State.....

NEWS

Jill Ingram Case INTER. WORKERS ORDER

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER, Inc. 80 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 11, N. Y.

ALgonquin 4-7733

For Immediate release, please
July 30, 1948

Fraternal Order Brings Ingram
Children from Deep South for
Vacation at Camp Wo-Chi-Ca

The International Workers Order has brought two of the 12 Ingram children north from Leslie, Georgia. They are Charles Ingram, 17, and James Ingram, 12. The two youths will be given a two week vacation at the interracial IWO sponsored summer camp, Wo-Chi-Ca for children, as guests of the national group societies of the Order.

Their mother, Rosa Lee Ingram, and two of their brothers, Wallace, 16, and Sammie Lee, 14, are serving a life sentence on a trumped-up murder charge. The three were originally sentenced to die in the electric chair, February 26. But nation-wide protests brought a change in the sentence from death to life imprisonment.

This conviction by an all-white jury is now being appealed through the Georgia courts. The NAACP attorneys who are handling the legal aspects of the case have announced that they will carry the appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

Charles Ingram was an eye witness to the assault by John Stratford, a white farmer of Ellaville, Georgia, on Mrs. Ingram on November 4, 1947. He told reporters at the IWO office today that Stratford, who was found dead after Mrs. Ingram and her children had come to her rescue, had previously attacked his

mother twice, and had been repulsed in trying to have intimate relations with her.

"Mr. Stratford was mad at my mother," James declared. "That was the cause of all the trouble. He came up to her on November 4th, swearing and cursing and calling her bad names. He called her a "black-heifer".

"He was yelling about some mules he said were on his farm. He began beating my mother on the head with the butt end of his knife. My mother called to me to get the mules. Mr. Stratford ran away to get his gun. That is all I saw.

"My brothers told me that Mr. Stratford came back with his gun, and started again to beat my mother over the head so that she was bloody. Then they cameup to save her life. They saved her life, but Mr. Stratford was left dead.

"I was kept three months in jail. So was my younger brother James, and my other brothers. It wasn't a fair trial. They had only white people on the jury.

"My mother and brothers defended her life. In Georgia a Negro woman isn't supposed to say NO to a white man. And no Negro is allowed to raise a hand against a white man, even to save a mother's life.

"I was acquitted, but my mother and two brothers were sentenced to death. One other brother was given a year on the chain gang. He was supposed to have stolen Mr. Stratford's wallet.

"I saw my mother just before I left Georgia this week. She said to thank everybody for what they have done. She says please to help get her and the two boys out of jail.

"She wants to go back to the children. One baby is only two years old. He was a crawler when she went to jail. Now he walks a little."

James told reporters that Mr. Stratford had previously beaten him, too, and that he had been acting mean for a long while, ever since their father died last August.

Walter Garland, National Organizer of the IWO, declared,

"The conviction of a Negro mother and two children for defending her life in Georgia sums up the entire oppression of the Negro people in this country. The IWO has brought up two of the Ingram children to give them a vaction and to work with other organizations to rally public support for the freedom of the Ingram family."

23C-1/5

NEWS

(INTER. WORKERS ORDER)

For Immediate Release 8/19/48

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER, Inc. 80 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 11, N. Y.

ALgonquin 4-7733

IWO LAUNCHES DRIVE FOR EDUCATION
AND WELFARE OF INGRAM CHILDREN

The Eastern District Council of the International Workers Order has launched a campaign to raise funds for the education and care of the children of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram. Mrs. Ingram is the Negro mother of twelve children who, with two of her sons, is now serving a life sentence in Macon, Georgia for the self-defense slaying of a white sharecropper.

The International Workers Order supports the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its efforts to free Mrs. Ingram. As a fraternal benefit society, the IWO in addition is developing this campaign among its own members for the welfare of the Ingram children.

A series of tours throughout the country will be undertaken during this campaign and all funds received will be allotted for the education of Charles and James Ingram, who are 17 and 12 years old. The two boys were the guests of the IWO-sponsored interracial children's camp Wo-Chi-Ca in New Jersey, and a tutor has been secured for the older boy.

Several IWO lodges have already begun collecting funds in the campaign. The George Washington Carver lodge of Lackawanna, N.Y., comprised mainly of steel workers and their families, recently held a large meeting at the Ebenezer Baptist Church. Under the capable direction of Mrs. Genevieve Burse, Chairman and President of the lodge, with the assistance of Mrs. Clarise Cobb, a contribution of $73 was raised for the care and education of the Ingram children. After the meeting a reception was given in honor of Mrs. Amy Hunt, 79-year old mother of Mrs. Ingram.

IWO Lodge 782 in Buffalo, N.Y. also held a meeting at the Friendship Baptist Church, a leading church of Buffalo located in the heart of the Fourth Ward. William Holden, President of the lodge and Mrs. Anna Harris, a board member of the church, directed the meeting and contributions totalling $135 were collected. Representatives of the Hungarian Brotherhood, IWO, the Polonia Society, IWO, and the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, IWO, were present at the meeting. On the following evening Mrs. Hunt was honored at a reception given by the lodge members.

# # # # #

Form LH-4-PU—5M—9-47

[Inter-racial Council of Worcester, Mass.]

Special Event

INTER-RACIAL COUNCIL OF WORCESTER

presents

RAYMOND MORIN

one of our own members in an illustrated lecture on

"NEGRO MUSIC"

Monday, March 15, 1948, Friendship Room,
20 Elm Street at 7:30

Mr. Morin is music-critic for the Worcester Telegram. He has also written by-line articles on various musical subjects for the New York Herald Tribune, Musical Digest Magazine, Etude Magazine, Musical America, Southwestern Musician, and the New England Quarterly. His book: The Worcester Music Festival, Its Background and Story, was published in 1946 by the Worcester County Musical Association.

Negro music will be performed by Mrs. Blanche Fisher, soprano; accompanied by Miss Geraldine Robert of Boston. Benjamin Walker, pianist; Henry Monroe, pianist; and members of the choir of John Street Baptist Church, directed by Mrs. Geraldine Brisbane.

No charge for Admission to this Lecture-Concert.

DAVID KARLOFSKY, 15-year-old pianist

under the auspices of

INTER-RACIAL COUNCIL OF WORCESTER

Horticultural Hall

(corner Elm and Chestnut Streets)

Wednesday evening, April 7, 1948 at 8:30 P. M.

PROGRAM

Sonata in D minor, Opus 31, No. 2 . . . Beethoven

Largo, Allegro

Adagio

Allegretto

Four Waltzes . . . . . Brahms

Valse Triste . . . . . Sibelius

Spoon River . . . . . Grainger

Reflections in the Water . . . . . Debussy

March (from "The Love of Three Oranges") . . Prokofieff

Concerto in B-flat Minor (first movement) Tschaikowsky

Miss Mary V. Lynch at the second piano

Admission, $1.20

Tickets may be had from members of "Special Events Committee" and at Steinert's.

Inter-Racial Council of Worcester

FRANKLIN P. HALL, PH. D., CHAIRMAN
MRS. DANIEL FARBER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
JOHN S. LAWS, SECRETARY
MRS. LOUIS FRIEDBERG, TREASURER

HONORARY CO-CHAIRMEN
ELIZABETH M. CRAIGHEAD
MRS. NATALIE QUINTON

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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REV. CARL D. SKILLIN
CLARENCE C. WYNNE

April 5, 1948

20 Indian Lake
Parkway
Worcester 5, Mass.

Corresp. H

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Director of Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Smythe,

I had the pleasure to hear your short address before the New England Regional Conference of Branches of the N. A.A.C.P. in Worcester on Sunday afternoon, April 4, and I regret that time and circumstances did not permit me to present myself to you after that meeting.

Among other things, you mentioned that a negro applicant for admission to a Worcester school of engineering had been turned away on grounds that constituted an act of racial discrimination. The Inter-Racial Council of Worcester would like to pursue this matter in order to prevent such occurrences in future. Would you kindly supply me with the facts surrounding this incident so that this Council may be in position to contact the proper authorities without delay?

I should like to have you and your staff consider this Council, which operates in harmonious cooperation with the Worcester N.A.A.C.P. Branch, a local agency for any purpose that we may have in common.

23-20-17

Sincerely,

Franklin P. Hall

Franklin P. Hall, Chairman
Inter-Racial Council of
Worcester, Mass.

P.S. The enclosures will give you some idea of the more formal and publicized aspects of our work.
F.P.H.

Corresp H

April 8, 1948

Mr. Franklin P. Hall
Inter-Racial Council of Worcester
20 Indian Lake Parkway
Worcester 5, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Hall:

Thank you for your letter of April 5. I am sorry I did not get a chance to talk with you when I was in Worcester on April 4.

The young man to whom I made reference, concerning his inability to gain admission to a Worcester school of engineering, is:

William W. Baker
171-45 Liberty Street
Jamaica, L. I., New York.

I suggest that you write to him directly for the details on the incident I mentioned in my speech.

Our staff will be glad to cooperate with your organization whenever possible.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Smythe

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL

STANLEY M. ISAACS
COUNCILMAN, BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN
475 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

December 23, 1948

23-14-6

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have been very glad to write the attached letter to Mr. Beals, Director of the Library, and I hope it will be helpful.

Dr. Smythe talked to me briefly during a meeting of the Council the other day, and he impressed me; but of course I do not feel that I know him and naturally, in writing to Mr. Beals, I have indicated my reliance on your letter and my great respect for your judgment.

I agree with you as to the importance of the Schomburg Collection. I knew Mr. Schomburg for many years before his death and thought he did a magnificent job for the public.

With best regards, believe me

Faithfully yours,

Stanley M. Isaacs

SMI:MS
Encl.

148 96 [Issacs]

Dear Mr. Issacs:

Dr. Hugh H Smythe, my Research Assistant here, is seeking the vacant position of Curator of the Schomburg Collection, which is created, in the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library. This is, as I am sure you know, one of the most valuable collections of its kind in the nation, and since its founding has been under the direction of the Collector, Mr. Schomburg, and then after his death, of Dr. H. D. Reddick. Dr. Reddick resigned because he did not think that the collection was getting the attention or the funds which it ought to have. He was succeeded by Miss Dorothy Williams, who after about 6 months ~~is leaving~~ has left to take ~~a service under the United Nations~~ a position with UNESCO. I understand that a clerk from the ~~53rd Street~~ Lenox Branch is being assigned to the work. This collection calls for trained experience and knowledge and should not be put under a mere circulation librarian.

Dr. Smythe was a former student of mine at Atlanta University and has his doctorate in philosophy in anthropology from Northwestern University. He worked with me when I directed the NLGC Negro Land Grant Colleges Survey, and ~~He~~ has been ~~working here~~ since assisting with me in his present position for over a year ~~and~~ now. Since I am retiring from this position, he wishes also to change his work. I do not know what influence you may have concerning the library, but if you have any I would be very glad indeed if you would speak a word for Dr. Smythe. I think it would be a calamity for the library to neglect this most important part of its work.

Very sincerely yours,

when I feel so highly qualified for the position

He has had experience in College teaching and

He is a veteran of the last war

I am enclosing for your convenience a resume on Dr. Smythe which will help to acquaint you in more detail with his background.

31-43-48

December 23, 1948

Mr. Ralph A. Beals
Director
New York Public Library
Fifth Avenue & 42nd Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Beals:

I received the attached letter and resume of experience of Dr. Hugh H. Smythe, which explain themselves. I do not know Dr. Smythe, except for the fact that he called upon me the other day and I had the opportunity of speaking briefly with him. My impression, which was purely casual, was, on the other hand, entirely favorable - he seemed a man of intelligence and zeal. Further, judging by his record, he has an excellent background.

However, I do know Dr. DuBois well and have great respect for him - for his judgment, his conscientiousness, his great ability, and his familiarity with all problems concerning Negroes in this country. I should personally regard his recommendation very highly and accept at face value everything that he says.

I know that you recognize the importance of the Harlem Library and the Schomburg Collection. I have always been particularly interested in its problems because I knew Mr. Schomburg well before his death, and I was responsible, when I was President of this Borough, for pressing the construction of the addition to the Harlem Library. I know, too, what an important part that institution plays in Harlem life.

I do hope that you will give full consideration to Dr. Smythe's qualifications - that is all that I can ask, knowing full well that you are far more interested than I in finding exactly the right person to handle the important work which he is ambitious to cover.

I thought the 100th Anniversary celebrations dignified, interesting and important. I was very glad to have had the privilege of attending some of them, and to have had the additional opportunity of meeting you and Mrs. Beals again.

Faithfully yours,

Stanley M. Isaacs

SMI:MS
Encl.

COPY

Current

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL

STANLEY M. ISAACS
COUNCILMAN, BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN
475 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

December 29, 1948

23-14-7

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I just received the attached letter from Mr. Beals, Director of the New York Public Library, which explains itself. Please read it and return it to me.

His explanation that Dr. Williams has been given a leave of absence but has not resigned, of course makes it impossible for Dr. Smythe to receive consideration at this time since the position would be only temporary. Further, his description of Miss Blackwell indicates that she will do an excellent job of temporary replacement. I am sure that you will feel, as I do, that Mr. Beals recognizes the importance and the peculiar significance of the work in the Harlem Library and is very attentive to its needs.

With best regards, believe me

Faithfully yours,

Stanley M. Isaacs

SMI:MS
Encl.

And a very Happy New Year to you

August 4, 1948

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Jackson:

During the Fall term, of the school year 1948-1949, I am conducting at The New School a course, The Negro in American History. I am wondering if you are expecting to be in New York during the year, and if so, would you be willing to lecture for us?

The lectures take place on Mondays, 8:30-10:10 P.M. We can pay only the small fee of $50.00, without expenses, but you will be in good company, and The New School has an excellent reputation, as you probably know. You are free to discuss any subject you choose under the general topic of the course.

I should appreciate hearing from you at your very earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:S

P. S. Please accept my thanks for sending me the pamphlets on voting. You have done a good job. I appreciate being kept on your mailing list, for I find your material quite useful and helpful.

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
August 11, 1948

23-23-22

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am accepting your invitation to speak for you at the New School during the fall term. As for the particular Monday night I would rather that you set the date. October and November are usually full months for me so that perhaps I should come on a Monday in December. Would Monday, Dec. 20th be too late? Christmas vacation begins here on the preceding Saturday. I would then be most completely free on the 20th.

Sincerely yours,
Luther P. Jackson
Luther P. Jackson

August 17, 1948

23-23-26

Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Chairman
Department of History
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Jackson:

We are now preparing the lecture schedule for the course, The Negro in American History, which Dr. DuBois is directing for The New School during the Fall term, 1948-1949. In connection with your lecture and according to your request, you are scheduled to appear on Monday, December 20, at 8:30 P.M. Since your topic must be listed, please let us have the subject you are to discuss immediately.

Will you please confirm this and let us know if it is satisfactory. Since we are pushed for time in preparing the publicity on this course, we will appreciate an immediate reply.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Please let us have your subject by Monday at the very latest, before then if possible.

New School Courses

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
August 19, 1948

23-23-24

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 Westb40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am offering as the subject of my lecture for Monday, December 20th the following:

"Negro Officeholders during Reconstruction with special reference to Virginia."

Sincerely yours,
Luther P. Jackson
Luther P. Jackson

October 8, 1948

23-23-27

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Department of History
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Jackson:

I wonder if it would discommode you too much if I asked you to lecture November 2?, instead of December 20? I find it would be more logical to get your subject in earlier than I had suggested before.

The lecture begins at 8:30 and extends until 10:10, there can be talk from three quarters of an hour to an hour, then discussion and finally something of the literature. The class has from 17 to 20 persons, mature students and interested.

Kindly let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
October 9, 1948

23-23-26

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I hereby agree to serve you on Monday, November 22nd rather than Monday, December 20th.

Sincerely yours,
Luther P. Jackson
Luther P. Jackson

Leg for Info

February 25, 1948

Mrs. Victoria Jackson
3408 20th Street
Gulfport, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

Your letter of February 9, has come during the absonce of Dr. Du Bois. He will be away for several weeks, but since I know that he sympathizes with your position and would like to see the matter looked after, I am passing along your letter to our legal department for action.

I sincerely hope that justice will be done in your case. If we can be of further assistance please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-39

COPY

Reg for Info.

Box 631
Middlebury College
Middlebury, Vt.
October 24, 1948

22-39-16

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
NAACP, 20 W. 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear sir;

As the only Negro undergraduate here at Middlebury College, I have found that there is quite a bit that I can do in the fight against prejudice and ignorance surrounding the Negro and his affairs.

This year as a senior, I am enrolled in a seminar course given by the Political Science dpt. The nature of the course is such that each student selects any subject he wishes for a year's project. I have selected the topic:"Integration of the Negro into United States's life, with special emphasis on assumption of political responsibility." I plan to develop the subject from the Reconstruction .

The material here is limited and I thought that perhaps you could hel p me. Any material that you may be able to send me will help. However, I would like first of all to have some detailed information on the Freedman's Bureau and its origin, the source of its funds, General Howard's status, the role of the federal gov't. in respect to the Bureau and the amount of control exercised by the gov't. I would like to know also to what extent the Negro vote was controlled during Reconstruction days and how and by whom. What was the wage considered fair for freed Negro labor and how did it compare to wages for whites in the same occupation? What was the attitude of the Republican party and to what extent are charges against it justified?

Of course there is much more that I have to know so any information that you may have pertinent oto the topic will be appreciated.

Perhaps you could suggest how I might be able to contact some good solid reactionary southerners and if not some northern ones. Would it be possible to contact any of the KU Klux Klan members of an official capacity? I want to get some first hand information on the various shades of information and I want to bat some Shakespear.

If there is anything you can do to help me, Iwould appreciate it very much. Just send all correspondence to the gast addree se, and you will find the core of all of the problems.

See my Black Reconstruction, Harcourt, 1935,

Very truly yours,

Charles A. James

October 28, 1948

Mr. Charles A. James
Box 163
Middlebury College
Middlebury, Vermont

Dear Mr. James:

In reply to your letter of the 24th which has just arrived, concerning material concerning your proposed topic on the Reconstruction period, Dr. DuBois advises that you will find data pertaining to all phases of your work in his volume, BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1935. Aside from its content, you will find material of a bibliographical nature that should serve you well.

You might find it profitable to write to Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Chairman, Department of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va. He should have some pamphlets and booklets on selected phases of your work which may be helpful.

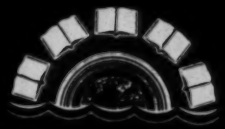
Also, write to Dr. John H. Franklin, Department of History, Howard University, Washington, D. C., and to Professor Carter G. Woodson, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Hoping you will be successful in your project, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s



Compliments of

Lou Jefferson

33C-45

Seeing you at the Beaux Arts reminded me that I hadn't sent you one of these.

Mgs J Negras

5 & 10

Rocking Horse Shop

[Jefferson School]

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. · WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Asst. Director
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Max Yergan
Ruth Young

January 28 , 1948

23-8-96

Dr. William E. B. Dubois
NAACP
20 W. 40
New York City

Dear Dr. Dubois,

We have been working on the program for the Jefferson School Anniversary dinner, and thought you might like to hear from us on this point.

Would you care to talk about the fight for freedom in education? Please let us know how this strikes you as a subject for your speech.

We have allotted ten minutes on the program for you. In the interest of a quickly paced program, we are asking all of our speakers to adhere to our time schedule.

Enclosed you will find your Dais reservation, and a reservation for a guest.

If you have any further question concerning the program, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam

[Jefferson School]

February 4, 1948

Dr. Howard Selsam, Director
The Jefferson School
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, New York

23-38-97

My dear Dr. Selsam:

Answering your letter of January 28, I beg to say that if you wish me to speak ten minutes, I will speak exactly ten minutes: Of course, you realize that it will be impossible in ten minutes to treat the "FIGHT FOR FREEDOM IN EDUCATION".

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Master folder

[Jefferson School]

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
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Ruth Young

23-31-6

February 17, 1948

Dr. William E.B.Du Bois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Allow me to express, on behalf of the Board and the faculty of the School, our deepest appreciation for the splendid job you did at the dinner on February 9th. Your speech was perfect for the occasion. Its message was vigorous, urgent and completely appropriate. The fact that our audience understood and responded to it was evidenced in the reception they gave it.

Your speech rounded out what we believed to have been a very successful dinner. Despite the obstacles created by these difficult days, we managed to get as large an audience as the year before, and the collection was substantially larger--amounting to more than $10,000. Those of us who work at the School are inspired with the knowledge that, with the help of people like yourself, we will be able to meet the crucial challenge of our times and go on to build an even-bigger, fighting people's school in the service of the labor and progressive movement.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam

upw-tu
HS/bf

P.S. And warmest greetings for your birthday. I'm awfully sorry I can't attend the dinner, but please accept my deepest respect and sincerest good wishes.

H.S.

264

his speech at the Jefferson School
dinner. Perhaps the check may

[Jefferson School]

February 26, 1948

330 - 38 - 18

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
930 St. Marks Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkerson:

As yet Dr. DuBois has no record of having received the honorarium for his speech at the Jefferson School dinner. Perhaps the check may have gotten lost in the mails. At any rate, I thought you would like to know this in order that the matter might be properly taken care of.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience concerning this matter?

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Jefferson School]

March 9, 1948

23c - 38 - 1/1

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
913 St. Marks Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Doxey:

This is to remind you that Dr. DuBois has not received his honorarium for the Jefferson School Dinner on January 9. Would you be kind enough to see that this matter is taken care of as soon as possible.

Hello to Yolande and best regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Asst. Director
LOUIS LERMAN, Admin. Secretary

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Dirk J. Struik
Alexander Trachtenberg
Doxey A. Wilkerson
Max Yergan
Ruth Young

333-31-10

March 9, 1948

Hugh H. Smythe
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Please accept my sincerest apologies for my failure to send Dr. Dubois the honorium for his speech at the Jefferson School Dinner. In the multifarious details that I had to check, after the weeks of exhaustive work, I must have overlooked this. I do want to explain that it was purely an oversight on my part and please express my concern to Dr. Dubois.

Once again, many, many thanks to Dr. Dubois for the splendid job he did, and again my aplogies for my inattention.

Yours sincerely,
Barbara Aronson
Barbara Aronson
Dinner Committee

BA/wp
upw•tu
enc.

264

[Jefferson School]

March 11, 1948

Miss Barbara Aronson
THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Aronson:

I have just received your letter of March 9, with the enclosed check to Dr. DuBois for his lecture at the Jefferson School Dinner. I want to thank you for sending it.

I understand quite well the reason for the delay, and hope that by now you have gotten your work in such a state as not to overtax you.

I shall inform Dr. DuBois, who is away lecturing on the West Coast, that you have sent the check and your thanks for his appearance.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

33C-31-11

December 16, 1948

Dear Friend,

We are happy to give you advance notice of our Fifth Anniversary Dinner, to be chaired by Paul Robeson, on Monday evening, February 7, 1949, at the Hotel Pennsylvania. We will be in touch with you soon with full details of the program.

Don't you please reserve the date!

Cordially,
Howard Selsam

230-49

Jefferson School
575 Avenue of the Americas Wa. 9-1600

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

23-25-2

1201

(531)

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1948 FEB 23 4 52

N266 PD=PETERSBURG VIR 23 438P

DR W E B DUBOIS=

:409 EDGECOMB AVE=

:HONOR AND CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU THIS AND ALL DAYS=

EVELYN AND JOSEPH JENKINS=

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Va

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

November 26, 1948

23-26-22

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Jenkins
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins:

It was very nice to see you again and to enjoy your home. Call me up when you come to New York.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Telephone: GRamercy 7-3987

Jewish Labor Committee

175 EAST BROADWAY

NEW YORK 2, N. Y.

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H. TURK, Baltimore
M. WEINRIB, Chicago
M. WEINTRAUB, Los Angeles
J. WEISBERG, Cleveland

May 3, 1948.

23-14-2

Mr. H. H. Smythe
Color and Democracy
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th St.,
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Under separate cover, we are pleased to send you the requested eight articles of the facts concering the President's Civil Rights Committee Report together with the cartoons.

Sincerely,

IRVING SALERT
Field Director.

oeiu:153/bc.

393

File Smythe

230-45

June 9, 1948

Rev. Ernest Johnson
St. Stephens AME Church
Whitesboro, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I just wanted to let you know that I had arrived safely and found that I did not have to make the trip I mentioned. But the reason for this letter is to tell you how much I enjoyed the experience of talking to the members of your NAACP Branch.

I do not know when I have met such an earnest group of people and with the spirit that was exhibited on this occasion I am sure that if you work together, you will eventually remove the disabilities that now affect Whitesboro and that area of New Jersey. Just remember to keep before the people there the sections four and five of the New Jersey State Constitution and insist that they make those sections effective in their daily lives. It will be difficult, I know, but if you continue to plug away at the discrimination and segregation locally, in time you will be successful. But by all means try to get the membership to work to remove that Jim Crow school. Remember, the office here is always willing to help.

Give my regards to Mrs. Johnson, the children, Mr. Spaulding, the Hudgins, Mr. Gregory, and all of the other fine people that I met. Tell them to keep up the good work and with a man like you to lead them they cannot fail. Good luck to you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

To Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
In appreciation
Georgia Douglas Johnson

Tomorrow's World

dedicated to World Peace —

22-33-30

COLUMBIAN MUSIC COMPANY
~~1910 Vermont Ave.,~~ N. W. Washington, D. C.
1461 - S St NW.
Music by - Lillian Evanti
Words by - Georgia Douglas Johnson
1461 - S. St. N. W.
No. 1305

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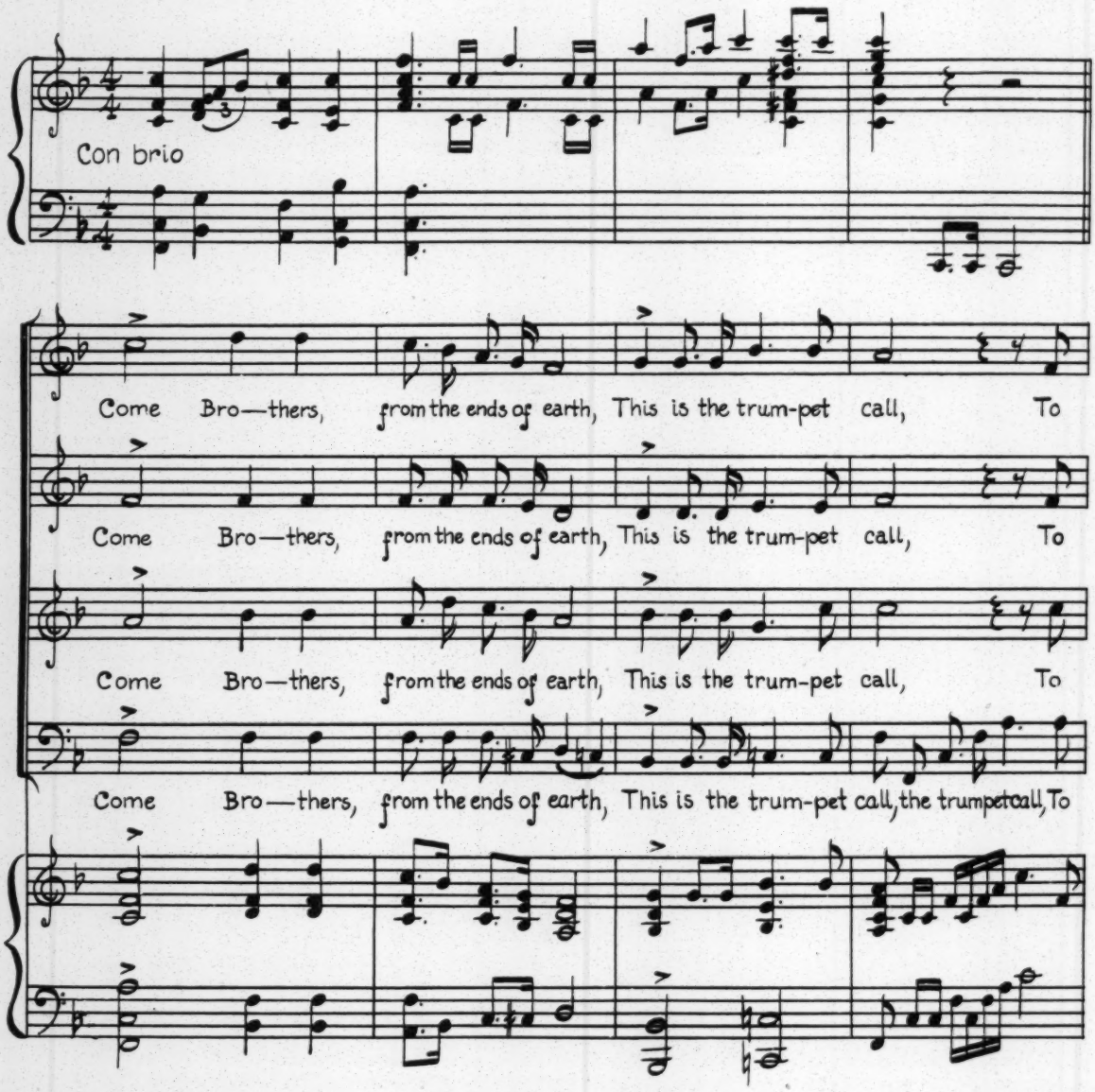
Tomorrow's World

Dedicated to World Peace

Poem
Georgia Douglas Johnson

Music
Lillian Evanti



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Lillian Evanti - 1910 Vermont Avenue, N.W. and
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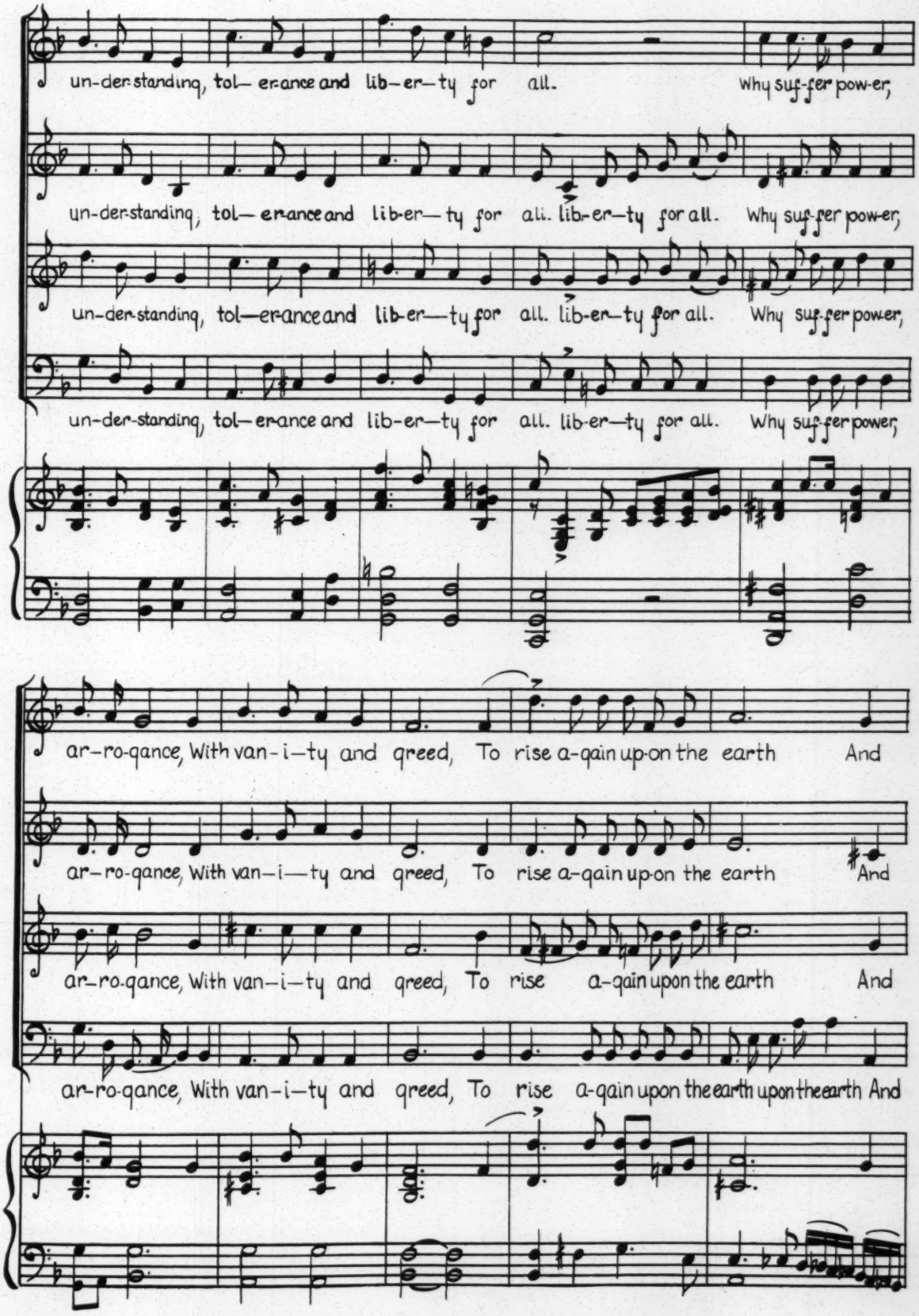
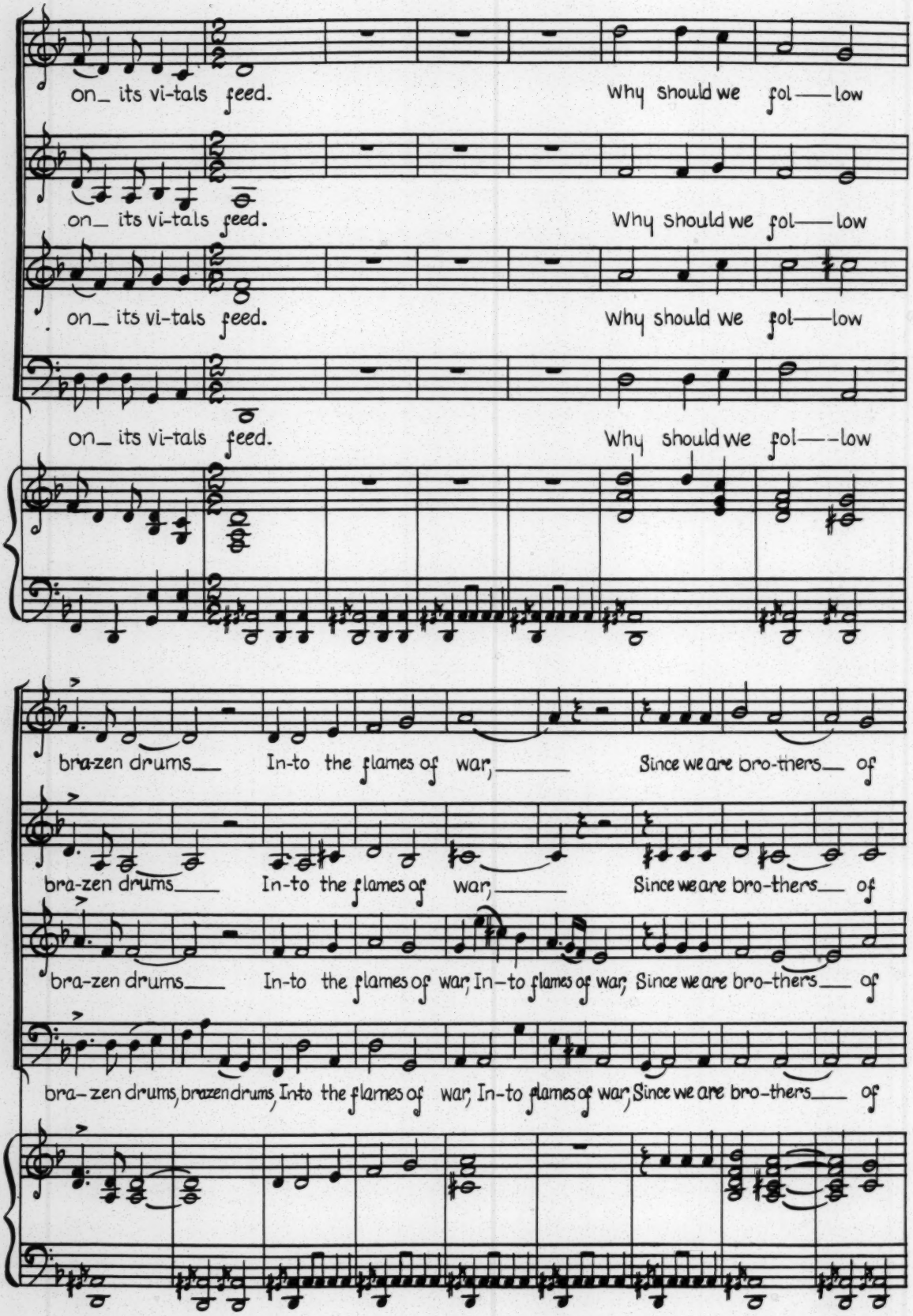
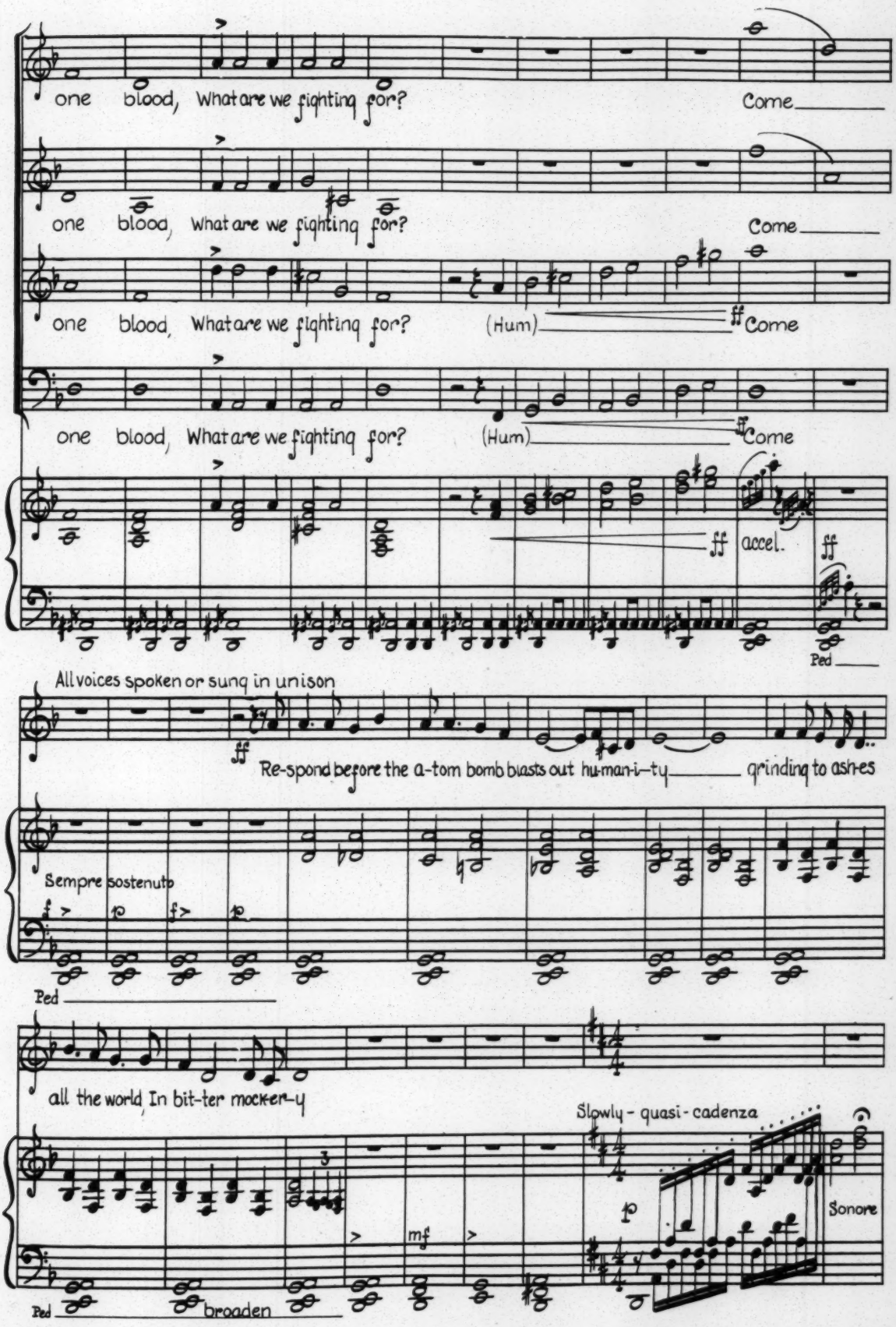
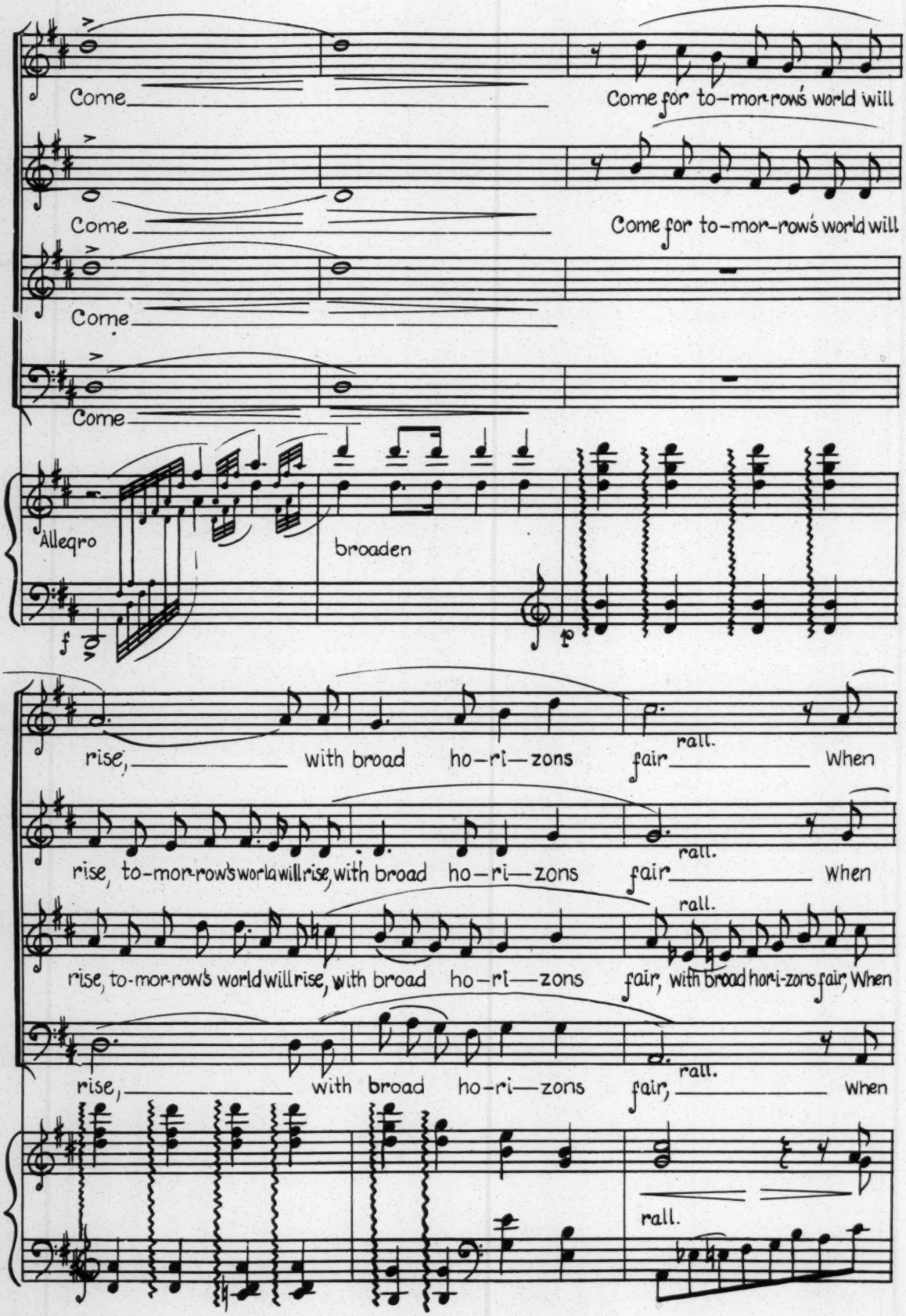
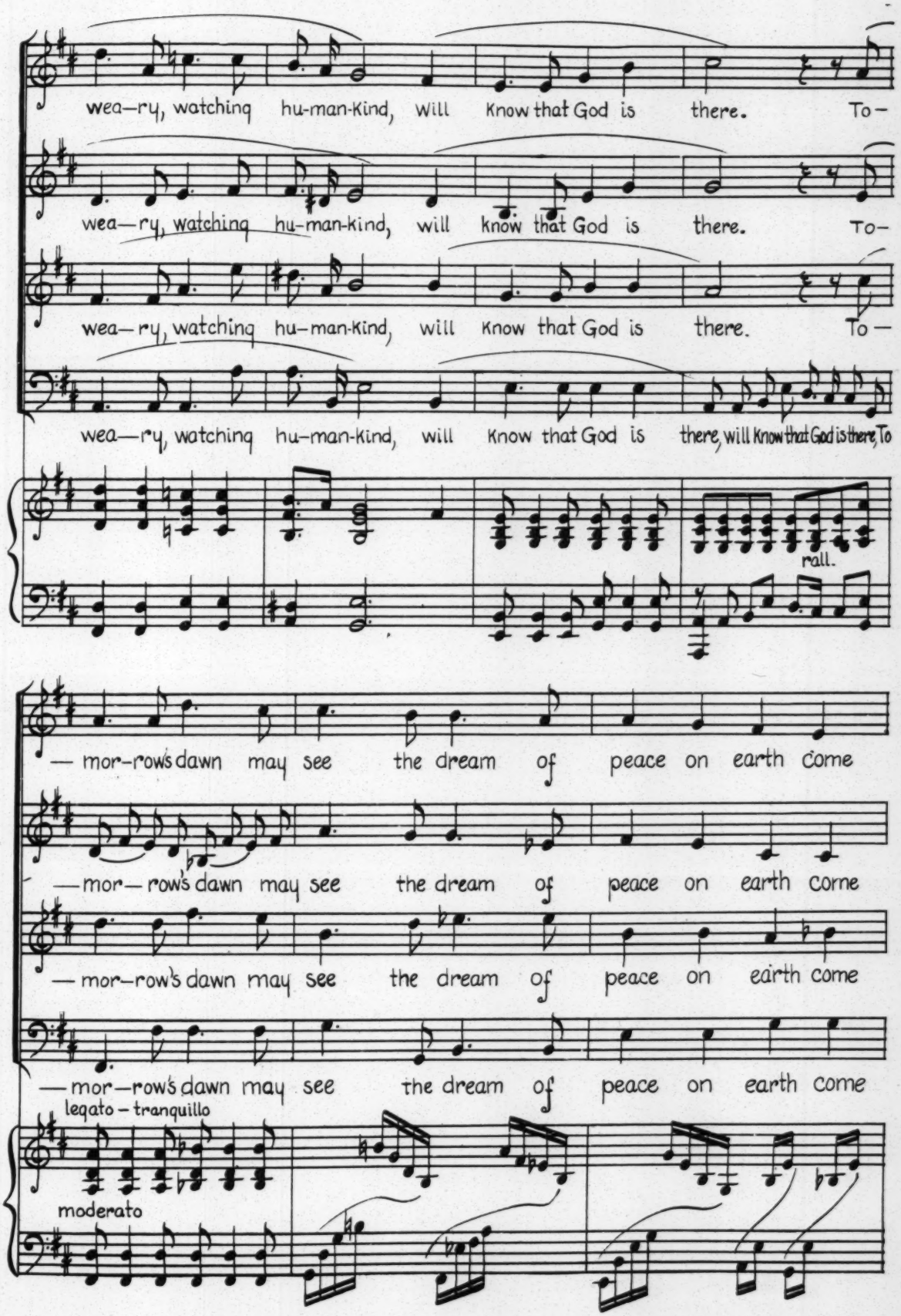
22-33-31

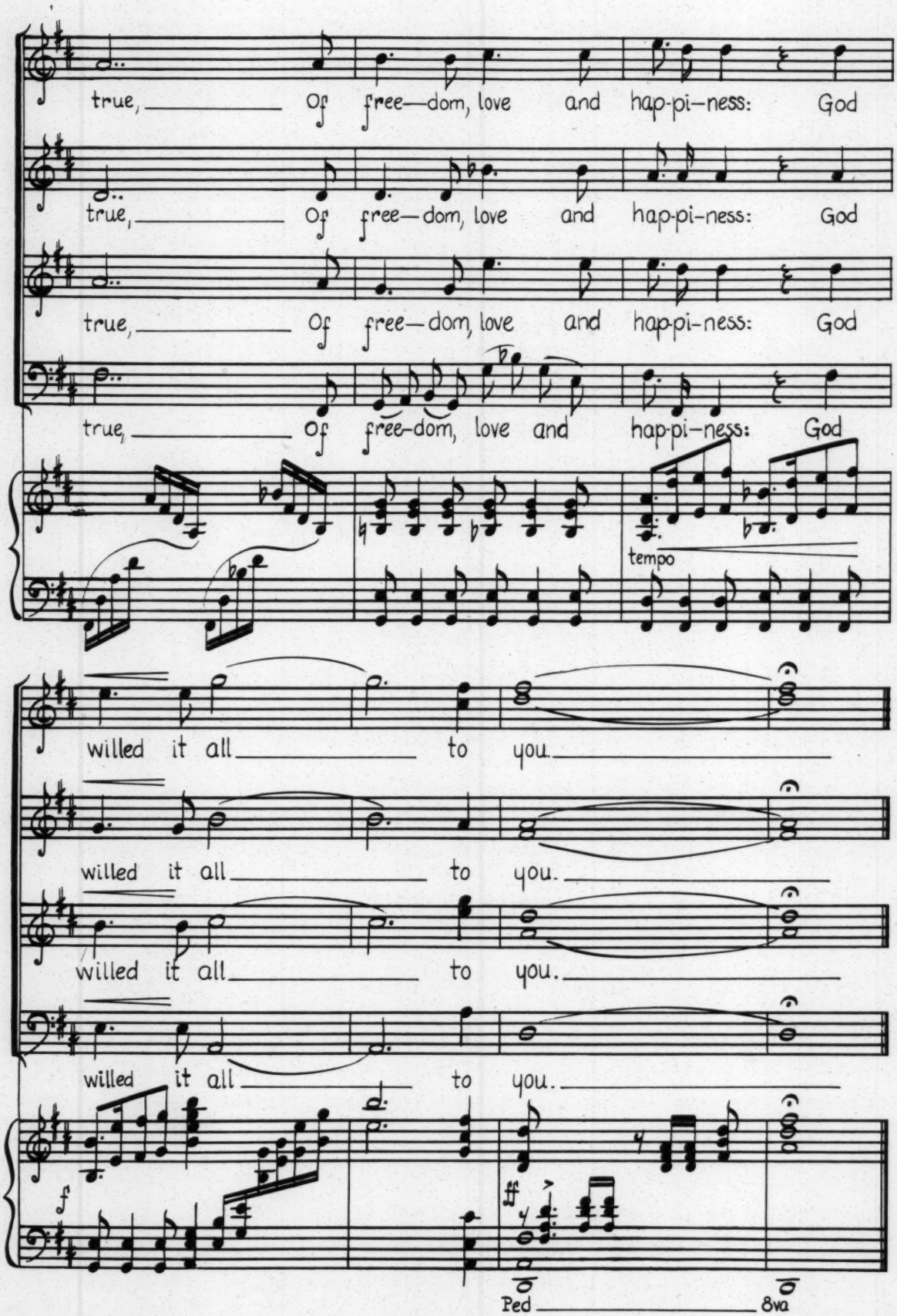

un-der-standing, tol- er-ance and lib-er-ty for all. Why suf-fer pow-er,
un-der-standing, tol- er-ance and lib-er-ty for all. lib-er-ty for all. Why suf-fer pow-er,
un-der-standing, tol-er-ance and lib-er-ty for all. lib-er-ty for all. Why suf-fer power,
un-der-standing, tol-er-ance and lib-er-ty for all. lib-er-ty for all. Why suf-fer power,
ar-ro-gance, With van-i-ty and greed, To rise a-gain up-on the earth And
ar-ro-gance, With van-i-ty and greed, To rise a-gain up-on the earth And
ar-ro-gance, With van-i-ty and greed, To rise a-gain upon the earth And
ar-ro-gance, With van-i-ty and greed, To rise a-gain upon the earth upon the earth And


on_ its vi-tals feed. Why should we fol——low
on_ its vi-tals feed. Why should we fol——low
on_ its vi-tals feed. Why should we fol——low
on_ its vi-tals feed. Why should we fol——low
bra-zen drums_ In-to the flames of war, Since we are bro-thers_ of
bra-zen drums_ In-to the flames of war, Since we are bro-thers_ of
bra-zen drums_ In-to the flames of war, In-to flames of war, Since we are bro-thers_ of
bra-zen drums, brazen drums, In-to the flames of war, In-to flames of war, Since we are bro-thers_ of


one blood, What are we fighting for? Come
one blood, What are we fighting for? Come
one blood, What are we fighting for? (Hum) ff Come
one blood, What are we fighting for? (Hum) ff Come
ff accel. ff
Ped
All voices spoken or sung in unison
ff Re-spond before the a-tom bomb blasts out hu-man-i-ty grinding to ash-es
Sempre sostenuto
f > p f> p
Ped
all the world In bit-ter mock-er-y
Slowly - quasi - cadenza
mf
p
Sonore
Ped broaden


Come
Come for to-mor-row's world will
Come
Come for to-mor-row's world will
Come
Come
Allegro
broaden
f
p
rise, with broad ho-ri-zons fair When
rall.
rise, to-mor-row's world will rise, with broad ho-ri-zons fair When
rall.
rise, to-mor-row's world will rise, with broad ho-ri-zons fair, with broad hori-zons fair, When
rall.
rise, with broad ho-ri-zons fair, When
rall.
rall.


wea—ry, watching hu-man-kind, will know that God is there. To-
wea—ry, watching hu-man-kind, will know that God is there. To-
wea—ry, watching hu-man-kind, will know that God is there. To-
wea—ry, watching hu-man-kind, will know that God is there, will know that God is there, To
rall.
— mor-row's dawn may see the dream of peace on earth come
— mor— row's dawn may see the dream of peace on earth come
— mor—row's dawn may see the dream of peace on earth come
— mor—row's dawn may see the dream of peace on earth come
legato - tranquillo
moderato


true, Of free—dom, love and hap-pi-ness: God
true, Of free—dom, love and hap-pi-ness: God
true, Of free—dom, love and hap-pi-ness: God
true, Of free-dom, love and hap-pi-ness: God
tempo
willed it all to you.
willed it all to you.
willed it all to you.
willed it all to you.
f
ff
Ped
8va

(JOHNSON Dinner Committee)

BY THE SENDER OF THIS MESSAGE. PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE IT TO

WESTERN UNION

1220

(30)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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23-13-47

NA150 DL PD=FG NEWYORK NY 27 1256P=

1948 OCT 27 PM 1 35

:DR W E B DUBOIS=

409 EDGECOMBE AVE=

WE ARE FORMING AN AD HOC COMMITTEE OF PROMINENT NEW YORK CITIZENS TO SPONSOR A DINNER RECEPTION FOR THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY ON NOVEMBER 14 AT HOTEL PIERRE DIRECTLY FOLLOWING HIS ARRIVAL IN THIS COUNTRY. THIS IS NOT TO BE AN ORGANIZATIONAL FUNCTION. EITHER PROFESSOR RALPH BARTON PERRY OR PROFESSOR WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING OF HARVARD WILL BE PRESENT HOWEVER TO EXTEND GREETINGS ON BEHALF OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF WELCOME OF WHICH THEY WERE INITIATORS

TOGETHER WITH DEAN CHRISTIAN GAUSS OF PRINCETON.

WE ASK YOUR CONSENT TO JOIN US BY COLLECT WIRE TO REVERENDLATHROP AT 50 MONROE PLACE BROOKLYN=.

JOHN HOWLAND LATHROP
ARTHUR UPHAM POPE
STANLEY M ISAACS
OLIN DOWNES=

glad to sponsor Luncheon Dean Canterbury Nov. 14

AN AD HOC 14 GAUSS 50 OLIN=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Johnson Dinner Committee]

Dinner Committee
To Welcome The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, D. D.
Dean of Canterbury

November 9, 1948

MR. OLIN DOWNES, *Chairman*

205 W 57 St
N Y C

Dear Dr. DuBois:

To economize I must necessarily prepare a uniform letter for the thirty-two members of our Committee to Welcome the Dean of Canterbury.

We have been asked to perform another pleasant but very important duty in this connection and I wish to extend an urgent invitation to you to take part.

The Dean arrives from Canada by plane on Friday afternoon this week, November 12, and we are asked to go to LaGuardia airport to greet him upon debarkation.

You will appreciate the necessity for a large number of us to be on hand. I am sorry to say I cannot, since I fly to Pittsburgh on Thursday evening for an engagement there on Friday, and the arrangement cannot be changed. However, Dr. Lathrop and the rest of you will make it a splendid welcome, I know.

The directions are that we meet in the office of the Trans-Canada Lines, near Gate 1, at LaGuardia airport at 2:45 o'clock. The plane is due at 2:50 p. m. but planes have a way of arriving in advance of the scheduled hour. There will be a slight loss of time for immigration and customs procedure before we can actually greet him in person, but we must be ready. Doubtless the press will be present, including photographers, but most of you should be able to return to your business by 3:30. A small delegation will be sufficient to accompany the Dean in a car to his hotel in New York.

I shall greatly appreciate your being present to greet the Dean.

Plans are complete for a very fine dinner occasion on Sunday evening.

Sincerely yours,

Olin Downes

Olin Downes

uopwa 19

232-13

Dinner Committee
To Welcome The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, D. D.
Dean of Canterbury

MR. OLIN DOWNES, *Chairman*

Corresp C

November 10, 1948

205 W 57 St
N Y C

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Permit me once again to address the members of our Committee in a uniform manner to save time.

You are cordially invited to attend a reception just preceding the dinner on Sunday evening, November 14. This will give all of us opportunity to greet the speakers of the evening in informal fashion and particularly the Dean of Canterbury.

Your wife or other guest you wish to bring with you will be most welcome.

The reception will be held in the Grill Room of the Hotel Pierre from 5:00 to 5:45 o'clock. You will use the Fifth Avenue entrance and take the steps down one flight. There are check-room accommodations in the Grill.

As the Chairman of your Committee I look forward to welcoming you at the reception.

Sincerely yours,

Olin Downes

Olin Downes

uopwa 19

230-13

23-13-50

November 10, 1948

Mr. Olin Downes
205 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Downes:

I have received your invitation of November 6. I shall be very glad to be a guest at the dinner to the Dean of Canterbury, Sunday evening, November 14, at the Hotel Pierre.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

COMMITTEE OF SPONSORS

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
Dr. Algernon D. Black
Rev. T. T. Brumbaugh
Mr. Jo Davidson
Mr. Olin Downes
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Prof. L. C. Dunn
Mr. James H. Durkin
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Mrs. Elinor S. Gimbel
Miss Lillian Hellman
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The Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs
Rev. John Paul Jones
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
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Mr. William Morris, Jr.
Rabbi Louis I. Newman
Dr. Arthur Upham Pope
Mr. Joseph P. Selly
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Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mr. Louis Untermeyer
Miss Mary Van Kleeck
Mr. Mark Van Doren
Mr. Max Weber
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

PROGRAM

THE VERY REVEREND HEWLETT JOHNSON
DEAN OF CANTERBURY

PROFESSOR WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING

THE VERY REVEREND DONALD J. CAMPBELL

RABBI LOUIS I. NEWMAN

Chairman
MR. OLIN DOWNES

[Dinner Committee]

You are cordially invited

to attend a

Dinner of Welcome

to the

VERY REVEREND HEWLETT JOHNSON, D.D.

DEAN OF CANTERBURY

at the

HOTEL PIERRE

Fifth Avenue at 61st Street

New York City

Grand Ballroom

Sunday evening, November 14, 1948

at 6 o'clock

Couvert $10.00
R.S.V.P.

Dress
Optional

Dinner Committee

To Welcome The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, D. D.

Dean of Canterbury

November 6, 1948

MR. OLIN DOWNES, *Chairman*

23-13-49

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am pleased to invite you to be an honored guest on the occasion of the dinner to welcome the Dean of Canterbury on Sunday evening, November 14 at six o'clock at the Hotel Pierre.

It will be pleasant to welcome you to a seat at the table on the dais.

Will you please write me, as quickly as convenient, to say that you will be present.

Sincerely yours,

Olin Downes

Olin Downes
205 W. 57 St., N. Y. C.

uopwa 19-91

264

Dinner Committee

To Welcome The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, D. D.

Dean of Canterbury

November 15, 1948

MR. OLIN DOWNES, *Chairman*

23-39-30

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was pleased that you could attend the dinner last evening. I believe the Dean was quite impressed by the number of important people who came to greet him personally on this first public appearance in New York.

I wish to thank you for having cooperated in the Committee of Welcome which I believe has fulfilled its function quite well.

It will be pleasant to meet you again.

Sincerely yours,

Olin Downes

Olin Downes

uopwa 19-91

The Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Co
15, Victoria Street,
London, S.W.1.
31st August, 1948.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Please excuse this unconventional approach. I am not sure if you recollect my name, but I was one of the delegates to the Pan-African Conference held in Manchester in 1945.

40-7D-11

I am very anxious to interest our American friends in Gold Coast and African affairs generally, and ~~xxxxxtix~~ accordingly, I enclose an article which I would be grateful if you could get published in a local magazine.

I wish the N.A.A.C.P. every success in the coming years.

Yours truly,

J. Coleyraft-Johnson

(Johnson (J.W.) literary Guild)

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

LITERARY GUILD

September 30, 1948

Dr. Hugh Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

The JAMES WELDON JOHNSON LITERARY GUILD takes great pleasure in inviting you to become a member.

As plans are being completed for the Guild Year, we thought you might be interested in the projected program.

We also realized our need of your special talents to carry out our plans, both cultural and civic.

While we are aware of the fact that you are connected with other groups, and that many demands are made of your time, we hoped that our monthly meeting would be a pleasant interlude in your schedule.

The OCTOBER MEETING will be held at the home of

Miss Ellen Tarry
2 1 7 0 Madison Avenue
New York 35, New York
Apartment 12 - B
PHONE: FOUNDATION 8 - 0 3 2 8

F R I D A Y Evening - OCTOBER 15, 1948 - 8:30 PM

Your hostesses for the October 15th meeting will be
ELLEN TARRY and SARAH WEST

The Guild Members will look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely,

Ernestine Worthy

Ernestine Worthy
PRESIDENT

(per Alice Thomas)

xxxxxxxxxxx

October 18, 1948

Miss Ernestine Worthy
469 Bergen Avenue
Jersey City 4, New Jersey

My dear Miss Worthy:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 30, which I find upon my return from vacation today. It is very kind of you to invite me to become a member of the James Weldon Johnson Literary Guild, and I want you to know that I appreciate the honor.

Unfortunately, my work will currently prevent me from accepting the opportunity to join with you, but I hope that in the future when duties are less taxing and I have more time that you will again give me consideration. However, if there is anything that I may be able to do to further the work of your organization meanwhile, please feel free to call upon me.

With thanks for your thoughtfulness, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

March First

1 9 4 8

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

22-40-47

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Your letter dated February 25th, represents my first knowledge of the General Education Board's procedure in the matter of the Encyclopedia of the Negro. I am astonished.

I shall be eager to receive a copy of their reply to you.

I greatly regret that it was not possible for me to be present at the dinner in honor of your eightieth birthday. Some who were there tell me that it was a very great occasion and that you were in your finest form. I did have the privilege of hearing you over the radio recently, on a program with Robeson and others. The clarity and power of your thought and delivery were admirable.

Sincerely yours,

Mordecai W. Johnson

Mordecai W. Johnson

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

March 3, 1948

President Mordecai W. Johnson
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear President Johnson:

Your letter of March 1, to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from New York. He is on an extended lecture tour to the West Coast, and will not return East for several weeks. However, I am forwarding your letter to the Doctor.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 19, LOUISIANA

DIVISION OF LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS

March 1, 1948

23-38-27

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Director of Research
NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

For your files, and for whatever action you wish to take, I send the enclosed -- two copies of a White Supremacy leaflet, a new one, distribution of which began here last Friday, Feb. 27, on Canal Street.

The leaflet is obviously an effort to hit back at the Henry Wallace candidacy, and against the Civil Rights program announced by President Truman.

Note also that the business address of John U. Barr is 1101 South Peters Street, New Orleans 11, La., and that his personal post office box is # 1706, although for the purposes of distributing this leaflet he rented Post Office Box 86, as given in the leaflet.

Yours truly,

Oakley C. Johnson

Oakley C. Johnson
Associate Professor of English

[Enclosure]

FOR WHITE MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE

For the sake of our **COUNTRY** and the **SOUTH** I plead that you **READ** the following:

In 1944 genuine Democrats made the first serious move to eliminate from the real Democratic Party the alleged Negro-**LOVING,** pink and red **MONGRELS** who **FALSELY** called themselves Democrats—True, we were whipped and humiliated and on election day 1944 real Democrats found themselves with no place to go. **BUT, THE SEED OF OUR STRENGTH HAD BEEN PLANTED!**

Since then the scalawag, carpet-bagger Northern bosses of the New Deal Party kept adding shame and degradation to our lot—**smugly sure** there was no end to what loyal Democrats would endure for party harmony—Late in 1947—after Chairman McGrath of the Democratic National Committee showed **RIDICULE** and **SCORN** for our Constitutional State Rights—**GOVERNOR BEAUFORD JESTER** of Texas sounded the first warning that the **SOUTH** and good Democrats everywhere would not forever give **BLIND OBEDIENCE** to renegade, **FALSE** and Negro Democrats.

The warnings of Governor Jester gained wide public approval in the genuine Democratic newspapers and meeting places of the **SOUTH** and the entire nation—But New Deal spokesmen **SCOFFED** and **POOH-POOHED** the warning of Governor Jester—they laughed at the Texas spark as something they could **STOMP** out with the greatest of ease—they had the usual **CONTEMPT** for **"IN THE BAG"** Southern Democrats.

BUT THE TEXAS SPARK DID NOT DIE and since then **FIRES** have broken out in Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana—**sparks are flying all over the** South—Now, **GOVERNOR FIELDING WRIGHT,** backed by the almost unanimous support of the entire Democracy of Mississippi, has challenged the Democrats of the South and Nation to work with his state to put an end to the delivery of the Democratic Party to the Negroes, the C. I. O., the Pinks and Reds who control and ride herd over these minority groups.

On Thursday, January 29, 1948, senior **U. S. SENATOR JAMES EASTLAND** of Mississippi told a joint session of both houses of the Mississippi legislature that **"THE SOUTH HAD ITS BACK TO THE WALL",** and that unless we defended the real Democratic Party we would soon be completely governed by a collection of **"MONGRELS."**

Senator Eastland said that, "In good times or in bad, the bone, sinew, the flesh and the constancy of the Democratic Party was found below the Mason and Dixon Line"

Instantly! Democrats asked **"THEN, WHY NOT A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION BELOW THE MASON AND DIXON LINE??!!"**

Congressional delegations from several Southern states are talking the situation over—**At last!** Political leadership have ears to the ground, waiting for "We the People" to stomp and speak.

If you are tired of the threat of FEPC—sick of the Wallaces, Hannegans, McGraths and Peppers—weary of C. I. O. and the Reds who want to **MARRY** us into the **WILLING ARMS** of the Negro! You can now do something about it before it is too late!

WE MUST HAVE A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION BELOW THE MASON - DIXON LINE.

Five million white men and women of the South must get a message of approval to the thirteen governors of the Southern States—five million people must sign their name and address to one of these circulars and mail or carry it to their governor, **ASKING FOR A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION BELOW THE MASON-DIXON LINE.**

Your political leaders are waiting to **HEAR FROM YOU**—if you fail it will not be their fault. **"THE HOPE OF THE NATION RESTS WAY DOWN SOUTH IN DIXIE!"**

Cordially, John U. Barr,
P. O. Box 86 New Orleans, La.

Permission is granted to reproduce this or our printer can furnish additional copies at 75c per hundred delivered to you.

~~First~~ Personal P.O. Box 1706

230-38-13

March 4, 1948

Professor Oakley C. Johnson
Dillard University
New Orleans 19, Louisiana

Dear Professor Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of March 1, to Dr. DuBois with your enclosure, FOR WHITE MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE. The Doctor is in California lecturing and will not return to New York for several weeks. However, I know that he will be glad to get this leaflet, and I am sure that he appreciates your thoughtfulness in sending it to him. I shall be sure to bring it to his attention immediately upon his return.

We hope that you will be good enough to let us see other such material that may come to your attention.

With thanks for your courtesy and interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL *of the*

JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE

192 LEXINGTON AVE., NEW YORK 16, N. Y. LEXINGTON 2-3134

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L. S. FANNING

(Continued on reverse side)

March 16, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am writing to invite you to join other outstanding Americans as an honored guest of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee at a dinner paying tribute to Mme. Irene Joliot-Curie, great French scientist, on Wednesday evening, March 31st at the Hotel Astor.

Mme. Joliot-Curie is arriving in the United States for a brief visit as guest of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Professor Albert Einstein and Dr. Harlow Shapley are Co-Chairmen of a National Reception Committee of distinguished scientists, artists, writers to welcome Mme. Joliot-Curie here.

I am deeply honored to serve as Chairman of the New York Dinner, at which Professor Norbert Wiener of Harvard University and Professor Colston Warne of Amherst College will be among the guest speakers.

Won't you send back the enclosed card telling us you will be able to join us on the evening of the 31st?

Sincerely yours,

Olin Downes

Olin Downes

od:fc
enc

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CLOTHING COLLECTION DEPOT: 625 Greenwich Street, New York City

[Joint . .]

March 22, 1948

Mr. Olin Downes
Suite 1501
192 Lexington Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Downes:

Dr. DuBois is honored to receive your invitation to meet Mme. Irene Joliot-Curie. Were it possible I know that he would like to attend the dinner given in her honor at the Hotel Astor on March 31.

Unfortunately, Dr. DuBois has been out of the city lecturing on the West Coast since February 24, and he is not due back in New York until April 15. Consequently, he will be unable to be present on this significant occasion. However, I am forwarding your invitation to him.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

330-15

Curie-Joliot

[Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Comm.]

..... to honor

a great citizen of the world

You are cordially invited to meet

MME. IRÈNE JOLIOT-CURIE

Professeur à la Faculté de Sciences de Paris, Institut du Radium,
Directeur du Laboratoire Curie

. . . . . Winner of the Nobel Prize

. . . . . Outstanding scientist in the field of nuclear physics

. . . . . Intrepid fighter in the French underground during the war years

. . . . . An ardent advocate of the cause of Spanish freedom

on Wednesday, March thirty-first

at six-thirty o'clock, at a Dinner

in the Grand Ballroom, Hotel Astor

MR. OLIN DOWNES
Chairman of the Evening

Auspices: Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee

Guest
~~$7.50 per person~~

The favor of a reply is requested

NATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE FOR MADAME IRÈNE JOLIOT-CURIE

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Dr. Harlow Shapley
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Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th St.
New York City

SUITE 1501 192 LEXINGTON AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

330 - 15

Joint Committee of Amer Agencies ON Human Rights

15 January 1947 [1948?]

FOR OVER FOUR MONTHS THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE HAS BEEN FRAMING A PETITION TO BE SENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON THE MINORITY RIGHTS OF AMERICAN NEGROES. AS THE PETITION NOW STANDS IT CONSISTS OF INTRODUCTION BY MYSELF AS EDITOR, AND CONTRIBUTIONS BY THREE LAWYERS CONCERNING LEGISLATION ON NEGROES, AND THE INTERPRETATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THAT LEGISLATION. THESE LAWYERS ARE PERSONS OF STANDING, TWO OF THEM ASSOCIATE PROFESSORS AT LEADING COLLEGES. A FOURTH CONTRIBUTION ~~BY DR. RAYFORD LOGAN OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY~~ TAKES UP THE DIFFICULT QUESTION OF JUST WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS CAN BE EXPECTED TO DO UND
UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE RECOGNIZES THE DIFFICULTY AND DELICACY OF RAISING THIS QUESTION. NEVERTHE LESS IT IS OF PRIME IMPORTANCE THAT A COUNTRY WHICH HAS RIGHTFULLY

ADVOCATED HIGH IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE SHOULD BE ASKED ITSELF TO FACE THE FACT THAT IT IS NOT IN ITS OWN LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION CARRYING OUT THESE IDEALS? SO FAR AS FOURTEEN MILLION AMERICAN CITIZENS ARE CONCERNED; AND THAT IT IS RIGHT TO CALL THE ATTENTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO THIS SITUATION AND TO ASK THE UNITED NATIONS TO TAKE SUCH ACTION AS IS REASONABLE AND POSSIBLE.

OUR ASSOCIATION WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE COOPERATION OF THIS BODY IN THIS EFFORT AND ALSO ADVICE AS TO JUST WHAT AND HOW THIS PETITION CAN BE PRESENTED SO AS TO OBTAIN THE WIDEST HEARING.

95-3-299

45-3-43

Claudia Jones Defense Committee

308 LENOX AVENUE • NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

Telephone SAcramento 2-2240

Civil Rights

reb. 19, 1948

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23-22-18

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40 St.
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your organization has been sent the enclosed call to a conference in defense of Claudia Jones on Sat. Feb. 21, at Elks Hall, 160 W. 129 St.

We trust that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will have representatives at the meeting.

However, we would like to extend to you this personal invitation to be present. We know that you have been in the forefront in the struggle for the recognition and maintenance of civil rights of the people of America, the Negro people in particular. The arrest of Claudia Jones and others in recent weeks, for deportation, represents a most flagrant abrogation of our civil rights. We should be happy to have you join in this protestation against such attacks.

We shall look forward to your presence at the meeting and would consider any participation on your part most highly desirable.

Sincerely yours,
Richard B. Moore

Richard B. Moore,
Temporary Chairman

Rose Gaulden

Rose Gaulden,
Temporary Exec. Sec'y

ed:uopwa 19

SAVE CLAUDIA JONES FROM DEPORTATION!

DEFEND THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF BLACK AND WHITE, NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN AMERICANS!

23-25-7

735

Birthday Greeting by WESTERN UNION

N288 PD=DALLAS TEX 23 309P

=DR W E B DUBOIS=CARE WALTER WHITE OR ROY WILKINS

DELIVER 409 EDGEWOODE AVE=

:ACCEPT WARMEST FELICITATIONS ON YOUR 80TH BIRTHDAY YOURS IS A LIFE WHICH HAS : IMMEASURABLY ENRICHED THE LIVES OF US ALL=

DONALD JONES.

1718 Jacksin St.
Dallas, Texas

80.1

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY CHelsea 3-1838 NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

23-25-95

February
Thirteenth
1948

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

This is to express my very great disappointment at not being able to participate in the dinner being planned for Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois on Monday, February 23, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. I am leaving tomorrow for my annual sojourn in southern Arizona.

I have admired Dr. Du Bois' efforts throughout the years to help the peoples of the earth. His struggles for a democratic way of life in our country have been responsible for many thousands of people taking up the torch, thus multiplying manifold the power being generated by righteousness as a great energizing force among men.

I trust that the dinner may be a success, that Dr. Du Bois will be greatly pleased at the demonstration in his honor, and that his health may continue to be good.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene Kinckle Jones

Eugene Kinckle Jones
General Secretary

EKJ/smb

Contributions to the National Urban League are deductible for income tax purposes

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Elizabeth Eastman
L. Hamilton Garner
Frank P. Graham
Charles L. Horn
Arthur B. King
Milton R. Konvitz
R. O'Hara Lanier
Mrs. Albert D. Lasker
Harold Latham
Mrs. David M. Levy
Eduard C. Lindeman
Lawrence J. MacGregor
Dorothy Maynor
Mrs. John F. Moors
Frederick D. Patterson
Elbridge Bancroft Pierce
A. Clayton Powell, Sr.
Mrs. Albert S. Reed
Julian J. Reiss
E. P. Roberts
William Scarlett
Mrs. George W. Seligman
Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch
C. C. Spaulding
Noah Walter
Mrs. Robert L. Vann
Elizabeth Walton
Charles White
Paul R. Williams
P. B. Young

23-25-6 735

Birthday Greeting by WESTERN UNION

(29)

N110 PD=NEWYORK NY 23 1014A

DR W E B DUBOIS=
409 EDGECOMBE AVE=

:BELATED CONGRATULATIONS TO A YOUNG MAN ON HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY=
:=B A AND LILLIAN WEBSTER JONES=

Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

80=

Misc/Jones

Reg.

502 E. Vine Street
Champaign, Illinois
July 5, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. DuBois;

Is it possible for you to furnish me with authoritative sources where I may procure detailed information about the work done by the American Missionary Association in eradicating illiteracy in the South, Georgia particularly, and the establishing higher education, the founding of Atlanta University, its work and influence. This information is to cover the period, from 1860 till 1920.

This is a unit I must prepare for some special work in Education at Illinois University and must be completed shortly. I need the information now. If you have this literature I shall be glad to purchase it from you. Your early reply at your convenience will be appreciated.

Sincerely
Mary E. Jones.

22-39-27

Reg. Miscellaneous

22-39-28

July 9, 1948

Miss Mary E. Jones
502 E. Vine Street
Champaign, Illinois

Dear Miss Jones:

In reply to your letter of July 5, which has just reached this office, in re information about the American Missionary Association and its work in the South, I suggest the following:

> New Day Ascending;(The History of the American Missionary Association and Its Work), Fred L. Brownlee, The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1946. This is the best single source available and will give you exactly what you want---the schools it set up in the various states, expenditures, actual pictures of the life of the AMA in wiping out educational deficiency, etc. It covers the century of work of the AMA, from its founding in 1846 up through 1946. The Pilgrim Press has a branch in Chicago, but you should be able to consult the book in the University's library. It should be catalogued under the 300's.
>
> The address of the American Missionary Association is: 287 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York. What the book does not supply you can write them directly for it.

Hoping this serves your purpose, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

January 12, 1948

23-31-4

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

I am so sorry to hear of your second accident. I am fraid you do not carry a rabbits' foot. At any rate it would be nice if you would go to a quiet warm climate for the rest of this awful winter. We have had as you have heard, here in New York, the deepest snow in history. I have rather enjoyed it so far, but as it begins to melt, I think I shall be looking elsewhere.

Late in February I shall be in St. Louis and then on the Pacific Coast for a while. I shall probably come back by way of Texas. I hope I may be able to see you on that trip. At any rate take care of yourself.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

23-25-4

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

• CB689 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 22

DR W E B DUBOIS=

409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK=

1948 FEB 23 AM 1 05

BEST WISHES FOR THE HAPPIEST OF BIRTHDAYS FOR MANY RETURNS OF THE DAY AND FOR CONTINUED GOOD HEALTH AND PROSPERITY LETTER FOLLOWS=

MILDRED BRYANT JONES.

4809 Indiana Ave.
Chicago, Ill

DUBOIS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

March 3, 1948

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4800 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Jones:

Your letter of February 23, sent to Dr. DuBois' residence, has just reached this office. It arrived after the Doctor had left for an extended lecture tour to the West Coast, and he will not return to his desk until late in April. However, I know that he will be glad to receive your expression of good wishes on his 80th birthday, and I shall see that your letter is brought to his attention immediately upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES
4809 INDIANA AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

March 9, 1948

Mr. Hugh N. Smythe
20 West 40th Street
New York 15, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Please accept my thanks for your letter of March 3 concerning mine of February 23 to Mr. Du Bois. Naturally, I regret that he did not receive it before leaving but it will be awaiting him on his return. In all probability, he received the birthday telegram which was sent on Sunday Evening, February 22 and so does not think that I forgot the occasion. I sincerely hope that he received it.

With every good wish for you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Bryant Jones

230-31-6

March 11, 1948

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of March 9. Dr. DuBois received your wire of February 22 and I assure you that he knew you did not forget him on his 80th birthday.

As you know the Doctor is lecturing on the West Coast, and he will not return to New York until late in April. When I write him today I shall convey your good wishes to him.

With thanks for your courtesy in writing, and extending best wishes to you, I remain

sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23C-31-7

March 25, 1948

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Jones:

I am in need of some information concerning the Schroeder Foundation, which is located at 8 East Glendale Road Webster Groves, Missouri. Would you be good enough to see what you can find out about this organization and let me have this information at your earliest convenience?

We will appreciate very much your doing this.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

230-31-5

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES
4809 INDIANA AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

April 9, 1948

Mr. Hugh N. Smythe
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Though I have talked with many friends and acquaintances who have until recently lived in St. Louis, none of them seem to know anything about the Schroeder Foundation. The address indicates a suburb of St. Louis, so that may, to some extent, explain their lack of information. This afternoon, I shall make an effort along a different line and, if information is secured, shall send it in a postscript to this letter.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Bryant Jones

P. S.— [Interviewed by April 9] I have not been successful thus far but have not given up. Am not the type to do so. Shall inform you at once, if successful in the next few days.

338-31-8

April 13, 1948

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Jones:

Please accept my thanks for your efforts to find out something about the Schroeder Foundation. If you have not been able to pick up any bits of information yet, you need not worry about it.

It was indeed kind of you to be so cooperative and we thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

April 30, 1948

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

Both your letters came and I took action. Of course I could not write an article for your Nephew's paper without compensation. First, because I have made that a rule which I do not propose to break, and secondly, and more seriously, I am writing for a Chicago paper weekly and getting paid for it. I cannot afford to affront them by making free contributions to another paper. So I wrote the editor, airmail special delivery, and told him that I would send him a thousand words for $25.00. He telegraphed back today that it would be all right. So I am sending him the article in a day or so.

When I come on May 28, I shall have to stop at the Stevens Hotel at first, because that is where the exercises are going to be held. Therefore, I will come there the 27th and 28th, and then come over to your house on the morning of the 29th. We will go down to the Union Station and have dinner. I will leave Sunday morning for my return trip.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

May 20, 1948

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mildred:

You did just right to send me word about the Chicago paper. However, the thing has not turned out, as yet, quite as it should; or in other words, they have published my article and have not paid for it.

You might suggest to your nephew to take up this matter with them.

I shall be seeing you soon now.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:lm

23-31-3

June 2, 1948

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

I arrived home safely and want to thank you very much for your hospitality. I had a pleasant stay.

I hope this will find you even better than you were.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-25.-43

For health reasons - I regret Exceedingly that I cannot be present at dinner for Dr. DuBois.

I shall ( ) be present at the Dinner for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,

February 23rd, 1948. ~~Enclosed is check for~~ No reservations

for Thomas Jesse Jones.

Please return before February 14, 1948.

Make check payable to E. R. Alexander.

SUBSCRIPTION $7.50

Lecture

Dear Doctor DuBois:

It was my plan to enclose the attached wording for you book if you approve of the suggestion made.

Very truly
Thomas L. Jones

23-29-18

66 Hancock St
Brooklyn NY
March 12 1948

[Enclosure]

A MUST for every booklover
Buy it - Read it ---
Borrow it if you MUST

"Dusk of DAWN"
by DR W.E.B. DuBois

Revealing, inspiring ~~it is~~ an epic in its own right

23-29-19

March 22, 1948

Mr. Thomas S. Jones
66 Hancock Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Jones:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, concerning DUSK OF DAWN, has been forwarded to the Doctor on the West Coast. Within due time I think you will receive a reply.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Cw 8

March 30, 1948

Mr. Thomas S. Jones
66 Hancock Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Jones:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois was sent to his home address and has just come to my attention. The Doctor is out of the city and will not return until the middle of April, but I shall bring your letter to his attention when he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-33

Reg to
send MSS

(Mrs.) BRADFORD JORDAN
2 MOHAWK COURT, APT. 106
SCHENECTADY 5, NEW YORK

February 9, 1948.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Today I am sending you my husband's manuscript. Delays have been incredible and maddening. My poor vision perhaps the worst handicap.

23-16-18

I cannot tell you what your great kindness will mean to me, in reading it and, I hope, freely criticising, commenting, or suggesting. The thought of your doing this has been a life-saver for me, - giving buoyancy to weeks of lonely plodding.

Things are happening so fast I know if it is to be printed I ought to have gotten it out before 1947 was over; for my husband thought the subject timely and very important. I will not know how to proceed. Perhaps you will advise me how to get it into the hands of some printer sufficiently interested - for I do not know which way to turn.

With grateful thanks and deepest appreciation for all your courtesies,

Very sincerely yours,

Annice F. Jordan

Annice F. Jordan

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

P.S.- Should you desire an additional copy of the manuscript I shall be very glad to send you one.

A J

Race = with real = what as soon as possible ?

February 11, 1948

23-16-19

Mrs. Bradford Jordan
2 Mohawk Court, Apartment 106
Schenectady 5, New York

Dear Mrs. Jordan:

I received your letter and your manuscript which I will read and report on as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

February 25, 1948

Mrs. Bradford Jordan
2 Mohawk Court, Apt. 106
Schenectady 5, New York

Dear Mrs. Jordan:

Dr. Du Bois has received all of the material which you have sent. However, I think you should know that he is on an extended lecture tour to the West Coast and he will not return to New York for several weeks. Consequently, do not become apprehensive if you do not hear from him concerning the manuscript right away. He is most anxious to give his attention to the document but his work will delay this somewhat.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-33

Mrs BRADFORD JORDAN
2 MOHAWK COURT, APT. 106
SCHENECTADY 5, NEW YORK

March 13, 1948

22-33-33

Dear Mr. Smythe,-

Thank you so much for your kind letter of February 25. Knowing what a very busy and important person Dr Du Bois is and what wonderful work he is doing I am amazed at my temerity in allowing him to help me through with my husband's article. But it is such a character and such a personality that we look to and depend upon in our emergencies. For holding a philosophy of life such as his and devoted to living it out, makes us bolder in seeking a share of his generosity - his advice, criticism, and help.

Today I am mailing in your care, a corrected carbon free of typists' errors, I will not be apprehensive; do you reassure me. I am including the photographs and they are the only ones I have, but I believe they give the text more meaning.

I will be grateful if you will kindly return the other copy at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

Annice F. Jordan

March 17, 1948

Mrs. Bradford Jordan
2 Mohawk Court, Apt. 106
Schenectady 5, New York

22-33

Dear Mrs. Jordan:

Thank you for your letter of March 13. Under separate cover I am returning the first copy of your husband's manuscript. I have just received the corrected copy y u mentioned you were going to send in your letter.

Dr. DuBois is still away on the West Coast. I shall write him that we have heard from you.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

Mrs. BRADFORD JORDAN
2 MOHAWK COURT, APT. 106
SCHENECTADY 5, NEW YORK

Apr. 6

Dear Mr. Smythe -

Will you kindly let me know about when Dr Du Bois is expected back from his western trip? I was hoping to have some disposition made of my husband's article early in the year, and am at a loss as to the wisdom of them to proceed. Would be grateful for a suggestion from you at your convenience, as I am making time till I have the valued suggestions from your office

Very sincerely yours
Annice F. Jordan

22-33-32

111

Bucklin Moon - Doubleday
Macmillan
Little, Brown & Co
Harcourt, Brace & Co
Rosenwald Fund

April 7, 1948

Mrs. Bradford Jordan
2 Mohawk Court, Apt. 106
Schenectady 5, New York

Dear Mrs. Jordan:

Thank you for your letter of April 6, which has just arrived. Dr. DuBois arrives in town on the 15th but leaves immediately for Chicago. He will not return to New York for a definite stay until after the 19th.

Meanwhile, I should like to suggest that in trying to get your husband's article published, you write to Mr. Bucklin Moon, Doubleday and Company, Publishers, New York City, or to Mr. Herbert Aptheker, New Century Publishers, New York City. Explain to them the content of your husband's manuscript, it's value, and that you are trying to get it published. It might be advisable to inform them of any financial funds that are available for subsidizing its publication. However, if such do not exist, you need not bother to bring up this point.

As soon as Doctor returns, this office will let you have a report on the manuscript.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

It might do as an article in some periodical

22-33

April 14, 1948

Mrs. Bradford Jordan
2 Mohawk Court, Apartment 106
Schenectady 5, New York

Dear Mrs. Jordan:

I am enclosing your husbands manuscript, together with a summary of our findings after looking it over. Dr. Du Bois has been out of the city so much, and will be at his desk rather infrequently during the next few weeks, that he has asked me to examine and return the manuscript to you. He knew that you would want to get on with its publication.

I have given the document a rather thorough review and for your convenience have listed my findings under general and specific headings. I hope you will understand that this criticism is offered in the best interest of the material, since I know that you would want to release the document to the public in the best form possible.

If we can be of any further service, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Rsg. Read Manuscript

Comments on: A COMING MIGRATION, By Bradford Jordan April, 1948

From: The office of W. E. B. DuBois, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York

General

Technical: The manuscript needs quite a lot of technical revision. The system of using footnotes does not follow any standard plan.

Footnotes: Footnotes need to be identified more clearly. They should be numbered, precision is necessary in stating dates, sources, pages and so on. There is material in the body of the manuscriptwhich is set off by quotation marks but which receives no credit in the footnotes.

Editing: Editing of the entire manuscript is needed for correcting sentence structure, revising the style of the document, correcting typing errors and the like. The manuscript needs a lot of rewriting throughout. A check needs to be made on spelling, the use of capital letters in writing some words, as well as in the choice of words in some cases.

25-2-319

Printing: Some suggestions were sent to Mrs. Jordan regarding this item. She might find it advisable to contact her Senator or Congressman, since at one time there was a system by which certain documents could be printed at government expense if sent in by these officials. Also, it might be helpful to submit the manuscript, when it is revised, to the Department of Agriculture, United States, to see if they would be interested in using it or publishing it.

Other: As the manuscript now stands it is too short for publishing as a book. After it is revised and certain parts are deleted, it will be even smaller. Consequently its best chance for publication seems to be as a pamphlet, or at best a monograph. The use of the pictures is going to run up the publishing cost, but as a pamphlet this can be reduced. Likewise, it would probably receive wider circulation if issued as a booklet or pamphlet, since it could sell for a very reasonable price.

The idea behind the material is excellent, but a search will have to be made to see if the data have not been preempted already. The U. S. Department of Agriculture has given serious time to this phase of cotton culture, and the population studies of scholars and social scientists have devoted some time to the dislocations arising or likely to arise from the influx of people from the South, both during and since the War. This is not meant to rule out the usefulness of the material, but it is necessary to see what has been done on a subject before going ahead and later finding out that something has already been done and that you are simply duplicating.

Frankly speaking, as the material now stands it is going to be very difficult to get it published. This is not meant to detract from its worth, but to face the fact that almost a complete revision and rewriting are necessary. A large amount of the data is irrelevant to the central theme, there is straying from the subject in parts, and there is an emotional overtone, although backed by sincerity, that must be eliminated in order to make the whole highly objective.

Specific

Forward: 10 lines from the bottom, first page, 4th paragraph is not clear, it needs rewording

Page 2: This material is too technic, it could be eliminated (cotton picker)

Page 1 All material from paragraph 4 on page 1 to the last paragraph inclusive on page 3 can be eliminated. It is too technical and of no consequence to a book such as this

Page 5 Eliminate all on page 5, where John D. Rust speaks, to page 6 end of the Rust's quotation

Page 7 This material is confused -- "The different development states, etc."

Page 8 Eliminate all of page 8, begin ing with "That the--," to page 10

Page 11 More specificity is needed in describing the "High Plains" area. It needs to be located definitely

Page 11 All of Chapter II. This is too long, too technical. All of it should be deleted, beginning with the 2nd paragraph, "It is said--," on page 12 through 2nd paragraph on page 18

Page 19 Chapter III. Eliminate all material on pages 24-27. This is all too technical and unnecessary for this type of work

Page 42 Chapter IV. Generally this is a good chapter, but there are some small items that need checking.

Page 45 One questions the statement on Negroes in ghettoes. Migrants of any color are ordinarily confined to ghettos in a new city

Page 47 Identify the 9 states referred to

Page 48 Enlarge on the restriction of Negroes in white northern schools

Page 48 More accuracy is needed in some of the statements; generalizations weaken the content of the material

Page 51 Chapter VI. This is generally a good chapter. However, there are several quotations that need to be identified and credited

Page 54 The facts on the Detroit Riot of 1943 need to be rechecked

Page 55 Identify where there 70,000 Negroes per square mile in cities

Page 56 Identify these reports for July, 1947, etc.

Page 58 Identify cities from which replies came; list individual writing reply

Page 60 The attempt is laudable but Negroes, regardless of material benefits, do not want to remain in an area where they are completely proscripted in their legal, political, social, and economic rights, or where there is no chance to enjoy full citizenship rights. This needs to be changed

Pages61-4 Identify these quotations - DuBois, etc.

Page 78 Chapter VII. Identify sources throughout this chapter

Pages 79-81 Material by Alfred Russell Wallace---all of this should be eliminated, or placed in an appendix

Page 83 Chapter VIII. The facts on the Negro on farms in the South seems to be incorrect. A check up here is needed

Page 84 Identify sources when used. This chapter seems unrelated to the theme of the book, it appears to be sort of stuck in

Page 92 The NAACP has not had a quiet existence in the United States

Page 98 The DuBois material needs rechecking, as well as that on other individuals, such as Charles Drew

Page 95 There is some good material in this chapter, but it needs reorganization and definite realignment with the theme of the work

Page 100 The entire list needs clearing up

Page 105 The wording is faulty and disconnected

Pages 109 112 This is a poem. It has no place in this type of work

Page 1083 Chapter VIII is too disjointed, and the material it contains is so set down as to seem completely unconnected with the main subject of migration and worker replacement by the mechanical cotton picker. Much of it can be eliminated

35-2-320

Mrs. BRADFORD JORDAN
2 MOHAWK COURT, APT. 106
SCHENECTADY 5, NEW YORK

April 18.

Dear Mr. Smythe —

Please accept my most grateful thanks and sincere appreciation for your great kindness in reading my husband's article - I realized it had many errors and short-comings, and am so glad to have them specified for me so clearly by your great kindness

Mr. Jordan died two weeks after the letters and material began coming in, and all had to be scrutinized and arranged in some pattern. My vision has failed so fast in the past few weeks that it will not be easy to locate references, et- But due ~~Thanks~~ to your kindness & guidance I shall begin again - to make corrections, to eliminate, and to "reorganize", as you have indicated and suggested.

Please know that I do thank you for your patient courtesies and interest in these amateur gropings which were a labor of love & a life-saver during a terrible grief - Very truly yours, Annice F. Jordan

23-20-91

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

June 21, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe,
Dept. of Special Research, NAACP.,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

23C-45

Dear Mr. Smythe:

We are in receipt of an article by you and Mr. Rufus Smith entitled "Race Policies and Practices in Selected Public School Systems of Pennsylvania," which was sent to us by Miss Lillian Y. Murphy.

This material is being passed on to our Editorial Committee for attention and as soon as we hear from the Committee, any decision reached will be passed on to you.

Thank you for preparing and having the material sent to us.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

September 10, 1948

23-20-11

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N Y

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Upon the request of Dr. Thompson, I am enclosing the proof of your article for the Journal. He would like for you to please make the necessary corrections and return it to the Journal within the next four days.

Thank you for this cooperation.

Yours very truly,

Bernice Thorpe

Bernice Thorpe, for
Dr. Thompson

Enclosures

[Journal of Negro Education]

October 26, 1948

Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Editor
The Journal of Negro Education
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I am enclosing a check for $3.00 to cover one foreign subscription to THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, to be made out and sent to the following:

Mr. B. G. Nsiah
Ahafo Mmom
Ashanti
Gold Coast
West Africa

A copy of this letter is being sent to Mr. Nsiah to show him that his subscription has been sent in and that in due time he should begin receiving copies of the journal.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Enclosure

[Journal of Negro Ed.]

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

23-20-21

November 17, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

This is to acknowledge with thanks the items named below.

Reprint of your article entitled THE CONCEPT "JIM CROW" which will be brought immediately to Dean Thompson's attention upon his return to the city.

Very truly yours,

Rosa C. Nichols

(Mrs.) Rosa C. Nichols
Secretary to Dean Thompson

[Journal of Negro Ed.]

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

23-20-24

November 19, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

This is to acknowledge with thanks the items named below.

Reprint of your article entitled THE CONCEPT "JIM CROW."

Very truly yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson, Dean.

Unused

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

May 13, 1948

This form not sent

22-34-5

The Editor
Kansas City Call
1715 East 18th Street
Kansas City, Missouri

My dear Sir:

Beginning May 15, I shall no longer furnish columns for the Chicago Defender and The People's Voice of New York City. The reasons are partly financial, but there are other reasons.

I have in mind certain plans which lead me to think that I could be of more service to the colored people of the United States by changing my vehicles of communication. As it is, papers like the Defender, The Pittsburg Courier, and The Afro-American are seeking a nation-wide coverage of Negro news. Consequently each one of these papers has to bear the cost of a full staff, and in the case of columnists, the full remuneration of these writers. At the same time, the message of these writers is necessarily confined to the individual paper.

In recent trips, which I have made over the larger part of the United States, I have been in contact with considerable numbers of people. I have been convinced that there are very many people who would like to read my column, but are deprived of it. I have, therefore, determined to put before a selected list of papers a suggestion for a syndicated column. I want to select something between ten and fifteen papers, each of which covers a locality or a region fairly well and have my column published simultaneously in these papers.

The cost could be kept low to each paper and I think that the number of readers which I could thus obtain would be larger and more significent than if I confined my work to a single paper, even though it had a large national circulation. Therefore, I have outlined my idea of a weekly cooperative venture in the enclosed statement. I wish you would read it and let me have your criticism and reaction. I shall be under great obligations.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Enclosure:

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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JEWS

48 MAR 27 (49) AM 9

23-31-2

N101 NL PD VIA NSH (MVD 69 5 AVE)=CLEVELAND OH10 MAR 26

HONORABLE W E B DUBOIS, NATL ASSN OF BANDS OF COLORED PEOPLE=
CARE WALKER A WHITE APT 13B OR ROY WILKINS APT 7D
409 EDGECOMBE AVE=

:EMERGENCY CONFERENCE TO REPUDIATE BETRAYAL OF JEWISH PEOPLE THROUGH ADMINISTRATIONS WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT OF PALESTINE PARTITION WILL BE HELD IN CLEVELAND OH10 MONDAY MARCH 29TH. CLEVELAND PROVISIONAL UNITED COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE JEWISH STATE WOULD WELCOME YOUR MESSAGE TO CLEVELAND JEWRY PLEASE REPLY CARE OF UNDERSIGNED=

:JOSEPH KELLER CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN :1000 WALNUT AVE.

1000=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

March 30, 1948

Mr. Joseph Keller
1000 Walnut Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Keller:

Your wire of March 26 to Dr. DuBois, requesting a message to be sent to the emergency conference of Cleveland Jewry, has just come to my attention since it was sent to the Doctor's residence. Dr. DuBois has been away from New York since February 24 and is not due to return until the middle of April. This should explain why you did not hear from him. However, I shall see that your wire is brought to his attention as soon as he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh M. Smythe

HMS:LM

Zilversmith

DICKINSON COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1773
CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Refer to Smythe.

August 28, 1948

Mrs. Diggs, Secretary to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Diggs:

At the suggestion of Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, I am writing to see if it would be possible for me to see Dr. DuBois some time on Monday, August 30, on my way from Great Barrington, Massachusetts to Baltimore. I have an appointment with Mr. Walter White at eleven a. m. on that day.

23C-45

As I have written Mr. White, Dickinson College has granted me a year's leave of absence from the Department of History for further graduate study at The Johns Hopkins University. During this period I should like to complete the research and part of the writing of my dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

I have in mind three possible thesis topics - Dr. Johnson, Dr. DuBois, and the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. With these possibilities in view, my wife and I have for the past two weeks been examining the material at Yale University.

My interest in Dr. Johnson and Dr. DuBois springs partly from the fact that my home town is Great Barrington, Massachusetts, where Dr. DuBois was born and where Dr. Johnson had a summer home. Since boyhood I have heard of these two famous men. In June, I talked with Mrs. Johnson at Five Acres and she referred me to the Yale collection. Yesterday afternoon my wife and I had another talk with Mrs. Johnson and she suggested that I write to you about seeing Dr. DuBois on Monday.

If Dr. DuBois is out of town I should be grateful if you would call this matter to his attention upon his return, and I will be glad to come to New York at his convenience. I am anxious to learn as soon as possible what topic I may select, as the next step involves a survey of the material available with a report to the University before the Graduate School will approve the project.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Flint Kellogg

Charles Flint Kellogg
Assistant Professor of History

2925 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, Maryland

File Smythe

DICKINSON COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1773
CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

October 9, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

I have delayed writing to you until I have something definite about the thesis topic. I may now say that Dr. Woodward is tremendously enthusiastic about my report and has assured me that he is recommending its acceptance to the Department.

My interview with Dr. Carter G. Woodson was most helpful and he has given me some very promising "leads."

23C-45

As yet I have not been able to get over to Howard University, but I understant that Dr. Logan and Professor Franklin will be here at Hopkins a week from Tuesday. Dr. Woodward has invited them to be present at a meeting of the Department at which another student is to make a report on the materials available and his plans for research on his topic, "The Republican Party and the Negro," and I am to do the same on the N. A. A. C. P. The visitors are to offer us any suggestions they may have as to procedure and organization of our work.

Following Dr. DuBois' suggestion concerning the use of his papers in aiding me in my study of the Association I went to see Dr. Aptheker. He was most cordial and told me that he would be delighted to have me use the material. He outlined what he knew to be available and indicated its location in the file marked with his name.

I assume now that it will be permissable for me to begin work in the near future. The N. A. A. C. P. has promised to find me space in the outter office and I am eager to get under way.

I am very grateful to you for your many kindnesses and valuable suggestions. Please express to Dr. DuBois my deep appreciation for his interview and helpfulness which is making this study possible.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Flint Kellogg

Present address:
c/o The History Department
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore 18, Maryland

Department of History
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland
December 28, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

I have just returned from a conference at Howard University with Dr. John Hope Franklin concerning my thesis on the history of the N.A.A.C.P. Needless to say he gave me many valuable suggestions as to source materials and development of the subject matter.

I find that there are sufficient materials here in Washington and Baltimore to keep me busy for a month or two. After that time I should like to begin work on one or more of the private collections of documents. I realize that at the present it may not be convenient to use Dr. DuBois' files, but would they be available by spring or summer?

As I wrote you in October, I conferred with Dr. Aptheker upon Dr. DuBois' suggestion concerning the use of Dr. DuBois' papers and Dr. Aptheker told me that he would be happy for me to work with the material.

Would you be so kind as to call this matter to Dr. DuBois' attention, as his material is vital for any study of the origins and development of the work of the N. A. A. C. P., and let me know in the near future when I may be able to begin work on his collection.

My wife and I read with much interest your article on Carlisle in the fall issue of the Journal of Negro Education as we have been watching for further developments there in the school situation.

With every best wish for the New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Charles Flint Kellogg

Charles Flint Kellogg

23-20-44

December 29, 1948

Mr. Charles F. Kellog
Department of History
John Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Kellog:

Your letter of December 28 has just arrived, and I hasten to reply. I am glad that you had a chance to talk with Dr. John Hope Franklin of Howard University and that the discussion was beneficial to you in pursuing your work.

Since Dr. DuBois is leaving the Association as of December 31, 1948, please address him hereafter at 23 West 26th Street, New York, N. Y., where his new office will be located.

The material you want will be filed at the new office of Dr. DuBois and you will find it more convenient to work with them there. They will be available to you at the time you want them, late spring or summer. It might be best to write Dr. DuBois after the first of the year and find when it would be most convenient for you to come and work over the data.

If I can be of further service, please write me hereafter at 2225 Fifth Avenue, Apt. 2-C, New York 35, N. Y. With best wishes for success in your work and regards to both you and Mrs. Kellog, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

23-25-21

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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BDA D.UTA220 NL PD=AUSTIN TEX 22

DR W E B DUBOIS=

-HENDRIK HUDSON ROOM HOTEL ROOSEVELT 45 ST AT

MADISON AVE NYK=

MAY YOU LIVE MANY MANY MORE YEARS TO CONTINUE
TO HAVE YOUR INFLUENCE KEENLY FELT BY ALL AMERICANS
WE AS ALUMNI OF FISK UNIVERSITY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN
INSPIRED BY YOUR SAGE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIETY
CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES ON YOUR BIRTHDAY=

THE KINGS MRS ALICE WOODSON KING MRS EDWINA KING MURPHY
JOHN Q TAYLOR KING MRS MARCET HINES KING 1107
E. 6 STREET AUSTIN TEXAS.

TH ...IONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Miss Lily Edelman, East and West Association
40 East 49th Street, New York, New York

The Director, India League of America,
40 East 49th Street, New York, New York

The Director, China Institute in America
125 East 65 Street, New York, New York.

If we can be of further service to you please feel free to call upon us, for such help I suggest that you write to this office directly.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Knopf (Alfred A.) Inc.]

Arna Bontemps - Fisk Univ

April 6, 1948

Miss Helen Durney
PUBLIC RELATIONS
Alfred A. Knopf Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Durney:

This will acknowledge receipt of an advance copy of Arna Bontemp's STORY OF THE NEGRO, which was sent to Dr. DuBois. The Doctor is out of the city on a lecture tour but I shall bring it to his attention immediately upon his arrival. I know that he will be glad to receive this volume and will be pleased to let you have his reaction at his earliest convenience.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:LM

May 20, 1948

Mr. W. L. Kone
47 Burke Avenue
Towson, Maryland

Dear Mr. Kone:

I am writing you at the suggestion of Mr. Brunaugh of the Woodbine Nurseries. These nurseries laid out the grounds of my little cottage in 1940. I have about a half acre with an eight-room cottage. The Woodbine Nurseries graded the lawn, planted six elms, and the shrubbery around the house and along the borders. Very little has been done since, but the grounds ought to have some attention.

22-36

First of all and most pressing is thinning out the shrubbery around the house; then some attention ought to be given to other plants and to a hedge which has been planted since, to the grass, and to a drive which needs new gravel.

I may not be able to have any large amount of work done at once, but I should like to have your advice and to have something done this year.

I am only in Baltimore occasionally, but my daughter, Mrs. Yolande Du Bois-Williams, is a teacher in the public schools and is at home Saturdays and afternoons. I should be glad if you would write or telephone her, (the telephone is Hamilton 9015) and make an appointment, so that she can show you about.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Copy sent to Yolande Du Bois Williams
May 27, 1948
Du Bois - Lecturing
HOME

TELEPHONE, TOWSON 1960

W. L. KONE * *Landscape Contractor*

47 BURKE AVENUE · TOWSON · 4 · MARYLAND

May 25, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In compliance with your request by letter, we have made an inspection of the grounds at your home located at 2302 Montebello Terrace, this city.

Our recommendation is that nothing be done to the lawn at this time. Due to the lateness of the season seeding would hardly be a success. The lawn needs a top dressing of screened top soil and fertilizer; then seeded and rolled. We would suggest doing this in late August or September.

The work that can be done now is thinning out and re-arranging the plants in the front foundation planting, all plants around the house given a general pruning and removing lower branches from Elm trees. They interfere with free passing and will cause bare spots in lawn. Also, kill and remove weeds in driveway and fill in with crushed stone to proper level.

We are unable to render a definite figure of the costs of this work, but approximate it between $175.00 and $200.00.

We are appreciative of this opportunity of serving you and should we have your authority to proceed, assure you of our very best effort.

Awaiting your reply, we are

Sincerely yours,

W. L. KONE, Landscape Contractor

Guy M. Stricklen

By: Guy M. Stricklen

GMS:ek

22-36

TELEPHONE, TOWSON 1960

W. L. KONE * *Landscape Contractor*

47 BURKE AVENUE · TOWSON · 4 · MARYLAND

June 21, 1948.

ESTIMATE OF PROPOSED
LAWN RENOVATION
FOR
DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS,
2303 MONTEBELLO TERRACE,
BALTIMORE, MD.

22-36

To top dress lawn with fourteen cubic yards of soil and 300 pounds of fertilizer.

To seed with 50 pounds of grass seed.

To roll to an even smooth grade.

To furnish all required material, labor & supervision,

for the sum of $430.04
(FOUR HUNDRED THIRTY DOLLARS & FOUR CENTS).

APPROVED_____

Submitted by Guy M. Stricklen

TELEPHONE, TOWSON 1960

W. L. KONE * *Landscape Contractor*

47 BURKE AVENUE · TOWSON · 4 · MARYLAND

June 21, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

22 - 36

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed is our estimate for the lawn renovation at your residence located at 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore, Md.

As recommended in our letter of earlier date, this work should be done in August or September and upon advice from you, we will arrange to proceed with same at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Guy M. Stricklen

Guy M. Stricklen

GMS:ek

TELEPHONE, TOWSON 1960

W. L. KONE * *Landscape Contractor*

47 BURKE AVENUE · TOWSON · 4 · MARYLAND

22-36

November 2, 1948.

To Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Md.

TERMS: Net cash

Transplanting shrubs Sowing bare spots in lawn Furnishing and placing stone in driveway	$ 125	65

paid Dec. 1, 1948
by check.
L. murphy for W.E.B.D.

November 11, 1948

Mr. W. L. Kone
47 Burke Avenue
Towson 4, Maryland

Dear Mr. Kone:

Will you kindly explain the enclosed bill? I authorized you on May 27, 1948 to renovate my lawn at a cost between $175 and $200. Your bill was for $148.43 which I paid by check on June 9, 1948.

On June 21, you proposed further work to cost $430.30 . This I told you I could not afford but ask you to suggest something at about $200 or less. The bill for this work was $202 which I paid on August 27.

I have authorized no further work. Will you kindly explain.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

TELEPHONE, TOWSON 1960

W. L. KONE * *Landscape Contractor*

47 BURKE AVENUE · TOWSON · 4 · MARYLAND

November 15, 1948.

22-36

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The invoice of November 2nd is for work as stated, and requested by Mrs. Williams.

This was to remove the flag stones from rear lawn which necessitated the additional seeding. The shrubs were those which had been planted around the stone terrace. The stone in driveway was to replace the grassed edge, as it was found that it was difficult to control stearing of cars and keep off the grass strip.

We regret this misunderstanding, but feel sure Mrs. Williams will assure you this work was authorized.

Very truly yours,

W. L. KONE

By: Guy M. Stricklen

GMS:ek

March 17, 1948

Mr. Eugene Konecky
330 West 56th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Konecky:

We have recently had brought to our attention your new book, THE AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS CONSPIRACY. It appears that this is the sort of volume we would like to bring to the attention of the audiences we reach in our writing and speaking. Would you be good enough to please send us a copy for examination? After we have looked it over we shall be glad to return it.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

Hugh

EUGENE KONECKY
330 WEST 36th ST.
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

March 18, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear friend,

In reply to your letter of March 17, I am sending you, under separate cover, two copies of my book, THE AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS CONSPIRACY. There will be no charge. One copy is for yourself and the other is for Mr. DuBois. For more years than I can recall, I have admired the achievements of Mr. DuBois and the splendid work of the NAACP.

As a matter of fact, I cherish the fact that in 1919, after the lynching riot in Omaha, Nebraska, the NAACP adopted a resolution of commendation for an editorial which I wrote under the title, " The Black Peril", which was published at that time in the Jewish Bulletin of Omaha.

While in several of the chapters and throughout my book, I have tried to emphasize the extent and significance of discrimination against the Negro people and the spreading of anti-Negro and other prejudices by the monopolists who control broadcasting, I do not believe the subject has received sufficient attention in terms of its importance. The problem here is mainly that of a special research job, and I hope someday in the future either to do it or to collaborate with those who are able to initiate such a project.

I would appreciate any comments you or Dr. DuBois might care to make about the book.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene Konecky

Eugene Konecky

33C-45

March 23, 1948

Mr. Eugene Konecky
330 West 36th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Konecky:

Thank you for your letter of March 18. The two volumes have arrived, concerning "The American Communications Conspiracy", and I want to thank you for your kindness in sending them to Dr. DuBois and to me. This department shall give them all possible publicity, and as soon as we have gone over them carefully we shall let you have our comments.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

EDMUND EZRA DAY, PRESIDENT

January 26, 1948

23C - 31-12

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York City 18

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Sometime ago you wrote to say that you were sending me a copy of the printed statement the NAACP submitted to the UN Assembly. The copy has not come. Would you please send me a copy by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

Milton R. Konvitz
Associate Professor

MRK/el

Handwritten: Handwritten note Miss Baxter to send him another copy 3:25 PM 1-28-48 HHS

Hugh H. Smythe

January 28, 1948

Mr. Milton Konvitz
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dear Mr. Konvitz: I have your letter of January 26, relative to your printed copy of the NAACP United Nations Petition. Immediately upon receiving your letter, I contacted Miss Julia Baxter, who is in charge of sending out the petitions and to whom I made a special note to send copies to each of the contributors. She assured me that you had been sent one more than a week ago. The other contributors received and acknowled[redacted]eirs long ago. However, she is sending you another one today. Please let me know if it arrives all right.

Sincerely yours,

NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

EDMUND EZRA DAY, PRESIDENT

February 5, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York City 18

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Still no sign of the printed copy of the NAACP memorandum submitted to the UN Assembly. I certainly believe you when you say that you have sent a copy, but no trace of it has reached us. I shall be very grateful to you if you will send me at least one copy, and I shall be even more grateful if you will send me several, since people ask me about it and for it.

Sincerely yours,

MRKonvitz

Milton R. Konvitz
Associate Professor

MRK/el

23C - 45

February 9, 1948

Mr. Milton R. Konvitz
School of Industrial
and Labor Relations
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dear Mr. Konvitz:

I have your letter of February 5, and want to thank you for calling my attention to the delay you are experiencing in receiving a printed copy of the petition. Please know that this office has nothing to do with the sending out of the petitions. Miss Julia Baxter is in charge of this work. When the petitions came from the printers Dr. DuBois sent up orders to Miss Baxter that all contributors were to be sent copies first. Miss Baxter informed us that this had been done. When you wrote previously, I again informed her to send you a copy immediately and she assured me she would.

I have just now phoned her office, read your letter to her secretary, and requested that they send you the petition by first class mail. I hope this will get results. If not, please let me know.

We regret the delay and inconvenience but hope you will understand that this is not of our doing. With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

EDMUND EZRA DAY, PRESIDENT

February 11, 1948

230 - 31-13

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York City 18

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 9. I am sorry I have been such a nuisance concerning the pamphlets. They have finally come in, including the one that you sent by first class mail. Many thanks for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Milton R. Konvitz
Associate Professor

MRK/el

January 23, 1948

Miss Catherine A. Latimer
135th Street Branch Library
New York, New York

Dear Miss Latimer: Enclosed is a letter which Dr. DuBois is planning on sending to the Editor of the New York TIMES. He would appreciate your looking it over and letting him have your suggestions, criticisms, additions, and corrections, and returning it to him at your very earliest convenience.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Enclosure

23C-48

23-25-14

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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(42)

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1948 FEB 23 PM 6 41

N123 RX PD= BROOKLYN NY 23 615P

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE DINNER COMMITTEE =
DLR IMMY ROOSEVELT HOTEL=

CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS MOMENTOUS OCCASION. REGRET WE ARE NOT PRIVILEGED TO CELEBRATE WITH OU WANT YOU TO KNOW HOW MUCH WE ALL APPRECIATE YOU AND YOUR GREAT CONTRIBUTION=

CATHERINE AND BENTON LATIMER. 1023 Union St. Brooklyn, N.Y.

Brooklyn

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23-25-72

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
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(43)

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N126 PD=SAVANNAH GA 23 626P

1948 FEB 23 PM 6 42

W E B DUBOIS=
ROOSEVELT HOTEL=

PLEASE ACCEPT OUR GRATITUDE FOR YOUR LONG YEARS OF FEARLESS LEADERSHIP ON YOUR EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY. A BLESSING TO THREE OR MORE GENERATIONS, YOUTH OF THIS NATION LOVE YOU=

W W LAW NAACP YOUTH CHAIRMAN.

NAACP.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Reg. Miscellaneous

JOHN Q. LAWLESS
COUNTY JUDGE
BROWN COUNTY
MT. STERLING, ILLINOIS

August 10, 1948.

Mr. Walter White, Columnist,
The Chicago Daily News,
Chicago, Illinois.

25667 AUG16'48

Dear Sir:

Within the past two or three years, somewhere I came across a statement to the effect that some three hundred years ago there were enough colored people in England to give them a color question of some importance, but that the problem had been solved by natural processes of absorbtion.

I made the statement recently, and it was disputed, with the statement that there never were any substantial number of negros in England or the British Isles.

Since then I have been trying to find out where the original statement was made, or lacking that, whether there was any basis in fact for it. I have not been successful.

I have found in an old Encyclopedia Brittanica a statement of the various events leading up to the definite abolition of slavery in England just before 1800, with some inferences that there might have been negro slaves in England before that time, but I have not been able to find anything directly in point as to the number of negros there in, say, 1650.

I realize that you are not running an information service, but as one of the best informed people in the country on this subject, if you will give me any lead in my inquiry into this matter, I will appreciate it. I do not like to lose an argument.

Very truly yours,

J. Q. LAWLESS.

JQL:D.

230-31-26

There were few Negroes or Mulattoes in England in 17th C. A few slaves came with their masters & servants & some colored children were sent to Rhineland for education. Compare many of these mulattoes intermarried & disappeared in England stock, but this was a matter of not more than a hundred or less persons in all

August 25, 1948

Dear Judge Lawless:

Will you forgive my delay in answering your inquiry of August 10th. The delay has been due to my absence from the city, and also preparations for my departure for Paris to represent the Association and to serve as a consultant at the meeting of the U. N. General Assembly.

I have asked Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, our Director of Special Research, to give you the benefit of his very considerable information in answer to your inquiry. You will be receiving this very shortly.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Judge J. Q. Lawless
Mt. Sterling, Illinois

ww/mdj

August 27, 1948

Judge John Q. Lawless
Mt. Sterling
Illinois

Dear Judge Lawless:

Your letter of August 10, to Mr. Walter F. White, has just been turned over to this office for reply. Since Dr. DuBois is out of the city, I am going to try and help you in your quest for information.

In regard to the number of Negroes in England during the 17th century, you will find information relating to their numbers in some of the following works:

Elizabeth Donnan. DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA, Vol. 1, Carnegie Institution of Washington (D.C.), 1930

George F. Dow. SLAVE SHIPS AND SLAVERY. The Marine Research Society, 1927

Perhaps it might serve your purposes quicker to write directly to some individuals directly concerned with the question you have in mind. So contact: Miss Ruth Anna Fisher, 654 Girard Street, N.W., Apt. 409, Washington, D.C. She is an expert on slave documents in the Library of Congress in Washington and can probably give you direct sources. Also, write to Dr. John Hope Franklin, Department of History, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

You are correct in that there were Negro slaves in England at the time you mention. They were taken into the employ of English families of the nobility and were found principally in London, Bristol, and Liverpool.

If we can be of further service, please feel free to write us. Incidentally, I should like to call your attention to the fact that in all civilized social groups of the United States the word Negro is always spelled with a capital "N" -- I am sure you would want to know this so as not to alienate people who might be able to help you, as well as for your own personal enlightenment.

Sincerely yours,

addendum - Drake's name
& address sent
and DuBois' words
added.

Hugh H. Smythe
Research Specialist

HHS:s

Reg: Miscellaneous

JOHN Q. LAWLESS
COUNTY JUDGE
BROWN COUNTY
MT. STERLING, ILLINOIS

August 31, 1948.

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
20 West Fortieth Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

This is to thank you for your letter of August 27. I am writing Mr. St. Clair Drake as you suggest.

Very truly yours,

J.Q.LAWLESS.

JQL:D.

23c-31-25

Request for help

ROCKLAND, MASSACHUSETTS

May 29, 1948

23-34-6

Mr. William E. B. DuBois
c/o Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Our friends in Central Arizona are faced with a very serious situation. Basically, they are dependent upon an agricultural economy, and if they do not get water from the Colorado River in the next few years, agriculture on the whole, will suffer drastically....and so will almost everything else in the Valley of the Sun....business, commerce and industry.

This is a long story, but they have given it quite a bit of their attention, and are convinced that not only does Arizona have a just and clear claim to a portion of the firm flow of the Colorado River, but also that Arizona's use of this water will not hurt any other state and will be of great national benefit. Legislation has been introduced in Congress in the form of Senate Bill 1175, and if it is passed they will get their share of the water which they so desperately need.

I would greatly appreciate it if you would take the necessary time to request your Senators and Representatives in Congress to carefully consider this matter and if possible, support the measures proposed in favor of Arizona's using its share of water from the Colorado River.

Thanks for your interest and help in this most important matter.

Yours very truly,

Samuel C. Lawrence

Mr. Samuel C. Lawrence
140 High Street, R. F. D.
Rockland, Massachusetts

I have observed conditions at Boulder Dam and in the valley of the sun by personal visits. I hope I may see you in Cambridge on Commencement Day.

A. C. L.

June 9, 1948

22-32-2

Mr. Samuel C. Lawrence
140 High Street, R. F. D.
Rockland, Massachusetts

My dear Sir:

I no longer live in Atlanta, Georgia; but am a resident of New York City. I know something of the controversy over the Colorado River and would be glad to see justice done to both Arizona and California.

I am sorry I could not attend the last commencement.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[LEAGUE for FAIR PLAY]

175-19 113th Avenue
St. Albans, Long Island, New York
October 18, 1948

42-6c-3

Dr. Clyde Miller
League for Fair Play
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

My dear Dr. Miller:

Yesterday I personally returned to your office the correspondence with Walter White.

I stated the facts and quoted from Mr. White's letter of March 1st in the material I sent Arthur Spingarn, president of the NAACP. I did not give your name. Unless Mr. White recognizes his statements as having been made only to you the case remains anonymous.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes writes Dr. Du Bois that he attended the board meeting October 11th in order to fight against the action taken in September. The letter reflected his discouragement which almost amounts to complete bewilderment. It would appear that this Board is not going to budge an inch.

Meanwhile every place I go during these last days of the election campaign people are asking me about Dr. Du Bois dismissal. In my opinion the Association will find that it has fastened a cord about its own neck - one that will eventually strangle it. And this will be a tragic loss. You may have some suggestions as to how this can be prevented. November MASSES-MAINSTREAM will feature an article in which we have attempted to set forth the facts and rally the people to the democratization of a potentially great organization.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

[LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES]

NEWS LETTER

Vol. XVII No. 100 April, 1948

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES

Founded 1931 by Dr. Harold A. Moody

SEVENTEENTH YEAR

THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

EDITORIAL.

TROUBLE ON THE GOLD COAST.

TRADE UNIONISM IN THE COLONIES.

THE SECRETARY'S NOTES.

32-34-4

The L.C.P. exists to promote and protect its members' interests.
To interest members in all coloured peoples.
To improve relations between the races.
To co-operate with kindred organisations.
To assist financially, if possible.

President - - Learie N. Constantine, Esq., M.B.E.
Vice-President - - Geo. A. Roberts, Esq., B.E.M.
Hon. Treasurer - - - - W. H. Moore, Esq.

Address all communications to:
THE GENERAL SECRETARY,
THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES,
19, OLD QUEEN STREET,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1.
Phone: WHItehall 6591.

Subscriptions:
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THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Seventeenth Annual General Meeting will be held on Wednesday the 28th April, 1948 at 7.00 p.m. The meeting will be held in the **Kent Room,** of **Caxton Hall,** Caxton Street, London, S.W.1.

It is regretted that financial re-adjustments make it again impossible for the usual printed circulars to be issued this year. Minutes and related documents will however be issued shortly.

AGENDA.

1. President L. N. Constantine's introductory remarks.
2. Minutes of the 16th Annual General Meeting and of the Special General Meeting held on the 11th July, 1947.
3. Business arising from the minutes.
4. The General Secretary's report.
5. The Hon. Treasurer's report.
6. The Hon. Auditor's report and observations.
7. Report on Childrens' Welfare.
8. Election of Officers and Executive Members for 1948-49.

   (Nominations for election to the Executive Committee should reach the office by the 26th April, if possible, though they may also be made at the meeting. The consent of the nominee, in writing, must first be obtained).
9. Resolutions.
10. General Business.

Election of President and Vice-President:

The retiring President and Vice-President, both eligible for re-election are: **Learie N. Constantine, M.B.E.,** and **Geo. A. Roberts, B.E.M.**

Election of Executive Committee:

The retiring Committee, all of whom are eligible for re-election, are: **R. Kenneth Ablack, Leacroft Robinson, Colin Jones, R. B. O. Hart, Dr. Hastings K. Banda, Dr. J. Jackson Brown, W. H. Moore,** Treasurer.

EDITORIAL.

To those many enquirers who have written and telephoned about the late appearance of the News Letter we tender our apologies for the tardy appearance of the first issue in 1948, and the fact that though it is April, this is only the second number. None the less, we feel a certain gratification at this obvious interest in the League's assumption of a wider scope of activities and thought, and think we are correct in drawing the conclusion that it meets with the approval of our members and friends.

If the News Letter has been late in appearing, this is due to the rapidly growing volume of work which is falling on the shoulders of the Secretary and the various committees which have been set up to deal with different aspects of our activities. In fact, the tempo of work is increasing at such a rate that a full-time paid staff presents itself as the only solution for dealing with the mass of correspondence and problems which keep piling up.

32-34-5

When the report of the League's activities during this past year is laid before the Annual General Meeting on April 28th it will be most obvious that the extent of our work has covered a wide field. We believe that our late President would have been delighted to see how the latest trend of our work is progressing towards those aims which he was himself expressing. We continue to mourn his sudden passing and are sad at heart because he was so suddenly cut away. There is no doubt that at the time of his death, our late President had come to recognise that the League must correlate its activities with the struggles of the broader strata of coloured peoples everywhere: he was sensible of the fact that to restrict the scope of the organisation merely to those problems touching a small group of transient students and professional workers would abandon the League to a shunned sterility.

What our late President observed and witnessed on his tour of the West Indies brought him to a revelation of the need of a wider understanding and support of the continuing contention for democratic rights and freedoms throughout the Colonial countries: what he saw evidently shocked him into this sudden realisation, and this new frame of mind came at a time when the League, under the impulse of a more militant demand from Colonials in Britain, was shaping its orientation by new bearings.

During the past year a determined move has been made to break down any threat to "one-man" direction of the League's purpose and to give it a democratic basis. It was necessary first of all to dispel the antagonism of the labour-

ing section of Colonials in Great Britain, the seamen and workers who had come to regard the League as a middle-class body catering solely to students and intellectuals. This was not easy to do but we can justifiably say that these people are now readily bringing their problems to us and are coming to regard the League as an organisation which is theirs.

Another move towards devolution was the setting up of the different committees to which reference has already been made. These committees are taking shape and beginning to work steadily. They do not suffer interference from the Executive, and their independent reports are being incorporated into the general report which will be laid before the Annual General Meeting. A reminder of this meeting is carried on page 26 of this issue for those who are not otherwise notified. We hope therefore that no member will have any excuse for not attending the Annual General Meeting and helping to make this organisation function democratically. We want you to come and put your point of view regarding our efforts and aims, and we also want you to give your vote for an Executive. We hope, of course, that you will register your approval of our past year's work by electing the same Executive, but if you feel that there is a need for change, then our hope is that you will put onto the directing committee of the League members who will labour earnestly to make our organisation an instrument of the struggle of coloured peoples everywhere for human rights and freedom.

Inevitably, the struggle waxes more violently at some times, less violently at others; inevitably also, its violence is not simultaneous in all territories. At the moment, however, the struggle is breaking into violence on several fronts. In the Gold Coast over two hundred people have been injured and some twenty killed in cold blood, simply for demonstrating against poverty and inflation. Gas has been used against workers on the sugar plantatinos of Trinidad, Trade Union Leaders, **Ken Hill** and **F. Glasspole,** members of the League, have been arrested in Jamaica for leading a strike of the bus workers.

Unfortunately, an iron curtain has been drawn against news from the West Indies: the British Press has enforced a self-imposed censorship in the matter of events in Trinidad and Jamaica and as regards the Gold Coast, most newspapers in the territory have been shut down by order of the Governor so Reports, printed in the popular British press, follow the official versions. It has been most interesting to observe the contrast between the hysteria worked up by the press over events in Czechoslovakia, where not a single worker was shot down or tear gas used against

demonstrations, and the total lack of condemnation of the shootings in the Gold Coast and the policy in Trinidad and Jamaica.

If democracy is good for Czechoslovaks, surely it is good for British Colonials, and it is hypocrisy to demand it for the one and refuse it to the other. These are things which need to be said, and the time has come for the League to say them and to associate itself with any protest against the denial of democracy and freedom to the Colonial peoples. That is why we were eager to take the opportunity of participating in the demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, March 7th, over the Gold Coast events. By these means and others we shall make manifest our earnest desire to further the achievement of our democratic rights and freedoms, and we look to our members to give us all support by contributing their ideas, views, and time to the promotion of our work.

32-34-6

* * * * *

TROUBLE ON THE GOLD COAST.

For a long time the Gold Coast had been regarded as **Britain's "model Colony"** in Africa. It had its nationalists, but to all appearance they were not so rabid as the Nigerian spokesman agitating for the lifting of alien rule. In the summer of 1946 they even acquired a Constitution in keeping to some extent with their expressed wishes and giving them an African majority on the Legislative Council. Not an elected majority, but a nominated one of Chiefs carrying out the policy of Indirect Rule. There was the semblance at that time, of a population which was not violently stirred by discontent but apparently eager to make the new Constitution work as a step on the lawful, peaceful road to self-government. Then, suddenly, quite without warning, as far as the outside world was concerned anyway, the British Press front-paged stories of rioting and looting, of people killed and wounded while on peaceful unarmed demonstration. A group of ex-soldiers, veterans of the gruelling Burma campaign, were shot at while carrying a legitimate petition to the Governor of the Gold Coast, asking for relief against the inflated cost of living.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED?

Permission had been given for the 7,000 members of the Ex-Servicemen's Union to proceed along an agreed route in the Gold Coast capital of Accra, on Saturday, February 28th, when, according to the official story carried by the papers in Britain, the men made a turn towards the Governor's residence at Christiansborg, which the authorities declare was outside the plan of the march. A report received from Accra, issued by the United Gold Coast Convention, runs contrary to the official version. This report states that the demonstrators, completely unarmed at the special request of the British Commissioner of Police, arrived at the road junction leading to the Governor's Castle. At the junction the demonstrators found themselves faced by a contingent of native policemen armed with fixed bayonets, under the command of several European officers, among them the Superintendent of Police, Imray.

The demonstration came to a standstill, and it is reported that Superintendent Imray challenged the men and dared them to come forward. He immediately ordered his men to open fire upon these unarmed West African ex-servicemen, once acclaimed gallant heroes of the campaign to recapture Burma. A leader of the demonstration, **Mr. J. S. Laryea, an ex-N.C.O. of the Gold Coast Regiment,** stepped forward and appealed to Captain Imray to cease fire, but it is alleged the officer ignored the appeal, and replied with more fire, instructing his men to **"shoot that leader."** This cowardly shooting resulted in the killing of several of the ex-servicemen, a schoolboy, and wounding, besides a number of demonstrators, five other civilians, and a woman passer-by.

UNCALLED-FOR ATTACK.

This uncalled-for and mean attack ignited the passions of the populace, already at high pressure because of economic and social grievances, who vented their feelings by burning down and looting United Africa Company's stores in Accra. Riots and looting of **United Africa Company's property** in other towns then took place, and the authorities lost all control of the situation. Tear-gas and military reinforcement from Nigeria were used in attempts to restore order. Immediately after the trouble had started, a delegation representing the Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention, with headquarters at Saltpond, arrived in Accra and helped to bring about order by appealing to the people **"to exercise self-control and refrain from violence, looting and damage to life and property."** Similar appeals were made by **the Paramount Chiefs** and **the King of Ashanti, Otumfo Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh**

II, which had the effect of restraining the people from further action which might have led to widespread uprising.

AN UNKIND REMARK.

When the matter was first raised in the House of Commons, **the Under-Secretary of State for Colonies,** in reply to a request **that a Commission of respected British Trade Union leaders should investigate into the causes of the trouble,** declared that investigation would show that "Communist were responsible for the riots." This is not the kind of statement which is expected from a responsible Minister on an issue which has yet to be investigated, and it is significant that **The Times** newspaper aimed a rebuff at the statement in its editorial of March 5, when it pointed out that **"there is no need to prejudge the question."**

In an official statement in the House of Commons on March 10, the Under-Secretary of State for Colonies made a statement giving the number of Africans killed in the riots as 26 and the injured as 227. Fifteen non-Africans were injured. The total value of goods looted from the stores of **United Africa Company** and other foreign firms is estimated at over £1,000,000.

GOVERNOR REQUESTS COMMISSION.

The request of the **Gold Coast Governor, Sir Gerald Creasy,** who arrived only recently at Accra, for a Commission of Enquiry from outside the Gold Coast, has been granted. The composition of the Commission and its terms of reference will be announced soon, and, as the Under-Secretary states, these will be sufficiently wide as to enable the Commission to enquire not only into the actual circumstances of the disturbances themselves but also into the underlying causes.

These "underlying causes" have their roots in the uncontrolled inflation of prices of goods in the Gold Coast, coupled with the administration's refusal to establish a system of rationing, price pegging and fair distribution. There has been a whole series of Commissions, not only to examine the justice of the claims of different sections of the Gold Coast population for advanced wages, salaries and agricultural prices, but also to investigate allegations of unfair allocation of import licences for the limited quantities of consumer goods available. This latter Commission led to the dismissal of certain Customs officers.

As a result of the different Commissions' findings, all sections of the population benefited by income increases, with the exception of the ex-servicemen, who, on February 28th, marched to lodge with the Governor their appeal for schemes for training and providing employment for them.

AFRICANS IN LONDON SHOCKED.

When the news of the shooting down of unarmed people was heard in London, it profoundly shocked Africans and other Colonials residing here, as well as sections of the British Labour Movement interested in the welfare of the subject peoples. Stirred also by the Under Secretary of State's reference to communist agitators behind the Gold Coast events, they resented what they felt to be an attempt to stigmatise Colonial nationalists as pawns of Soviet agents.

PUBLIC MEETING HELD.

A procession from Russell Square to a public meeting at Trafalgar Square was therefore arranged for **Sunday** afternoon, **March 7th,** to protest against the unwarranted police action in shooting innocent Gold Coast demonstrators. There were a number of Colonial speakers, including **Gold Coast nationals, George Padmore,** and **the League's Secretary,** as well as many British friends. There was a densely packed audience of Africans and people of African descent, together with British friends and sympathisers.

Speaker after speaker, from the plinth of **Nelson's Column,** denounced in vigorous terms the action of the officers commanding the Gold Coast police, and demanded the recall of the Governor and the punishment of those responsible for the shooting. **"We are sad and heavy at heart at the events currently taking place in our country,"** declared one Gold Coast speaker. **"But we are filled with feelings of burning indignation and a deep sense of outrage that such should be the fate of men who had fought heroically in the war, in the belief that it was to end all brutality of that kind."** These sentiments were echoed in the mood of the audience, who had listened to a factual statement of circumstances in the Gold Coast leading up to the ex-soldiers' demonstration. Mr. Padmore had stressed that protest against intolerable conditions did not make the demonstrators Communists. They wanted the alien exploiters, foremostly represented by the giant monopoly combine, United Africa Company, out of the country; they were not Communists but nationalists.

Special ovation was given to those speakers who expressed the sympathy and solidarity of the British Labour Movement, which was represented by **Mr. Julius Silverman, Labour M.P. for Erdington,** and **Mr. Jack Grable, Assistant General Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union.** As far as these speakers were concerned, Africans have as much right to democracy as Czechoslovaks.

COLONIALS TAKE PROMISES SERIOUSLY.

In the course of his speech, League Secretary Joseph-Mitchell pointed out that the British Labour Government

cannot afford to take fright when Colonial people take seriously the promises which have been extended to them and ask for protection against the high cost of living and justice for ex-servicemen.

For over a month a Joint Provisional Council of the Chiefs had been running a boycott of British goods, and **The Times** newspaper had declared it was their right. And for a British police officer to fire upon unarmed men just because they were demonstrating for redress of their grievances was a sign of fear: is is the fear that Africa is on the march and that, unless care is taken, she will be lost as the last link in the Empire.

There are lessons to be learned from the Gold Coast events. All of us must learn to see clearly that Africa's struggle for economic redress and for self-government is not a Communist plot. There was an **Aborigines' Rights Protection Society** in the Gold Coast long before Lenin and Trotsky led the Bolsheviks to power. It is still there today, and not even Mr. Rees-Williams can dub it a Communist organisation. There are trade unions in the Gold Coast, and they are not Communist organisations, nor is **the Joint Provisional Council of Chiefs** a Communist organisation; there is a **United Gold Coast Convention,** and it is not a Communist organisation, nor is **the Ex-Service Men's Union** a Communist organisation. In these organisations there may be individual Communists, but this does not make them Communist organisations. We must not be diverted by smoke-screen charges of Communism from seeing the very real grievances that brought this unfortunate situation into being for Communism is not the issue. The issue is the welfare and advancement of the African people. But while we are on this subject of Communisn, without prejudice to the findings of the investigation, it behoves all organisations of coloured people to watch carefully that their leadership and ranks are not penetrated in these days of global cold war, by agents of either of the conflicting camps.

Our goal is one, and clear: the welfare of the African people, developing democratic institutions within the framework of complete self-government.

The League of Coloured Peoples supports to the fullest the just demands of the Gold Coast people for control of their economic and political destiny, and ever-increasing self-direction in the intervening stages.

Along with other organisations taking part in the meeting, the League of Coloured Peoples protests against the firing on unarmed civilians; the arbitrary arrest of African leaders; the muzzling of the Press; and the evasion of the real issues at stake. Along with others, the League extends its sympathy to the injured and the survivors of the dead,

and holds out the hand of fraternal fellowship to those taking up the struggle.

We are proud that on this occasion of protest against dastardly imperialist action, the League of Coloured Peoples associated itself openly and publicly with those who make no secret of their wish to be free from Britain's imperialist shackles. This is the first time that the League has so associated itself, and we shall continue to pursue the cause of Colonial freedom by every means that we can.

* * * * *

TRADE UNIONISM IN THE COLONIES.

Trade unionism in the British Colonies is, according to all the statements of Government officials and other spokesmen of British Colonial policy, being encouraged by all possible means, and is, in fact, receiving the guidance of special Labour Officers who are being sent out for this purpose from among the trade union hierarchy in Britain.

In face of this professed policy of help and support in building trade unions in the Colonies, it is all the more significant to note that Section 4 of the Trade Unions Ordinance of Nigeria provides "that it shall not be lawful for one or more persons (whether acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or of an individual employer or firm, and notwithstanding that they may be acting in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute) to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information or of persuading or inducing any person to work or to abstain from working, if they so attend in such numbers or otherwise in such manner as to be calculated to intimidate any person in that house or place, or to obstruct the approach thereto or egress therefrom, or to lead to a breach of the peace." Such person can be brought before a magistrate and be subject to a penalty not exceeding £20 or imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labour.

In short, the right to picket, a right stoutly defended by British trade unionists, is forbidden in Nigeria. But as if these provisions are not enough, when a strike broke out at Burutu, a small island south-west of Warri Province, among labourers employed by United Africa Company, police shot at them while, unarmed, they were trying to picket the Company's yard.

When questions were raised in the House of Commons on July 16th by Mr. Gallacher and Mr. Skinnard, the Colonial Secretary replied that if "my hon. friend would acquaint himself with the facts, I think he would be satisfied that this is not an instance of brutal attacks on workers. Rather it was the response, after long provocation by workers of the forces of police on the spot. Immediately the facts were brought to my notice I caused an enquiry to be made, and had the fullest reports from Nigeria. I must exonerate completely those responsible for ordering it. It was provocation on the workers' side that led to it."

A very pertinent supplementary question was thereupon put by Mr. Carmichael, who asked "Will the right hon. Gentleman state whether in making this impartial inquiry he did not know full well that the answer he has given about strikers provoking the trouble has been a familiar story in this country for the last half-century?" To this Mr. Creech Jones replied that he was "familiar with large numbers of industrial disputes in the Colonies, and naturally because of my own suspicion I should inquire most carefully as to the causes of trouble of this kind. I made the fullest inquiries possible, and I am satisfied that it was provocation on the workers' side which caused this trouble."

These statements of Mr. Creech Jones have been received with a good deal of misgiving by leaders of the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria, whose secretary, Mr. A. A. Adio-Moses, has written to the League that "it is surprising to note from the papers that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, has taken the official version of the Burutu incident as he did with the 'completest confidence in the Governor'." According to facts set out in a report of the findings of the secretary of the Nigerian Trades Union Congress on the Burutu labour trouble of June this year, there are certain allegations which it would do well for the Colonial Office to go into very carefully. The Congress has therefore asked that an impartial Commission of Enquiry should be set up by the local Government to investigate the whole affair and make a fair report on its findings.

As long as the Colonial Office supports the local administration and the Governor without making itself aware of the full facts of a dispute from both sides, the Colonial people will lose what little faith they still retain in the friendly protestations of the British Labour Government. For the fact that it is a Labour Colonial Secretary who expresses his "completest confidence in the Government" without hearing the case stated by the workers does more

to destroy that faith than if it were a Tory Colonial Secretary who thus expressed himself.

That the Burutu affair was not an isolated one must be inferred from the following paragraph which we quote from Mr. Adio-Moses' report: "I am fully convinced that the shooting was not justified. A stop must of necessity be put to these unwholesome acts of the Police. The other day it was batoning of Taylor Woodrow's workers at Ikoyi. Then came the tear gas episode of railway workers. Today it is beating and shooting of poor defenceless workers in Burutu. And it has all been in the process of the workers asking for more pay and better conditions. Truly Trade Unionism is being encouraged in Nigeria!"

We hope that our Labour Colonial Office will make an effort to put itself right with Nigerian workers by instructing the Governor to establish the Commission of Enquiry which the Congress is calling for.

* * * * *

THE SECRETARY'S NOTES.

A CORRECTION.

Under the sub-title "**Housing**" in an article when appeared in the January-March issue of the "News Letter" reference was made to the assistance which the **Housing and Hospitality Committee** is receiving from an established Agency. It was stated that this agency is licensed by the London County Council but I am informed that, amongst its other activities, the agency also undertake a Domestic Agency and it is for this rather than housing that the licence is held. In making this statement it is well that readers should be informed that a small fee is payable for this valuable service.

* * * * *

LIBRARIAN CHOSEN FOR WEST INDIAN COLLEGE.

Mr. Harold Holdworth, M.A., former Sub-Librarian of the University of Capetown, has accepted an appointment as Librarian of the University College of the West Indies. He received his professional library training at University College in London.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

The next monthly dance organised by the Entertainments Committee will be held at **Mac's Rehearsal Rooms,** 41, Great Windmill Street, Piccadilly, London, W.1, on **Friday, 23rd April,** commencing at 7.30 p.m. and ending at 11.30 p.m. While serving the purpose of developing social contacts it is the intention of the Committee to incorporate the holding of such functions into the Membership Drive. It is hoped therefore that you will urge your friends to join and that you will all participate in these social events thereby making them financial successes. Dress is optional and tickets are obtainable (though not essential) from all of the student centres or from the League's Office.

* * * * *

JOE LOUIS AGAIN VISITS BRITAIN.

Joe Louis, world famous heavyweight champion was a visitor in London during February and March as a participant in the **Health and Holidays Exhibition** at Earls Court. Efforts were made by the League to organize a reception for the champ, his wife, **Marva,** and other members of the party. The pressure of his very full programme and the vital necessity to keep in training for the exhibitions made it impossible for Louis to accept. The Champ examined the League's photograph album, however, and expressed interest in our work. He also expressed regret at his inability to attend the League's March dance after examining a picture of the February dance with considerable interest.

The Louis party left for the continent on the 30th of March, and I have been asked to convey fraternal greetings and thanks to all members and friends who sent telegrams while they were in England.

* * * * *

MEMBERSHIP BADGES.

Many people have written to me suggesting that as a mark of commemoration to our late Founder and President button-hole badges should be made for sale and distribution which would enable members to identify themselves with the work of the organization. This latter part is indeed no new suggestion, for I find among papers that the idea was receiving the attention of our now departed leader. While I have no doubt that the Committee will agree with the suggestion, it is regretted that due to manufacturing difficulties these badges will not be available for some weeks. Price and other details will be made public soon.

CRISIS IN HONDURAS.

A crisis arose in British-Guatemalan relationships during March over the claims by Guatemala for frontier adjustments at the expense of British Honduras and there were even threats of expelling Britain from Central America necessitating the despatch of Naval reinforcements from Jamaican bases. It would appear that amid the excitement various groups were still holding meetings to pledge allegiance to the Crown for, it is reported that **the British Honduras Ex-Servicemen's League** passed a resolution **viewing with pride and satisfaction the action of the British government" and "the presence of His Majesty's ships in harbour to ensure protection of lives and property."** A mass meeting of **Stamm Creek Residents** passed a resolution stating that "This territory was acquired by conquest by our forefathers and we, their descendants, are fully determined that 'what we have we hold'." **A Sittee River** group pledged loyalty to **"His Majesty the King** and the British flag" and the Legislative Council, taking note of the fact that **His Majesty's Government** had expressed willingness to accept a decision by the International Court, resolved that " . . . the people of British Honduras are unalterably fixed in mind that their national status as loyal British subjects and the position of their country as a component part of the British Empire shall remain unchanged."

* * * * *

CENSUS IN EAST AFRICA.

East Africa—Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar —is an area almost nine times the size of Great Britain. There are supposed to be 14,000,000 souls living there, but nobody really knows. The first complete census of the area began on February 25th and before it is over 20,000 enumerators will have visited over 3,250,000 African abodes and a large number of European habitations. A "Non-Native" census is being taken first, and in August the count of Africans will begin. This will be no easy task for aside from vast distances and scattered populations there is natural reluctance by the people to being counted, because it is the feeling that census often implies taxation, labour levies and war preparations. The census takers plan to do the job in a seven day period and all friends of East Africa will await the results with interest.

NIGERIAN ENTERPRISE.

When **Mr. A. O. Oliyide** was invalided from the Nigerian Railway in 1945 he came to England at his own expense to study Laundry Technology, Dry-cleaning and Dyeing. First class honors in dry-cleaning and dyeing came to him from **the British Launderer's Research Institute** and since returning to his homeland he has opened a business in Ebute Mette, Nigeria, having taking machinery and chemicals back with him. Another Nigerian, **Mr. M. Farri,** is now studying at the same Institute under a British government scholarship grant.

* * * * *

STEPS TOWARD WEST INDIAN UNITY.

Among the recommendations made by delegates at the Montego Bay Conference (Jamaica) in September, 1947, was the setting up of a standing committee to deal with Closer Association of the British West Indian Colonies. The legislatures of nine island governments as well as that of British Guiana have agreed to participate in such a committee and **Major-General Sir Hubert Rance, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., C.B.,** lately Governor of Burma, has been asked by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to serve as Chairman of the Committee. It is also understood that the Legislature of British Honduras has been approached about participating.

* * * * *

DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION MEETS.

The Colonial Development Corporation held its first board meeting on March 2nd, at Dover House, Whitehall. **Mr. D. R. Rees-Williams, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies,** presided in the absence of Mr. A. Creech-Jones. He stated that many people would criticise the new development **"under the mistaken impression that the Corporation was merely another organisation for the exploitation of the colonies and the colonial people."** He felt that the Corporation would have to convince such doubters, by work, that "the interests of the Colonial peoples were paramount." **Lord Trefargne** reported that on a recent visit to the West Indies he had been asked "whether it was not the main purpose . . . to produce more food for the United Kingdom." He felt that this was "a fallacious

question" because he believed that the colonies were bound to benefit by any increase in food production for Britain. It was evident that widespread criticism of these ventures by colonials and their friends had struck home. The Under Secretary reiterated the idea that "it must be continually kept in the forefront that the ultimate good of the Colonies and the Colonial peoples was its primary duty."

* * * * *

BOOK REVIEW....

AUSTRALIA'S COLOURED MINORITY. By **A. O. Neville.**
Published by **Currawong Publishing Co. Pty., Ltd.**

Here is an interesting book for the thinking layman and the student of Native Administration anywhere in the world. With his long experience as a former Director of Native Affairs in Western Australia the author is fully qualified to present the reading public with views which are based on intimate knowledge of the coloured peoples and their way of life. In this outspoken indictment of neglect he critically examines, among other things the conduct, control and staffing of native institutions; the care and education of children work, wages and the training and supervision of adolescence.

His approach to the subject is free from cant, his style unpretentious and very sincere and the distinguishing features of his book are its courage and humanity. He sets down unflinchingly his belief in unpopular solution of a contentious problem, nowhere shrinking the truth lest it give offence; he sees clearly and states unhesitatingly the faults of the people of mixed origins as well as their virtues and he points out the difficulties which confront those who administer their affairs. The coloured people he writes about are, to him, individual beings each with his own distinctive personality and not merely statistical units in an abstract discussion of the Native Question.

Mr. Neville knows that there is no quick or easy solution to a problem that will rapidly get out of hand, he scorns the idea of offering palliatives and points to the hard way and the permanent settlement—the assimilation of the race into the white population. The book is published by **Currawong Publishing Co. Pty., Ltd.,** of No. 3, Castlereigh Street, **Sydney, Australia.** Price 12/6 (postage 6d. extra).

Mr. Joseph Whitehead

G. M. BATTLEY'S PRINTING WORKS LIMITED
989-991, OLD KENT ROAD, LONDON S.E.15

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
SAINT LOUIS (5), MO.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

22-40-59

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

April 6, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Some time ago Melville Herskovits sent me a newspaper clipping of your column in which you very kindly referred to my article on "Wealth Differences in a Mexican Village." I want you to know that I was very flattered that this article came to your attention and was very pleased that you saw some practical value in a fairly technical and academic paper. I confess that it is quite rare for me to feel useful in this sense.

I am writing to you for advice in connection with a research paper that I am now working on. It has been noted by many anthropologists that wherever so-called primitive peoples or folk cultures have come into contact with Western civilization the lives of men and women have been affected in different ways. Thus Margaret Mead in one of the few studies available on this subject has shown that in the case of an American Indian tribe which was placed on a reservation following white conquest, the men were much harder hit than the women. When buffalo hunting and warfare--the two major occupations of the men--were gone, the men's lives were stripped of meaning, whereas the women continued with their traditional jobs as child bearers and child rearers and apparently made a better adjustment to the new situation.

I have been thinking of the history of Negro slavery in the New World from this point of view and have wondered whether there is any evidence which would indicate the different ways in which men and women were affected. Of course, I realize that slavery was destructive of the lives of both sexes and of African culture as a whole, but I wonder if a distinction can be made. In rereading the work of Herskovits I get the impression that a good case might be made for the proposition that the lives of the Negro men were much more disrupted than those of the women. Indeed, Herskovits suggests that most of the African cultural survivals in places like Haiti and Trinidad were carried by the women.

Can you recommend any studies or materials which would throw further light on this subject?

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Lewis

Oscar Lewis, Associate Professor
of Anthropology

OL:ms

Do Not TYPE
This

April 12, 1948

22-40-60

Dr. Oscar Lewis
Department of Sociology
And Anthropology
Washington University
Saint Louis 5, Missouri

Dear Dr. Lewis:

Your letter of April 6 to Dr. Du Bois has arrived during his absence from New York. The Doctor is not due to return until April 15, but I thought you might want to get started with your work so I am taking the liberty of sending you a list of source materials.

Consult Simpson for articles for Haiti. See the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST.

THE MASTERS AND THE SLAVES. By Freyre.-Brazil

NEGRO IN BRAZIL. By A. Ramos.

FROM SLAVERY TO FREED M. By John Hope Franklin

SUPPRESSION OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 1638-1870. Bt W. E. B. Du Bois.

BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW. By Du Bois.

See various volumes of "Journal of Negro Histroy." They are indexted.

Write to Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 9th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

JOURNEY IN THE SEABOARD SLAVE STATES. By Olmsted.

THE NEGRO IN THE NEW WORLD. By Johnston

EL ENGANO DE LAS RAZAS. By Ortiz -Cuba

THE NEGRO. By Du Bois

THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES. By Frazier

SHADOW OF THE PLANTATION. by C. S. Johnson

THE FREE NEGRO IN NORTH CAROLINA. By John Hope Franklin

Write to Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Department of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia. He should be able to help you with material on the Negro in Virginia.

22-40-61

THE FREE NEGRO IN SOUTH CAROLINA. By Horace Pitchell.

"African Institutions in America." By Aimes . JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE, volume 18.

AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS. By Aptheker. Also Dr. Herbert Aptheker, New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York, New York , will be glad to help you with other materials.

NEGRO IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND. By L. J. Greene. Also Dr. Greene, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri, has a wealth of material that should be of use to you and he will be glad to cooperate if you write to him.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES. By Ball.

"Acculturation among the Gullah Negroes." By W. R. Bascom. AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Volume 43.

BLACK ROADWAYS: A study in Jamaican Folklife. By M. Beckwith.

THE WEST INDIES AS THEY ARE. By Richard Bickell

THE NEGRO IN MARYLAND. By J. R. Brackett.

RELIGIOES NEGROES. By Edison Carneiro

JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE ON A SOUTHERN PLANTATION. By Frances Anne Kemble.

"ETHNOGRAPHICAL Notes on the Black Carib." By Eduard Conzemius. AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, volume 30.

HAITI SINGING. By Harold Courlander.

CASTE AND CLASS IN A SOUTHERN TOWN. By John Dallard.

DEEP SOUTH. By Allison Davis.

CHILDREN OF BONDAGE. By Allison Davis.

AFTER FREEDOM. By Hortense Powdermaker.

NEGROES IN BRAZIL. By Donald Pierson.

THE FREE NEGRO FAMILY. By Frazier

LOUISIANA STUDIES. By Fortier.

"The Negro Slave Family". By E. F. Frazier. JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, volume 15.

THE ANNALS, November, 1928, "The American Negro"-Volume 140

CASA-GRANDE AND SENZALA. By G. Freyre.

THE EXILES OF FLORIDA. By J. R. Giddings.

Look up material on the Maroons of Jamaica.

HISTORY OF THE SEA ISLANDS. By Guion Johnson.

FOLK CULTURE ON ST. HELENA ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA. By Guy Johnson.

JOURNAL OF A WEST INDIAN PROPRIETOR. By Lewis.

DESCRIPSTION de la PARTIE FRANCOISE de L'ISLE SAINT DOMINQUE. By Moreau de St. Mery.

THE COTTON KINGDOM. By Olmsted.

A JOURNEY IN THE BACK COUNTRY. By Olmsted.

"Conflict and Fusion of Cultures with special reference to the Negro." By R. E. Park. JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, volume 4.

MEMORIALS OF A SOUTHERN PLANTER. By Suzanne Smedes.

NARRATIVE OF A FIVE YEARS' EXPEDITION AGAINST THE REVOLTED NEGROES OF SURINAME. By J. G. Stedman.

HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN CONNECTICUT. By B. C. Steiner.--Johns HopkinsUniversity Studies in History and Political Science, volume 11, 1893.

LEAFLETS FROM THE DANISH WEST INDIES. By Taylor.

SOME PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY OF THE NEGRO IN THE NEW WORLD. By L. D. Turner. A paper delivered before a conference on Negro studies held in April, 1940, in Washington, D. C. under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Dr. Turner can be reached at Roosevelt College, Chicago, Illinois.

"West Indies As A Sociological Laboratory". By Weatherly. AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, volume 29.

Please feel free to write us if you think we can be of further service.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Reg Info

22-39-31

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
SAINT LOUIS (5)
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

April 16, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe, Research Assistant
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

It was very kind of you to answer my letter of April 6 to Dr. Du Bois, and I appreciate the list of references which you enclosed. The question which I raised in my letter has, to my knowledge, received very little attention in the literature on the Negro in the New World. What I was after, therefore, was Dr. Du Bois' personal opinion and suggestions. I have written to Dr. Carter Woodson as you have suggested.

Won't you kindly call my letter to the attention of Dr. Du Bois upon his return?

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Lewis

Oscar Lewis, Associate Professor
of Anthropology

OL:ms

TM/K

COPY

LIBRARY OF THE PALACE OF PEACE

Fields Covered by the Library

international law (public and private);
municipal law of the various countries;
diplomatic history;
peace movements, etc.

Institutions Residing in Palace

the Permanent Court of Arbitration
the Internat'l Court of Justice
the Academy of Internat'l Law
the Internat'l Academy of Comp. Law

Director-Librarian:
Dr. JACOB TER MEULEN

No. 22832

The HAGUE January 7, 1948

Mr. A. G. Mezerik

author for "The Nation"

20, Vesey Street,

New York 7, N. Y.

U.S.A.

23-19

Sir,

We are interested in the negro problem, but in our Library the material is lacking to a very great part.

Could you bring us in contact with some scientific negro association? One of the documents we want to have is the mimeographed volume prepared by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, entitled: "A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress." You mentioned this document in your interesting article in "The Nation" of December 13.

Thanking you beforehand for your willingness,

very truly yours,

(signed) ter Meulen
Director

Reg In INFO

U. S. A.

January 23, 1948

23-16-26

Dr. Jacob Ter Meulen
Director-Librarian
Library of the Palace of Peace
The Hague, Belgium

Dear Dr. Ter Meulen: The letter of January 7, which you addressed to Mr. A. G. Mezerik of the magazine THE NATION, has been brought to my attention. I am interested in seeing that it comes from the Palace of Peace and am venturing to enclose in this letter a booklet, AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress, and also a list of other books on the American Negro problem which you ought to have in your library.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Library of the Palace of Peace]

February 5, 1948

Dear Doctor Ter Meulen: At the request of Doctor DuBois I am taking pleasure in enclosing a copy of a bibliography on Race Relations recently issued by this office. I think the listings themselves will show the books that we regard as especially important under the various headings. At Doctor DuBois' further suggestion, I am taking pleasure in sending for your library certain of the books that I have published; namely, Brown Americans; 13 Against the Odds; a small handbook, American Negroes and Indians of the Americas.

Very truly yours,

ERE:NL

Doctor Jacob Ter Meulen
Director-Librarian
Library of the Palace of Peace
The Hague, The Netherlands

22-32

be/K Reg for INFO

LIBRARY OF THE PALACE OF PEACE

THE HAGUE CARNEGIEPLEIN

22-39-36

Fields covered by the Library:
international law (public and private);
the municipal law of all countries;
diplomatic history;
peace movement, etc.

LIBRARIAN:
Dr. JACOB TER MEULEN

The Peace Palace is the seat of:
the Permanent Court of Arbitration;
the Permanent Court of International Justice;
the Academy of International Law;
the International Academy of Comparative Law.

The Hague, February 20th, 1948.

No. 23100

Mr. W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS,

Director of the National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People,

20 West 40th Street,

New York 18. N.Y. U.S.A.

I have pleasure in expressing my utmost thanks for the under-mentioned very welcome gift you have made to the Library and which we gratefully accept:

1. An Appeal to the World!
2. A collection of pamphlets concerning the advancement of colored people.

Hoping that you will continue to take a lively interest in the development of the Library of the Palace of Peace,

I am, dear Sir,

respectfully yours,

ter Meulen

Librarian.

22-38

The Cabinet

requests the honour of

Dr. + Mrs. W. E. Dubois

presence at the marriage of

Antionette Padmore

to

William V. Shadrach Tubman

President of Liberia

Friday, the seventeenth of September

at four o'clock

in Parlours of the Executive Mansion

Monrovia, Liberia

1948

22-38

The Cabinet

requests the pleasure of

Dr. + Mrs. W. E. Dubois

company at the wedding reception of

President and Mrs. William V. Shadrach Tubman

Friday, the seventeenth of September

at half after four o'clock

Executive Pavilion

Monrovia, Liberia

R. S. V. P.

to the Acting Secretary of State

1948

22-38

Reception

immediately thereafter

at The Executive Pavilion

R. S. V. P.

to the Acting Secretary of State

Full Dress

July 12, 1948

The Editor
Liberty Magazine
37 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

The Julius Rosenwald Fund recently finished thirty years of social work chiefly among Negroes. At its concluding meeting in Chicago, May 28, I was asked to summarize the improvement in Race Relations in this period of time. My investigations made me realize as never before what organized and persistent social effort can accomplish in a generation. Due to the work of the National Association for the Advancement for Colored People, the Negro colleges, Foundations like the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, and others, these things have been accomplished:

1. The capability of Negroes to receive the highest education has been universally conceded.
2. Race differences have been [redacted]ized.
3. Race amalgamation is regarded as not necessarily evil.
4. Factual, scientific study of races has begun.
5. The Negro population is increasing and its health is improving.
6. Illiteracy is decreasing and Negroes in colleges have increased from 10,000 in 1917 to more than 70,000 in 1947.
7. Negro occupations are shifting from farming and domestic and personal service, to trades and professions, with about the same proportion in manufacturing and transport.

8. There has been a large increase in teachers and nurses; a small increase in lawyers, physicians, and dentists.

9. Negroes are receiving recognition in academic circles, in art and literature, in sciences and in sports.

10. Negroes are successfully fighting for political and civil rights. Lynching has been decreased from 64 in the year 1918, to 1 reported case in 1947. There have been 23 cases, involving legal rights, won before the United States Supreme Court between 1915 and 1948, including the constitutionality of the Fifteenth Amendment, annulling segregation by ordinance, outlawing the white primary and the housing covenant.

11. The Negro vote today is recognized and courted by all parties and cannot be bought simply by appointment or purchase.

12. The Negro is entering the Labor Movement in increasing numbers, and in other ways is taking part in social uplift movements in the United States.

This is just a rough and very general outline of progress in race relations in a generation. I am writing to ask if you would consider an article outlining this development and drawing some conclusions from it?

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Lie]

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

REFERENCE:

23-25-4/6

The Secretary-General of the United Nations

Mr. Trygve Lie

regrets that he is unable

to accept the kind invitation of

Fisk University and its New York Alumni

to attend a Dinner

in honor of

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

on the occasion of his Eightieth Birthday

Monday, February 23

Hotel Roosevelt

10 February 1948

Reg for Info

111 West 121st Street

New York, October 27/48

Prof. W.E.B. DuBois
% The Crisis
New York City

22-39-15

Dear Sir:

Many years ago, when conducting "The Crisis," you used the quotation I am black but comely.

Would you kindly inform me of the source of that quotation, as I am unable to trace it.

Very truly yours.

Donald Lightbourn

DONALD LIGHTBOURN

Bible: Song of Solomon Chap I, 5

P.S.- Stamped return envelope herewith.

October 28, 1948

Mr. Donald Lightbourn
111 West 121st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Lightbourn:

In reply to your letter to Dr. DuBois, of October 27, in regard to the quotation, "black but comely," the Doctor has advised that you will find the source for it in:

The Bible

Song of Solomon

Chapter I, Verse 5

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Du Bois Papers
File (1)

December 10, 1948

330-38-8

Dr. E. C. Lindeman
122 East 22nd Street
New York School for Social Work
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Lindeman:

Upon the suggestion of Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois, I am sending you some material on the DuBois-NAACP affair. I am sorry that we do not have extra clippings on all the news reports on the matter, but the enclosed material furnishes the main data, especially the NAACP Bulletin Chronology for the Association's viewpoint, and the My Relations with the NAACP for Dr. DuBois. The statement of Dr. DuBois to the Board and its dismissal reply are also enclosed as major documents in the controversy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure

cc: Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois

April 9, 1948

J. P. Lippincott & Company, Publishers
New York City
New York

Gentlemen:

We have just had brought to our attention the announcement of THE PEOPLES OF AMERICA series. We feel that these are the types of books that we would like to bring to the audiences that we reach in speaking and writing. We would appreciate it very much if you would permit us to examine a copy of the first book, AMERICANS FROM HOLLAND, by Arnold Mulder. If you desire, we shall be glad to return the book after we have examined it and it has served our purpose.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

230-45

Season's Greetings

Greeting you
at Christmas
and wishing you
a happy
New Year.

Sincerely,

Ernestine Anthony Lipscomb

I think of you often and
hope that all goes well with you & your family.

Jackson Colley

23-1-15

A-MERI-CARD

P-3731D

December 3rd 1948

Dr W. E. B. DuBois,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir,

22-39-03

Directly after Pearl Harbor the war menace to our Pacific coast prompted in 1942 a drastic transfer of its Japanese population. What was planned as a temporary shift, under the emergency power of government, effected in many cases a permanent transplanting. The resulting increase of Japanese residents in other states turned out a satisfaction to them and their new neighbors.

The catapulting of this nation into the post of world arbiter might be expected to produce emergency situations not less than any of wartime. Our democracy bluff - mask for Nazi race intolerance - fatally blocks a right understanding with these folk masses, who naturally look to see repeated on a world scale the iniquitous Panama silver-gold system. How shall this emergency be

met and the necessary right understanding made possible?

Your most informative and fair article in a recent New York Times magazine estimated the prospect for attainment of equitable race relations in our South. Justly you lamented the failure or slowness of liberal Southerners to move against segregation. Younger members of that class have regretted to note its abolition in colleges voted down by governing boards. But reasons for the view taken by such boards can be appreciated. Some years ago I corresponded with white South Africans, liberal on this issue and read reports of debate on the subject in their legislature. Of course they fear being stampeded by a huge local black majority, and the kraal results. Its abolition, as in the case of segregation, must depend on several factors.

Lubell's article on the Bronx in the Saturday Post for October 23 shows how important the numerical ratio - so much insisted on by Aristotle in his table of means and extremes - can be for a successful solution in race

difficulties. Even in half-and-half South Carolina (though probably not at present in the Union of South Africa) attainment of the factor of a reasonable ratio or balance waits only Federal emergency action, continuing and extending a process of race transplanting between South and North in beneficial operation for nearly a century past.

Perhaps a fifteen per cent. negro representation well distributed among the whites, in all our States would be the goal? with an equivalent transfer of whites, textile workers for instance, to the South. Latin American countries might be willing to cooperate, on the model of Venezuela's hospitality to European displaced persons? Back in 1755 the British government did not hesitate to play Stalin by uprooting (in a needlessly raw manner) the Acadians. The obviously absurd pretence of danger from that peaceable group served as excuse for enforcing the real aim, a humanizing of hardshell Yankees by exposure to Catholic culture. I live in a community of some 700 male Hospital patients, including

numerous negroes who are among its most respected and liked residents. By their presence the social outlook here is immeasurably widened and humanized.

Round 1800 and after, my family's neighbors in New England were driven by political and business pressure to remove to the Ohio valley. By such uprootings that great American section was built. Could not a Federal "resettlement commission" — added to many agencies now dealing with the Southern field — ~~do much~~ contribute toward realizing a yet more valuable national project?

Very respectfully yours,
Harry W. Litchfield

Taunton, Massachusetts

Reg for info

22-39-04

December 17, 1948

Mr. Harry W. Litchfield
Taunton, Massachusetts

My dear Sir:

Your letter of December 3, is very thoughtful and follows my own train of thoughts. I hope, soon, to express in some public way, a theory and program with regard to segregation, which will be somewhere between the out and out fight against all segregation, which cannot succeed immediately, and the supine acceptance of dangerous racial separation with its intensified nationalism and inevitable urge toward war. I am glad to hear what you say concerning the hospital. Thank you for your letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

$1.00

23-38-31

P. O. Box 9,
Morningside Station,
New York 26, N. Y.
June 19th 1948

Dear Sir,

We enjoyed listening to your talk on the radio, at Town Hall.

We shall be very much thankful if you will mail to us a copy.

Sincerely yours,

"The Literary Club"
c/o F. B. Owen

The Little Red School House Association
196 BLEECKER STREET
NEW YORK CITY

DOROTHY DIAMOND
Executive Secretary

Telephone
GRamercy 7-5316

November 19, 1948.

22-33-38

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Rabbi Edward E. Klein of Free Synagogue is speaking to our parent body on Monday evening, January 24th on problems of race relations - bigotry, etc. and we would like very much to have you share the platform with him. We hope you are free that evening and it will be possible for you to come.

Rabbi Klein knows we are writing you and I believe will be phoning you spon to talk to you about this.

We are very eager to have you come and are hoping for a favorable reply.

Sincerely yours,

Chairman, PROGRAM COMMITTEE

[Little Red Schoolhouse Ass'n]

22-33-39

November 26, 1948

Miss Selma Cohn
The Little Red School House Association
196 Bleecker Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Cohn:

I thank you for your invitation of November 19. I regret to say that I cannot undertake any further engagements this year.

I appreciate your invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

File United Nations

January 26, 1948

Mr. M. Grann Lloyd
Elizabeth City State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

Your questionnaire to the Chicago Defender has finally reached this office for reply. Dr. DuBois would like to help you with your survey but there are certain points which are not clear from your document. In regard to contributions of "colored delegates" to the United Nations, just what do you mean? Contributions in the way of money, speeches, written comments, ideas, or just what?

If you will be good enough to clarify the matter, he will be glad to cooperate by filling out the questionnaire and returning it to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

23-22-15

Info

ELIZABETH CITY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

ELIZABETH CITY, NORTH CAROLINA

Reg

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

Box 25
February 17, 1948

22-39-67

Research Division
N. A. A. C. P.
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I am interested in obtaining all the information possible on the present internal migration trends among American Negroes. Specifically, to what particular cities, states or areas are Negroes migrating? How many Negroes are migrating to these places and so forth?

Please send me all the information you possible can on this subject. Will you be kind enough to cite me to other sources of data pertinent to this question?

Expressing my gratitude for your kindness, I am,

Very truly yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd

RGL/mg

22-39-68

March 11, 1948

Mr. R. Grann Lloyd
Elizabeth City State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

In regard to your letter of February 17, asking for information on internal migration trends among American Negroes, I should like to suggest that you write to: Dr. Robert Weaver, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Also, your best information will probably be secured by writing the Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C. You will find it also worth while to write to Mr. Julius A. Thomas, and Mr. R. M. Banner, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, New York, and to Professor Lloyd Warner, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Unfortunately, our department does not specialize in population statistics and we would be unable to give you the specific data that you request. However, if we can be of help in other ways, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

January 28, 1948

Dr. Metz Lochard
5170 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Dr. Lochard:

Greetings to you and Mrs. Lochard. May I ask what is your attitude toward the candidacy of Henry Wallace? If you are in favor of the third party, would you be in position to help, say with the newspaper publicity, especially in the Negro Press? I have no authority to make any offer, but your name has come up and I have been asked some questions. I should like to be able to answer them with some authority if the matter develops any further. Of course, if your services could be had, t ere would be a salary attached.

Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

23-29-26

lecture

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS

TEST ADMINISTRATION
LEXINGTON HALL, ROOM 5

January 29, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.
c/o N.A.A.C.P.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

23-29-24

The Chicago Forum would like to have you as its guest speaker some time in March at a date convenient to yourself. If you have no objections, we should like to plan a special celebration on the occasion of your birthday which I know is in February, but which we feel can be better celebrated in March when the weather is not too inclement.

Let me know early enough, and if possible by return mail, your wishes in the matter so that adequate preparation can be made for your coming. We will, of course, pay your railroad fare from New York to Chicago and your hotel expenses in addition to your usual fee.

Julia and I were very happy to have had you with us Thanksgiving Day. I obeyed your order and gave the "Holy Kiss" to the charming guest in question.

Best wishes for a very happy New Year.

Cordially yours,

Metz T. P. Lochard

MTPL:sp

Please write me at my home address, 5170 South Parkway, Apt. 2.

Sorry: shall be in St Louis in Feb
Calif + Tex in March

February 4, 1948

Dr. Metz Lochard
5170 South Parkway, Apt. 2
Chicago, Illinois

23-27-25

Dear Dr. Lochard:

I cannot be in Chicago in March. First, they insist on giving me a birthday dinner in New York, February 23, and then I immediately depart for St. Louis, California, and Texas. I shall not be back until April. Thank you for your kind offer.

Am I to understand from your letterhead that you are connected with the University?

My best regards to you and Julia.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Lecture

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS

TEST ADMINISTRATION
LEXINGTON HALL, ROOM 5

February 6, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I received this morning an invitation to the dinner that is to be given in your honor by the Fisk University and its New York Alumni. It is thoughtful of Fisk University to honor its most brilliant, productive, energetic and courageous son. If I can shift my schedule of appointments, I shall try to be in New York for the occasion. In any event my contribution to the dinner will be forwarded to Dr. Alexander.

23-20-27

I sincerely hope that you will find it convenient to accept the Chicago Forum's invitation to speak in April, since, according to your letter, you will not be available before that time. How about Friday, April 16? If not that date, any other that suits you in that month. I am particularly anxious that you reconsider our offer in view of the fact that the proceeds of your lecture will go toward helping the P.C.A. in Chicago, which is in desperate financial circumstances.

I know you are interested in the Progressive Party, therefore, I have not hesitated to write you again on the matter of your coming to Chicago. Julia will prepare you a good dinner.

My connection with the University now is quasi-official. I am merely assisting with the development of a project which is not likely to last beyond the Spring quarter. I am, however, scheduled to give a series of lectures on French Humanism of the 16th Century this summer, and a graduate course in General Semantics in the fall. I am one of the few Mid-Western followers of Count Alfred Korzybski, director of the Institute of General Semantics whose famous work, Science and Sanity, introduced the non-Aristotelian systems in General Semantics. I conducted the

seminar on Semantics at the University four years ago along with Korzybski.

If it is not asking too much, I would very much like to have a copy of that impressive address which you delivered some years ago on Abraham Lincoln before the Sunday Evening Club of Chicago.

Very sincerely yours,

Metz T. P. Lochard

Metz T. P. Lochard

MTPL:sp

23-29-28

P.S. Always write me at my home address, 5170 South Parkway.

N.B. I will pay you $150.00 and expenses
MPL

Lectures

Feb. 11, 1948

Dear Dr. Lochard:

I can speak April 16, but the expense of travel would be $75.00, which in addition to fee and hotel would be a tidy amount. Could the Forum afford it?

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) W. E. B. Du Bois

29-38-112

23-25-38

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(15)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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1948 FEB 23 PM 1 16

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N137 PD=CHICAGO ILL 23 1156A

DR W E B DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST=

HAPPY BIRTHDAY MAY YOU LIVE FOREVER THE CHICAGO FORUM WILL GLADLY PAY YOUR FEE AND HOTEL AND TRAVELING EXPENSES THE DATE IS APRIL 16TH WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS IN 1948 IS THE SUBJECT WE SHOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO TREAT=

METZ LOCHARD DIR CHICAGO FORUM.

16 1948

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Feb. 24, 1948

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

Sent February 23, 1948

COPY OF WIRE

N137 PD=CHICAGO ILL 23 1156A

DR W E B DuBOIS

20 WEST 40 ST =

HAPPY BIRTHDAY MAY YOU LIVE FOREVER.THE CHICAGO FORUM WILL GLADLY PAY YOUR FEE AND TRAVELING EXPENSES. THE DATE IS APRIL 16. WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS IN 1948 IS THE SUBJECT WE SHOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO TREAT.

Metz Lochard, Director

Chicago Forum

lecture

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS

TEST ADMINISTRATION
LEXINGTON HALL, ROOM 5

February 28, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23-29-29

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is to confirm the text of the telegram that I sent you a few days ago.

The Chicago Forum will gladly pay your fee, traveling and hotel expenses. We should like for you to discuss: "What the Negro Wants in 1948." You know, of course, that we are interested in the candidacy of Mr. Henry A. Wallace. The lecture is scheduled for April 16.

With my very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Metz T. P. Lochard

Metz T. P. Lochard
5170 So. Parkway
apt. #2, Chicago

MTPL:sp

March 4, 1948

Dr. Metz Lochard
5170 South Parkway, Apt. 2
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Lochard:

Thank you for your letter of February 28, concerning Dr. DuBois' lecture appearance in Chicago, which has just reached this office. Your telegram previous to this communication was forwarded to Dr. DuBois and he has all the necessary information concerning his appearance for you on April 16. I am forwarding your letter, however, to him.

Thank your for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
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LU74 PD=CHICAGO ILL 10 1116A

DR W E B DUBOISE CARE DR JOHN SOMMERVILLE=

DLR 2104 SOUTH HARVARD BLVD LOSA=

YOUR LECTURE IS SCHEDULED FOR APRIL SIXTEENTH STOP WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS IN 1948 IS THE SUBJECT PLEASE CONFIRM DATE AND SUBJECT BY RETURN WIRE COLLECT TO FACILITATE PUBLICITY=

METZ LOCHARD 5170 SOUTH PARK.

1948 5170.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

lecture

March 9, 1948

Dr. Metz Lochard
5170 South Parkway, Apt. 2
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Lochard:

Thank you for your wire. I have sent it to Dr. DuBois and he will communicate with you directly. I thougjt that he had written you confirming the lecture in Chicago. I notice from our records, that under date of February 11, there is a copy of a letter to you as follows:

Dear Dr. Lochard;

I can speak April 16, but the expense of travel would be $75.00, which in addition to fee and hotel would be a tidy amount. Could the Forum afford it?

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) W. E. B DuBois

The Doctor can be reached at:c/o Dr. John Sommerville--2104 South Harvard Boulevard, Los Angeles, Cal.

If there is anything else you would like me to do to facilitate matters do not hesitate to contact me. Thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

HUGH H. SMYTHE

HHS:LM

23c-29-51

May 20, 1948

Dr. Metz Lochard
5170 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Dr. Lochard:

23-22-6

The DEFENDER has dropped my column and the PEOPLE'S VOICE dropped it sometime ago, on account of practical bankruptcy.

I am therefore proposing a syndicated column for a number of the smaller newspapers throughout the country. Enclosed you will find a list of the newspapers with whom I am getting in contact, and the material that I am sending out. I shall be very glad to have you think this over and to give me any suggestions that you may have, especially on the papers. Is there any Chicago paper beside the DEFENDER?

I shall arrive in Chicago on the 27th and might come up and have a little supper with you that night.

My best regards to you and Julia.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosures:

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N244 PD=CHICAGO ILL 24 152P 1948 24 PM 5 22

=DR W E B DUBOIS=

=20 WEST 40 ST=

JULIA IS HAPPY TO PREPARE DINNER FOR YOU FOR MAY 27TH AT FIVE OCLOCK YOUR NEWSPAPER LIST SHOULD HAVE OMITTED THE CHICAGO WORLD IT HAS NEITHER CIRCULATION NOR MONEY. MICHIGAN CHRONICLE AND LOUISVILLE DEFENDER ARE SUBSIDIARIES OF CHICAGO DEFENDER. LOUIS MARTIN, DEKENDERS EDITOR IS ALSO PUBLISHER AND EDITOR OF MICHIGAN CHRONICLE. WILL DISCUSS THE MATTER AT LENGTH WHEN YOU COME TO CHICAGO

=METZ LOCHARD.

27.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Chicago

June 2, 1948

Dr. Metz Lochard
5170 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

23-22-8

My dear Dr. Lochard:

I have arrived home safely and want to thank you and Julia very much for your hospitality.

Please see if you can get a copy of that other photograph. I shall be glad to have it and to pay any expense.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

December 17, 1948

Dr. Metz T. Lochard
5170 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Lochard:

I had thought I would be in Chicago before this and be able to have a talk with you and dinner with Julia. But matters have been transacted by telephone. I think that the Chicago matter is coming out quite satisfactorily and that for the future I shall have a free hand at writing and rid of surrounding skunks. Meantime, let me know about yourself. How is the newspaper scheme coming on? I am waiting to hear of its successful launching.

My best regards to Mrs. Lochard.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-25-88

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(51)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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N67 DL PD=PZ PHILADELPHIA PENN 23 236P

1948 FEB 23 PM 3 00

CHAIRMAN DUBOIS TESTIMONIAL DINNER,
HOTEL ROOSEVELT=

REGRET ATLANTIC CITY SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT PREVENTS ATTENDANCE CONGRATULATIONS TO DOCTOR DUBOIS WITH HOMAGE AND GRATEFUL APPRECIATION FOR HIS UNIQUE CONTRIBUTIONS TO HUMAN FREEDOM AND UNDERSTANDING=

ALAIN LOCKE, Professor of Philosophy
Howard Univ.
Washington, D.C.

ALAIN.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

22-38

February 17, 1948

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Department of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from the city on a lecture tour of New England. However, it will be be brought to his attention upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

23-25-35

1201

(31)

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N166 DL PD=WASHINGTON DC 23 1207P 1948 FEB 23 PM 12 34

DR W E B DUBOIS=

:409 EGECOMB AVE NYK=

:OUR VERY BEST WISHES ON YOUR BIRTHDAY WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY SINCE 1868 AND YOU HAVE LED US ALONG THAT WAY MAY YOU SEE MANY MORE OF YOUR DREAMS REALIZED=

=RAYFORD AND RUTH LOGAN=

Chairman Dept. of History
Howard Univ.
Wash., D.C.

1868=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Logan et al.]

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

Encyclo. Negro

March 3, 1948

Copies sent to Dr. Rayford W. Logan and Dr. Charles Thompson: Howard University.

.23c - 30 - 5

Dear Dr;

The enclosed is being sent to you at the request of Dr. DuBois. It is self-explanatory.

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

March 5, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
NAACP, 20 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Please accept this letter as a general acknowledgment of your various communications, including specifically the copy of the memorandum of your conversation with Mr. MacQuiston. I hope that we have stymied the Patterson project.

I am sorry that I did not have a chance to chat with you after the dinner for Dr. Du Bois, but it was necessary for me to catch a train shortly after midnight.

Please have sent to me two copies of An Appeal to the World, for which I am enclosing a check in the sum of one dollar.

My wife and I were delighted to have the family news in your letter of January 15. We hope some time to renew our friendship and to see Karen. With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

23C-45

March 8, 1948

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Department of History
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

Thank you for your letter of March 5. It was nice to get a personal word from you. I understood the limitations on your time at the DuBois Dinner.

Your request and check for two copies of the petition, AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, have been passed along to the proper authority and you should be receiving the copies shortly. If they do not come within a reasonable time, please contact Miss Julia Baxter, this address, about them.

Mabel and the baby Warren, are fine and join me in regards to you and your wife.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Logan

March 31, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director, Special Research, NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am happy to enclose herewith my check in the sum of $1.67, the pro rata on the royalty for the sale of 67 copies of What the Negro Wants for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1947.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

23-24-4

April 5, 1948

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

I have your letter of March 31, with its enclosure, to Dr. DuBois. The Doctor is still out of the city but I shall bring the matter to his attention as soon as he arrives.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-24-5

May 11, 1948

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

23-24-3

Dear Dr. Logan: Dr. DuBois is coming to Washington on May 15, to attend the banquet of the American Veterans Committee honoring him as "A.V.C. Man of the Year 1948." He has asked me to write and inquire if he may stop with you when he comes for this affair. I am enclosing a self-addressed envelope for your convenience in re-lying.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. Henry Murphy)
Secretary to Dr. DuBois

LYM:

Enclosure

1519 Jackson Street, N. E.
Washington 17, D. C.
May 13, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

22-38-11

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Ruth and I will be delighted and honored to have you as our house guest when you come to Washington on May 15.

I shall probably not be able to meet you at the station since I shall be putting the finishing touches on my students who are writing their theses this year. Come right out to the house when you get in. I hope that we shall have a chance to talk about a lot of things.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

1519 JACKSON

NE

Bellegarde U.N. Peterson

8 pm

1751 N Hampshire Ave

Ca 5

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

May 20
1948

22-37-28

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 5. I am very happy to be able to accept your invitation to deliver one of the lectures in your course at The New School of New York City during the scholastic year 1948-1949. You will remember that during your recent visit to Washington, we agreed that I would take as my subject "The Negro During The Period Of The Road To Reunion." If given sufficient notice, I can arrange to come to New York at the time that you will designate. I imagine that you will want to arrange the lectures in chronological order.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

RWL:cb

22-32-12

May 20, 1948

Dr. and Mrs. Rayford Logan
1519 Jackson Street, N.E.
Washington 17, D. C.

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Logan:

Thank you very much for your hospitality while I was in Washington. As always I enjoyed your home.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

August 12, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

23-24-66

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am pleased to send you herewith my check in the sum of $1.80, the pro rata for each contributor on the sale of 72 copies of What the Negro Wants for the period from January 1 to June 30, 1948. Total sales are now 10, 186.

Sincerely yours,
Rayford W. Logan
Rayford W. Logan

P, S. What goes on? You know that I have been in South America. Will you be coming this way soon?

August 17, 1948

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Department of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

We are now preparing the lecture schedule for the course, The Negro in American History, which Dr. DuBois is directing for The New School during the Fall term, 1948-1949. In connection with your lecture you are scheduled to appear on Monday, October 18, at 8:30 P.M., and your topic is THE NEGRO DURING THE PERIOD OF THE ROAD TO REUNION.

Will you please let us know if this correct. If not, please state the exact Monday date, and the subject you wish to discuss, so that we may make adjustments where necessary. Since we are pushed for time in preparing the publicity on this course, we will appreciate an immediate reply.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:

Lectures/Comm

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

22-37-29

August 18, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research, NAACP
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Replying to the letter of August 17 from Dr. Smythe, I am happy to say that the date of October 18 for my lecture on THE NEGRO DURING THE PERIOD OF THE ROAD TO REUNION is entirely satisfactory. It will be a great pleasure to participate in this seris of lectures and to see you again. With cordial good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

August 23, 1948

23-24-67

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

My dear Dr. Logan:

Thank you for your enclosure, and congratulations upon the continued sale of WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS.

I got your card from South America. It must have been an interesting trip, and I hope to talk with you about it.

I do not expect to be in Washington soon, but if I am, I will certainly let you know. I always expect you to look in when you are in New York.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

September 29, 1948

22-32-31

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Department of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

Just what do you mean by your lecture, "The Negro During the Period Of The Road To Reunion"? Do you mean the Negro during Reconstruction or what? If it is Reconstruction, the lecture really ought to come a little later in the series.

Kindly let me know at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

October 4, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

22-32-30

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Replying to your letter of September 29, I mean the Negro from 1877 to 1900, the period during which the reconciliation between the North and the South was effected with the Negro paying the price. My schedule is still sufficiently flexible for me to make a change to almost any other date except Negro History Week.

Most sincerely,

Rayford W. Logan

22-37-26

October 7, 1948

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Department of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

Can you speak on November 8, instead of October 18? If so, this would help the logical development of our lectures.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

October 8, 1948

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Department of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

This is the third and last call. I want you to speak November 15, instead of either October 8, or November 1. I am, as you can imagine, having some difficulty of getting my people arranged.

I shall try to get you by telephone or telegraph tonight.

We meet from 8:30 to 10:10; the lecture should be about three quarters of an hour or an hour then there will be questions and comments; and finally you should give them directions as to the best available literature. There are 17 to 20 students in the class. I hope this will be all right.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

22-39-28 Psych INFO

Dr W.E.Du Bois,
c/o Doubleday-Doran.

Dear Dr Du Bois,

Your essay in Moon's Primer suggests a few points of mutual interest, that I'll cover briefly.

You did not note that Aknaton, the mulatto ruler of Egypt, was first to theorize on One God - and from his face, his was a lovely character.

Last year I interested Mr Salmon, art director of '47, in a pictorial comparison of native West Coast (and north coast) African typic faces with their collaterals in America, a means of identifying racial backgrounds in American faces, for those, like me, interested in distinguishing physiognomies by heritage. But from the Negro Encyclopedia and several other authorities to which inquiries referred me, I was unable to find a source for such a pair of groups of pictures. You might know and find it useful to promote this idea in suitable quarters. I would consider a 5% commission on a sale to a pictorial magazine as justly (and usefully) mine. Were I a photographer, I'd long since have pointed the civic faces of American - I even found a San Franciscoan face on a very black negress in a Colon whore-house - and she said she was from Valencia street. (I bought, but because she was very tired, did not use her.)

I own to a personal, and perhaps a groundless, notion that the Cro-magnon was a redskin of Amerind source, via Atlantis, who by crossing with the women of the New-man-valians (Neanderthals) turned his descendents white and that the Neanderthalians were (due to their prognathousness) of African negroid origin. This would make the upstart ~~white~~ pale-face but a branch of an elder African people, cum Amerind. As atl means ocean in Mayan and addle means watery in English, it is evident that there was prehistoric trans-atlantic intercourse of races - not that those are the only words evidently sharing their roots, pre-Samskrit.

In a work like Moon's, I think it would have added interest if he had given the meaning of every tribal name he listed by their African names, meaningless without translation. There would seem an article for Crisis in this idea. I don't know what Bantu, Bori or Gullah mean.

When you mentioned the Ewe word kra, you might have compared it with Egypt's ancient Ka, so nearly of the same sound and both meaning the indweller, undoubtedly of one source.

I think the tom-tom art reached its peak in the red granite coffer, a standard of measures, that sounded, before vandal's chipt it down to its present G, a perfect A-tone, in the Great Pyramid's buccal cavity. (The pyramid was a conventionalized, inverted skull.)

You are welcome to reprint my poem in praise of Africa, published some years back by Schuyler in the P-brg Courier.

If you can tell me where I can find the long Hebrew poem Lion in the Desert, I have sought it for years - a noble work.

Sincerely,
Battell Loomis,
201-19th Street,
Manhattan Beach, California.

9,2,48.

March 2, 1948

Mr. Battell Loomis
201-19th Street
Manhatten Beach, California

Dear Mr. Loomis:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, sent to Doubleday, has finally reached this office. It has come during the absence of Dr. DuBois, who will be away from New York for ab ut two months. Upon his return I shall bring your communication to his attention.

In regard to the long Hebrew poem "Lion in the Desert," you might find information concerning it by writing to Mr. Morris Fine, Library of Jewish Information, The American Jewish Committee 386 4th Avenue New York, New York.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-39

230-43-

649 Marcy Avenue
Brooklyn 6, New York
3 April 1948

Dear Dr. Smythe,

Just a note to express appreciative thanks for the use of your facilities.

Sincerely yours,

A. Matthew Lord

TELEPHONE: 8314

RESIDENCE: 35 POPLAR STREET

"THOU WILT KEEP HIM IN PERFECT PEACE WHOSE MIND IS STAYED ON THEE."—ISAIAH XXVI. 3

Rev. S. E. Churchstone Lord, D.D., P.E.

AMHERST. NOVA SCOTIA — 35 POPLAR STREET

March 16th, 1948

Prof. W. E. B. DuBois, Ph.D.,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia, U. S. A.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I take great pleasure in forwarding to you under separate cover one volume of "GOD IN A TROUBLED WORLD". As the outstanding intellectual leader and champion of human rights of our race at the present time, you above everyone else should have the first copy of this latest literary effort of mine. I shall be happy if you find time to give it your consideration, for this work is an humble attempt to follow in the broad outlook on human life which you have so consitently and wisely blazened not only for Negroes, but for all peoples everywhere. May I hope for some expression from your pen about this book in the Chicago Defender?

Praying God's rich blessings upon you and yours in all your noble undertakings,

I am,
Yours faithfully in Christ,

Samuel E. Churchstone Lord

Samuel E. Churchstone Lord.

March 25, 1948

Rev. Samuel E. C. Lord
35 Poplar Street
Amherst, Novia Scotia
Canada

Dear Mr. Lord:

Thank you for your letter of March 16 to Dr. DuBois, which has arrived during his absence from the city on a lecture tour of the West and South. I shall be sure to bring your communication to his attention as soon as he arrives late next month.

Dr. DuBois was retired from Atlanta University in June, 1944. He returned to the NAACP in his present position in the same year.

I am sure that he appreciates your sending the volume, GOD IN A TROUBLED WORLD. With thanks for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 9, 1948

Louisiana State University Press
University Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Gentlemen:

There has recently come to our attention the volume, THE LAND SAYIN' THE SAME. It is possible that we may be able to use this book in connection with some of our work. Would you be good enough to let us have a copy for examination, and we shall be glad to return it when it has served our purposes.

Very truly yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

LOUISIANA STATE

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Baton Rouge, 3

March 15, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

I am sorry to advise that no more review copies of THE LAWD SAYIN' THE SAME are available for distribution.

Very truly yours,

M. M. Wilkerson
Director

MMW:plb

[Louisiana Wallace ... Comm.]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

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1948 FEB 11 AM 5 10

W E B DUBOIS=

:20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

LOUISIANA WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD FEBRUARY 14TH GREETINGS FROM YOU WOULD BE INSPIRATION TO THOSE ASSEMBLED SEND TO ME=

MITCHELL FRANKLIN CHAIRMAN 9 FOUNTAIN BLUER DR.

Congratulations on your Wallace for President movement. Democracy will yet triumph even in Louisiana

14 9 BLUER..

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[Louisiana Wallace... Comm.]

Wallace, Henry

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1206

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PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

2M 3216

February 11, 1948 New York, N. Y.

Mr. Mitchell Franklin,
9 Fountain Bluer Drive
New Orleans, Louisiana

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT MOVEMENT. DEMOCRACY WILL YET TRIUMPH EVEN IN LOUISIANA.

W. E. B. DuBois

C. C. DEJOIE
PRESIDENT

The Louisiana Weekly
OLDEST AND FOREMOST IN SOUTH LOUISIANA

C. C. DEJOIE, JR.
MANAGING EDITOR

601 DRYADES STREET
NEW ORLEANS 13, LA.
PHONE RAYMOND 6596

May 26, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Color and Democracy
Colonies and Peace
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I have read with a great deal of interest your letter of May 20, and the enclosed statement concerning a proposed Cooperative Newspaper Syndicate, which would be under your direction. I am very much impressed with the possibilities of such a venture and am desirous of having The Louisiana Weekly participate.

yes

It is my conviction that the Negro press has a serious duty and responsibility to interpret events not only on the narrow, local and regional levels, but on the national and international levels as well. For the events, which shape the destinies of this nation and the world do not escape the Negro, even though he might be oblivious to them or to their meaning.

23-39-92

Wishing for your fine venture every success and requesting that we be kept advised of its progress, I am

Very sincerely yours,

C. C. Dejoie, Jr.

CCD:lj

The Louisville Defender

KENTUCKY'S INDEPNDENT WEEKLY
PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY

KENTUCKY'S GREATEST WEEKLY

418 So. FIFTH STREET
WABASH 6061
LOUISVILLE 1, KENTUCKY

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

25th May 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

No X

I have your letter of May 20, relative to your column for a select group of newspapers.

I think your idea is good, but unfortunately, at this time we cannot take on any additional columns due to business conditions.

We appreciate your considering us, and sincerely hope for you every success.

23-39-93

Very sincerely yours,

~~THE LOUISVILLE DEFENDER~~, Inc.

Frank L. Stanley

Frank L. Stanley,
Publisher

b

MAURICE A. LUBIN

AVOCAT

Serait

heureux de revoir M. Dubois
et de recevoir de lui une
pensée autographe pour mon
album, lui laisse une brochurette
qu'il avait publiée sur l'Ensei-
gnement. Maurice Hindus

15 Amsterdam Ave.
New York 23.

52-32-52

November 30, 1948

M. Maurice A. Lubin
15 Amsterdam Avenue
New York 23, New York

23-38-26

Dear M. Lubin:

Thank you for the copy of your lecture and rest assured of my deep interest in Haiti and her future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Du Bois
Received for March 9, 1948

CONRAD J. LYNN
COUNSELOR AT LAW
271 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

UNIVERSITY 4-7810
MONUMENT 2-6220

September 10, 1948

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-18-1

Permit me to congratulate you on the broad position you took yesterday in the "New York Times" in opposing Walter White's representation of the Truman administration at the United Nations. As few besides yourself have grasped, the American Negro owes to the world of color far-seeing leadership in their international interests.

Let me thank you again for consenting to serve on the defense committee of the Campaign to Resist Military Segregation. We are quite aware of the criticism you invite by taking this stand.

Yours respectfully,

Conrad J. Lynn

cjl.b

conrad j. lynn
chr., Campaign to Resist
Military Segregation

22-32 [Lyons]

Articles on Russia

EUGENE LYONS

TASS
Telegraph Agency of the U. S. S. R.
Moscow

383 MADISON AVENUE
New York

Jill Correspt. M-

2555 Filbert Street Tuesday.

Dear W- Du Bois

Friday

23-33-1

evening is all arranged
& we shall look forward
to seeing you here at
Six fifty-five. Do not
dress -

Sincerely yours
Jean MacAuley.

Capt Edw MacAuley

A. C. McClurg & Co. SINCE 1844

WHOLESALE 333 E. Ontario St. Chicago (11), Ill.

December 7, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York (3), N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We find in our files some correspondence that went on between us in January of 1946, in which we offered to sell the text plates for SOULS OF BLACK FOLK for $100.00. Our offer was made in our letter to you of January 22, 1946, but we cannot find that we ever received a reply.

Inasmuch as we are making arrangements to dispose of the text plates for all of our inactive titles, we should like to hear from you.

Very truly yours,

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

R. W. Barber,
Publishing Dept.

BOOKS STATIONERY OFFICE SUPPLIES SCHOOL SUPPLIES PARTY GOODS GREETING CARDS HOLIDAY GOODS GIFTS
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448

I shall be glad to buy the
shares - The S. & B?
Can you delay the ~~transaction~~
transaction until Jan 15, 1947
when I shall be glad to remit

December 13, 1948

Mr. R. W. Barber
Publishing Department
A. C. McClurg & Company
333 E. Ontario Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I shall be glad to buy the plates of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. Can you delay the transaction until January 15, 1949, when I shall be glad to remit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

A. C. McClurg & Co. SINCE 1844

WHOLESALE 333 E. Ontario St. Chicago (11), Ill.

December 17, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

1/29/49

We have your letter of December 13th, telling us that you would like to purchase the text plates for THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK and asking us if we can delay the transaction until January 15, 1949.

We shall be glad to defer the matter until the middle of January,-or the latter part of the month if necessary. We are advised by Wisconsin Cuneo Press of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, that they have the plates in their possession and we know no reason why they could not ship them within a few days of the date to be specified by you. Our original offer of $100.00 for the plates, F. O. B. Milwaukee, is still good and, of course, we would transfer to you the exclusive publishing rights granted us under our original contract.

We shall look forward to hearing from you when you find it possible to go ahead with the transaction.

Very truly yours,
A. C. McCLURG & CO.

R. W. Barber, Publishing Dept.

RWB:dlm

BOOKS STATIONERY OFFICE SUPPLIES SCHOOL SUPPLIES PARTY GOODS GREETING CARDS HOLIDAY GOODS GIFTS
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Curtis D. MacDougall

Support the Principles of Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Curtis D. MacDougall

PROGRESSIVE (WALLACE) CANDIDATE FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR

537 JUDSON AVENUE EVANSTON, ILLINOIS TELEPHONE: GREENLEAF 0297

537

Sept. 28, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I just want to be added to the list of those who are highly indignant over the action of the NAACP.

My reaction, as a matter of fact, goes beyond indignation. I am frightened at this new indication of how successful the Goebbels-like red smokescreen has been in this nation. When each new incident occurs I ask myself, suddering, "What next?"

On the personal side I recall pleasantly having met you two or three times about a decade ago when I was state supervisor of the Illinois Writers Project and you consulted with Arne Bontemps and me regarding several research proposals.

Cordially yours,

Curtis D. MacDougall

A Statement of Principles

THE TIME IS NOW:—For more than 12 years, Franklin Delano Roosevelt postponed the necessity for a re-alignment of American political parties. Against the wishes of some of its important elements, FDR made the Democratic party into a liberal party so that there was a clearcut choice between the two major parties.

Today there is no such clearcut choice. Party leaders boast of their bi-partisanism. Consequently a New Party is necessary so as not to disenfranchise millions of voters and to effect the realignment of parties.

HENRY A. WALLACE AND GLEN H. TAYLOR STAND TODAY WHERE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT FORMERLY STOOD. In November, 1946, a year before the New Party was born, enough former FDR disciples had "had enough" of bi-partisanism to remain away from the polls, permitting the ractionaries to take over. In the Wallace and Taylor candidacies, in November, 1948 these voters will have an incentive again to cast ballots.

THE TREND TOWARD WAR AND FASCISM MUST STOP:—Hitler and Goebbels created a propaganda smokescreen by screaming, "We must unite to save the world from Communism." It took in the democratic-minded people of Germany and the British and French Cliveden sets. If they had not been victimized there would have been no World War II.

Behind the smokescreen the Nazis destroyed civil liberties. There were loyalty boards, red scares and witch hunts in fascist Germany.

Americans must awake so that history does not repeat itself here. American junkers and cartelists must be removed from our government. Only a return to the principles of Franklin Delano Roosevelt can get us back on the road to peace and prosperity.

SUPPORTING

HENRY A. WALLACE

AND

GLEN H. TAYLOR

IN ILLINOIS

CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL

favors the following:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

1. A good neighbor policy toward all other nations.
2. No American imperialism or bullying of other nations.
3. Support for democratic forces in all other nations.
4. No restoration of power to German cartelists and ex-Nazis.
5. International solution of world problems, through the United Nations, rather than unilateral Truman Doctrines and Marshall Plans.
6. Resumption of meetings of the Big 3—heads of the governments of the USA, USSR and British Empire.
7. American leadership for world disarmament and control of atomic weapons through the United Nations.
8. No selective service or Universal Military Training.
9. Consistency in American foreign policy rather than prestige-losing "flip-flops" as on Palestine, Trieste and the "door is always open" note.
10. In general, support of the policies of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS:

1. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley act.
2. A $1 per hour minimum wage and increase in minimum unemployment compensation from $15 to $25 per week.
3. Wide extension of social security coverage to include the self employed, farmers, household employes, teachers, etc.
4. National health insurance.
5. A long range adequate federal housing program to include 1,500,000 dwelling units next year.
6. Federal aid to education, increased teachers' salaries and end of Jim Crow in the schools.
7. Enforcement of anti-trust laws and other measures to check monopolies and to protect natural resources.
8. Adequate federal inspection of mines and enforcement of mine safety laws.
9. A permanent Fair Employment Practices commission.
10. Abolition of the Rankin-Thomas committee on un-American activities and of the domestic Truman Doctrine — Executive Order 9835 establishing the loyalty boards.

March 4, 1948

2 3 - 16

Mr. T. E. McKinney
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

Dear Mr. McKinney:

Your letter of March 1 to Dr. DuBois has arrived during his absence from New York. The Doctor is on a lecture tour to the West Coast and will not return to his desk for several weeks. However, I am informing him of your communication and the Board of the Quarterly Review in releasing him as a contributing editor at his own request.

With best wishes for the continued success of your journal, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[McMENAMIN]

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

January 2, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I hope you will recall the writer - the kidnaper and her associates who lured you into a Tavern in the dark of night - after a lecture at the New School? The fact is I've wanted towrite you many times since then but with out success.

22-32-2

Recently, I've met a visitor to this country from South Africa - Johannesburg to be exact. She is a member of the staff of a private school whose function it is to bring adult education to the Africans (she never says native). You probably are very skeptical of the so called Liberal movement in South Africa - but I wish to bring you and this girl to-gether as I think she is very sincere and would consider it a great pleasure and honor to meet you.

This is my suggestion - Marguerite Cartwright whom you know by sight is a very special person and has for years wanted to meet you. She is a niece or something like that of W. C. Handy- she resides at 57 Fifth Avenue and would like to offer her abode as a suitable place where we might all get to-gether and know Miss Miriam Gordan of South Africa. This sounds very complicated but it need not be. If this interests you would you tell me which night within the next two weeks (Miss Gordan is leaving after that) you could join us with the exception of Sunday, Jan. 11, 1948. We can meet early so that we willsnot interfere with your desire to retire early.

I do hope this will be possible- I know it will mean a lot to this pioneer and will give something to her work. You can reach me at the School or at 99 Perry Street-NYC where I live. My index finger is in bad shape consequently so is my typing. Happy New Year to you.

Jane F. McMenamin

Jan 12, 13

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

January 9, 1948

Dear Dr. Smythe,

Just to make life more confusing the restaurant "68" is not at 68 Fifth Avenue but rather at 59. I wasn't sure you understood that and I didn't want Dr. DuBois to be inconvenienced.

We'll look forward to seeing you and I hope you can help me on the subject of Education for Adults who havenot had previous education.

Sincerely,

Jane F. McMenamin

23c-45

22-32-3

January 9, 1948

Miss Jane F. McMenamin
THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th New York 11

My dear Miss McMenamin:

I shall be very glad to meet your friends on Wednesday, January 13. I would suggest that I bring along Miss Shirley Graham, the author, whom I am sure would add to the occasion.

It was nice hearing from you again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

P. S. Mr. Smythe has confirmed by telephone our dinner engagement at the Sixty-eight Rest., 6:00P.M.

22-37-50

January 12, 1948

Miss Jane F. McMenamin
THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss McMenamin:

Two corrections in my letter: First, I may not be able to get Miss Graham as she is going away the next day. Secondly, the dinner is to be at my expense. I am already your debtor for one pleasant evening.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

22-32-55

January 15, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois,

It occurred to me after you left that I hadn't thanked you properly for a really delightful dinner. I was too busy being concerned with your rubbers to behave as I should.

I was glad we were able to meet Mr. Michael Scott and I hope the New School will be able to do something for him. There are so many battlefronts for human decency and so few soldiers fighting that I sometimes feel very sad and inadequate but I shall be fortified against this sadness by remembering you and what you have accomplished and what fruits you have seen in the years of your living.

It was surprising about Dr. Reddick-lucky for Atlanta University-but a great loss for New York and the New School.

Let's not wait for a visit from South Africa to bring us together again - it's so nice to be with you. Best regards Jane

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

80th Anniversary dinner

23-25-66

February 12, 1948

Dear Dr. Alexander,

It was very nice to receive the invitation to the birthday celebration for Dr. DuBois, which by the way is a wonderful idea. I wish that I could be present to participate in this tribute to a really great man and one of my favorite people - but the fact of the matter is- the Urban League dinner and a few other $7.50 plates has somewhat drained the "loot-well" and shall therefore have to decline.

Thank you for including me on the invitation list - I shall send a special greeting to Dr. DuBois. Best wishes for a successful dinner and the continuance of Fisk University as an outstanding institution of education.

Sincerely,

Jane F. McMenamin

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

CABLE ADDRESS
PACHAMAC NEW YORK

Publishers

TELEPHONE
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SIXTY · FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

GEORGE P. BRETT, JR., PRESIDENT
H. S. LATHAM, VICE PRESIDENT
T. C. MOREHOUSE, VICE PRESIDENT
E. L. MEAD, SECRETARY
PAUL J. CHITTENDEN, TREASURER

July 9, 1948

23-33-7

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is kind of you to say that you will have someone look over Miss Florence Murray's manuscript for THE NEGRO HANDBOOK, 1949, and in accordance with our telephone conversation, I am sending the material marked for your attention.

We feel confident that Miss Murray's new manuscript is up to the standards of her previous Handbooks, but we should greatly appreciate your assuring us of this fact. As I told you, we should be happy to whomever undertakes the task an honorarium of $15. If you will just call me when the manuscript is ready to be returned to us, I shall send a messenger. May we ask for as quick a reading as is convenient, as we are eager to avoid delay in the case of a book of this sort.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Daniels

Eleanor Daniels

July 9, 1948

Miss Eleanor Daniels
The Macmillan Company
60 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Daniels:

When I talked with you this morning on the phone, I understood that you would pay a maximum of $20 to have the manuscript of the Murray Negro Handbook, 1949, looked over. With this understanding, I contacted the party and gave them the job, although they did not want to do it for such a small sum. The copy is being looked over with this understanding, and in view of your letter, I thought you ought to know this.

Of course, you realize that only a brief review can be made of the material, since a source book of this kind requires weeks of accurate checking to ascertain the validity of the facts. Also, it would cost quite a considerable sum to have the manuscript read and checked as it should be. I say this so that you will understand just what is being done. Of course, as far as possible the checker will indicate points that he feels need attention, but in no sense is responsible for including data or changing material.

The manuscript should be returned to you within the week at the latest.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

July 12, 1948

Miss Eleanor Daniels
The Macmillan Company
60 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Daniels:

Enclosed is the manuscript of Florence Murray's Negro Handbook, 1949. The person who looked it over felt that after getting into the work that the stipend contracted for was much too low, even for a preliminary examination. After seeing the critical sheets handed in with the manuscript, I had to agree with the copyreader. However, since we handled the job we felt obligated to increase the amount from the agreed $20 and added $10 to the figure. Even this, we knew was not adequate compensation for this type of work and for this particular job.

Of course, we realize that you are in no way responsible for this, but I wanted you to know the situation. After examining the findings of the copyreader I believe you will agree that what we did was understandable. The person has done a good job, even for a preliminary review.

The accompanying notes are self-explanatory and further word concerning the manuscript is unnecessary.

Please make your check payable to Mabel H. Murphy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For the Department

HHS:s

CHICAGO · BOSTON · ATLANTA · DALLAS · SAN FRANCISCO · LONDON · TORONTO · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA · MADRAS · MELBOURNE · SHANGHAI · MANILA

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

CABLE ADDRESS PACHAMAC NEW YORK *Publishers* TELEPHONE ALGONQUIN 4-2100

SIXTY · FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

GEORGE P. BRETT, JR., PRESIDENT
H. S. LATHAM, VICE PRESIDENT

E. L. MEAD, SECRETARY
PAUL J. CHITTENDEN, TREASURER

July 14, 1948

Mr. Hugh Smythe
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

We wish to thank you for having Florence Murray's NEGRO HANDBOOK, 1949, looked over so promptly and so carefully. Miss Murphy's detailed comments and criticisms will be most helpful and we are sure that Miss Murray will do her best to incorporate the suggestions made and to correct any flaws.

We agree with you in thinking that so painstaking an examination is worth a good deal more than the fee we mentioned. We are taking the liberty, therefore, of sending Miss Murphy the enclosed check for $35. Will you be good enough to pass it along to her with our thanks? We are most grateful to you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Daniels

Eleanor Daniels
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Enclosure (1)

33C - 33 - 4

October 18, 1948

Li:
Make copy and
send to Shirley Graham

23-35-8

Mr. James Putnam
The MacMillan Company
60 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

My dear Mr. Putnam:

I have just learned that a manuscript on Ann Royal by Shirley Graham has been sent to your publishing house for consideration. I write to ask if you, yourself, will give it some attention. I think that the subject is very interesting. Ann Royal, a Southern white woman, is almost forgotten today; but she was really a great person. She was the editor and publisher of interesting newspapers, traveled all over the land, and was a person of dynamic force whose observations should claim attention.

Of course, I know that in the present condition of the publishing business, it may be too much of a venture to publish this abstract from her travels, but I wish you would at least give the matter very careful thought. Shirley Graham has written successful books on Carver, Douglass, and Robeson.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

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THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

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PAUL J. CHITTENDEN, TREASURER

October 22, 1948

23-33-6

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sorry to say that we had already considered and declined Shirley Graham's ANNE ROYALL'S UNITED STATES when your letter reached me. I myself saw the manuscript when it came in and was very much interested in it. Unfortunately, however, we were regretfully forced to decide that it would be a venturesome project for the present time. I agree with you, however, that this material should be available, and I am wondering if it might not be something which a university press would consider.

Thank you again for your letter.

Sincerely yours,

James Putnam

JP/rlm

April 9, 1948

Mr. Robert D. McNutt
Law Offices
Van Pelt, Marti & O'Gara
204 First National Bank Building
Lincoln, Nebraska

Dear Mr. McNutt:

Your letter of April 1 has just been turned over to this office. I believe that you will find it helpful for source material on your problem to contact the American Associaton for the United Nations, 45 E. 65th New York, New York. Also consult the Year Book of the United Nations: 1946-47.

For specific information I suggest that you write to Mr. Edward Lawson, Social Affairs Officer, United Nations, Lake Success, New York. Mr. Lawson was a member of the United States Group to the Geneva Conference on Human Rights, which met last December.

You will find it helpful to write to Mr. A. G. Mezerik, 63 Washington Square South, New York, New York, asking for specific information concerning your topic.

It is highly advisable to write to The Office of Information and Documents, United Nations, Lake Success, New York. Request Documents E/600 December 17, 1947; Report of the Commission on Human Rights. Ask for documents covering all sessions of the Conference, including all reports, Background Paper No. 21, November 5, 1947; Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/31 December 2, 1947; and E/CN.4/Sub.2/24 December 1, 1947; E/CN.4/Sub. 2/SR. 14; E/CN.4/Sub. 2/SR.13; E/CN . 4/Sub.2/11; andE/CN .4/Sub . 2/33.

You might be able to secure some very direct information by writing to Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh News and Observer, Raleigh, North Carolina. Mr. Daniels was an official Representative of the United States to the Geneva Conference.

Consult the column of THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, "Winds of Time", by W. E. B. DuBois, for March 27, April 3, April 10, and April 17.

I believe that you will find the above material of some use. Please feel free to call upon us if we can be of further service.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-20-47

Mainstream

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN

A LITERARY QUARTERLY

832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • ALgonquin 4-0233

New Masses

January 22, 1948

Dear Friend:

Bernie West (formerly of Cafe Society Downtown), Jean Murais (formerly of Village Vanguard), and Jerry Reid (formerly of Cafe Society Downtown) are going to be at Arrowhead Lodge for the 4-day Lincoln Birthday Weekend. Join us at Arrowhead for a round of fun. MAINSTREAM-MASSES will benefit - as well as you.

We'll be leaving by bus from the New Masses office, 104 East 9th Street, New York City, Wednesday, February 11th, at 6:00 p m and will return late Sunday afternoon, February 15th.

The rates are amazingly low--$35.00 for the 4-day weekend. Send your reservations to Arrowhead Lodge, Ellenville, New York, enclosing $5.00 deposit per person. The Arrowhead telephone number in New York is JE 6-2334.

The Bus fare is $5.00 per round trip. Bus reservations should be sent to New Masses, with a check in the amount of $5.00 for each reservation. A reply envelope is enclosed for your bus reservation.

We'll be looking for you on the 11th.

Cordially,

Alice Richman

ALICE RICHMAN
Director of Activities

ang-cio

If you wish to receive future Copies of MAKERERE would you please let me know?

[Makerere, c. Oct., 1948]

E. Apter

With the Compliments of

The Dean.

22-38

Makerere College,

Kampala, Uganda.

[Makerere]

22-38-31

November 9, 1948

The Dean
Makerere College
Kampala, Uganda
British East Africa

My dear Sir:

I have received with great interest your issue of the literary magazine called, MAKERERE. Please by all means send it to me regularly, and if there is any cost, let me have the bill.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-25-79

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

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FRADERICK DIVER=

FISK UNIVERSITY

(CARE MRS DOVER PRESIDENTS OFFICE)=

PLEASE CONVEY MESSAGE TO DR DUBOIU AT BANQUET "ON BEHALF OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE WEST INDIES I JOIN IN PAYING TRIBUTE TO A GREAT MAN AND A GREAT SCHOLAR WHOSE LONG LIFE OF SERVICE TO THE CAUSE OF NEGRO ADVANCEMENT NOT ONLY IN AMERICA BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND IN THE COLONIAL EMPIRES HAS BEEN A GUIDE AND AN INSPIRATION TO =US ALL"= MANLEY. 1123===1234P.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS

4 July 1948

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
Attention: Education Department

Dear Sirs:

I am a student who has just completed a thesis on Student Opinions and the Elementary Teacher Shortage. I will soon be examined by the committee with respect to that thesis.

To show the limitations of opinion polls I made the statement that most people deny that they feel xxxxx any personal prejudice toward the negro(s right to an equal opportunity in education; yet the fact remains that the negro does not enjoy equal opportunity. I need your help in substantiating that statement because one of the committee members denies: 1. That people do deny prejudice when asked; and 2. That the negro does not have an equal opportunity for education.

I would deeply appreciate a letter from you stating that in your work you have discovered thatwhile people claim as individuals not to be prejudiced that their actions often belie their words and that the negro does not have an equal opportunity, nationally speaking, when compared to the white. I know that you are all busy and that I am just a student; yet if I can convince this one "ivory Towered" professor of his illogical viewpoint then some good will have been accomplished.

I need your help and hope that you can find time to aid me in the very near future.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Respectfully yours,

Walton Manning

Walton Manning
242 West 32nd St.
Indianapolis 8 Indiana

233-29-17

July 9, 1948

Mr. Walton Manning
242 West 32nd Street
Indianapolis 8, Indiana

Dear Mr. Manning:

Your letter of July 4, has finally reached this office for reply. Before replying to your question, let me advise you on the use of the word Negro. Should you wish to get cooperation, especially when contacting Negroes, you should always remember that the term is spelled with a capital "N"---this is a nice point to keep in mind. Otherwise, you may find that your requests will go unanswered, for all civilized people today understand that the American Negro is so referred to.

Unfortunately, according to opinion polls, your statement is incorrect in that most white Americans "deny that they feel any personal prejudice toward the Negro." According to the Public Opinion Poll, Denver University, Denver, Colorado, a majority of American white people are most prejudiced against Negroes. You can write the Bureau at Denver University, or find the report in your libraries to this effect---this was released in 1946 or 1947. Thus in reply to your question numbered (1), most American white people do not deny their prejudice against Negroes. (Further substantiation of this is to be found in the Roper poll of Fortune Magazine, and in the Gallup Poll---both show a majority of American whitea admitting their prejudice against Negroes).

You are correct in saying Negroes do not have equal educational opportunities. I am enclosing a copy of the NAACP Petition to the U.N. which contains some data on this beginning on page 62, and there are other sources to substantiate your assertion in the footnotes. The charge for this document is 50¢ payable to the NAACP. Also, see the report released in 1946 by the National Council on Education, Washington, D. C. Further, if you write to Dr. Ambrose Caliver, U. S. Office of Education, he supply you with further materials on the inadequacy and inequality of educational opportunities for Negroes. Of course, Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma is full of information showing the inequality of education for Negroes.

For further information, I am enclosing a copy of a report made of selected public school systems in Pennsylvania---a northern state---which shows unequal practices. Also, please write to Mr. K. M. Alexander, 323 S. Brevard Street, Charlotte, N. C., and ask him for a copy of the report: A SURVEY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF CHARLOTTE, N. C., Prepared for the Charlotte Branch of the NAACP, by Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, Professor of Education at Howard University, Washington, D. C., May, 1948. This is a very recent report and adequately points up the inequality of educational opportunities for Negroes in North Carolina. Of course there is material for other states, and you should be sure and get data concerning the expenditures for education in Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina. These data are available in your libraries. See the differences by race. Also, consult the Journal of Negro Education, especially the Summer, 1943 and 1944 Numbers, as well as late quarterly issues; the Southwest Review, Spring, 1948, article "Separate But Not Equal," by C. H. Thompson, beginning on page 105; the Negro Year Book, 1947, The Negro Hand Book, 1948, and the report released by the Research Division, National Educaation Association, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., entitled, "Inequality of Educational Opportunity in the United States as Revealed by Selective Service Rejections for Educational Deficiency in World War II." Federal Aid Series, No. 4, March, 1948. Also, write the American Teachers Association, Birmingham, Alabama, for specific materials showing inequality of educational opportunities for Negroes.

For general works showing inequality of opportunity for Negroes, consult Negro Ghetto, Weaver, Harpers, 1948; Negro Labor, Weaver, Harpers, 1946; The Negro's Share, Sterner, Harpers, 1943; Patterns of Negro Segregation, Johnson, Harper, 1943 (this contains a whole chapter on segregation in education showing inequalities, beginning on page 173); American Caste and the Negro College, Gallagher, Columbia University Press, 1938; Environmental Factors in Negro Elementary Education, Foreman, Norton, 1932; The Education of Negroes in New Jersey, Wright, Columbia University Press, 1941; Negro Education in Alabama, Bond, Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939. There are many other sources and very late statistics are available from the Department of Education of the U. S. Government. Also, consult the Annals, 1946, special number on the Negro, and Survey Graphic, January, 1947, special issue on "Segregation", and their special issue on the Negro for September, 1942, I believe.

Since you are in need of this material at once, I am sending it along. You owe the Association 70¢ (see prices on pamphlets sent) and can make your check payable to the NAACP.

If we can be of further service, please feel free to contact us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s
Enclosure

[Manumit School]

June 24, 1948

Dear Mr. Fincke:

It was very kind and thoughtful of you to respond to my letter so promptly and favorably. Two difficulties however present themselves: first, it will not be possible for Du Bois to get ready to leave home by the 28th. She might by the 5th of July. I know how this might dislocate your schedule and you might not be able to consider it. But she has just returned from school and the whole family, including her paralized grandmother, who took her to Manumit before hve been terribly upset and distraught. It will take a bit of time to get this new possibility in mind, get her clothes and other gear ready, etc. If it should prove impracicable to get her started this Summer, would you consider her entry in the Fall?

Secondly, you rates are pretty high for our income. Mrs. Du Bois is now quite helples and requires constantly a nurse and housekeeper. Fortunately our home is adequate and owned without incumbrance. On the other hand my living in New York for the porposes of my work, is an added expense.

Du Bois' schooling at Northfield has cost $600 a year which has been raised to $750 for next year. Clothing, travel and Summer expense are added to this. I think that without undue strain we could afford to pay $ 1200 for the Summer and regular term. Could you consider this? If not, we would have to figure what so e straining could do.

Will you please a catalog and statement to Mrs. Yolande Du Bois-Williams, 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore, 14, Md. Kindly send the answer to this letter to 409 Edgecombe Ave., New York, 32, N.Y.

Very sincerely,

23-23-3

[Manumit School]

Benjamin G.C. Fincke

Co- s

June 25, 1948

23-20-16

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter arrived in my office in today's mail. We can extend DuBois a $75.00 dollar scholarship allowance for this summer's camp and a $400.00 allowance for next year's winter school. Therefore, our proposed tuition for the summer session is $325.00 plus the Tuition Refund Insurance premium of $13.00, and for winter school, $800.00 plus $155.00 for miscellaneous fees, plus approximately $25.00 Tuition Refund Insurance. Thus the total for the summer and winter sessions is $1,318.00 or $118.00 more than you proposed.

If Du Bois finds herself at Manumit, steadies down and proves herself capable of real work, there is a strong possibility that she could be here in future summers carrying most of her weight through her efforts. This possibility of course is completely contingent on Du Bois really coming through and proving herself.

It seems probable in view of Du Bois history of difficulties and of her having failed to make an adjustment at Northfield, that she will require of all of us here on the staff a considerable amount of personal attention to give her security until she straightens out. This we are prepared to give her and it is our usual procedure to charge full rates for youngsters who require this sort of personal attention. The scholarship that we are offering is based on the honor in which we hold you and our desire to have your granddaughter a part of Manumit. Any possible scholarship grants larger than we have proposed would it seems to me have to come in the future if

Du Bois should find herself and make herself in her own right a personal asset to the school group.

I do hope that you and your daughter can see your way to meeting the slightly larger fee which I feel it necessary to quote under the circumstances. We would very much like to have the privilege of being of service to you through helping Du Bois. It will be all right for Du Bois to arrive on the 5th of July.

Very sincerely yours,

William Mann Fincke
Co-Director

WMF:OWJ

23-20-17

mammint School
Rfd 2,
Bristol, Bucks Cty
Pa.

23-22-33

March 22, 1948

Mr. George Marshall
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Your letter of March 19 to Dr. DuBois, re Leon Josephson, has come during the absence of Dr. DuBois from New York. Unfortunately, he will not return to the city until late in April.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Civil Rights

GEORGE MARSHALL
38 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

April 13, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Assn. For the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, N.Y.

23-22-21

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will recall that I spoke with you sometime ago to ask you whether you would be willing to appear as an expert witness in my Un-American Committee contempt case.

Since I spoke with you, the date of my trial has been postponed until Thursday, April 15th, and it appears that the trial will not be completed until sometime next week. I am writing now to ascertain whether it would be possible for you to come to Washington early next week to be an expert witness in my case. It would not be necessary for you to do the time-consuming preliminary report on documents about which I originally spoke with you.

If it is possible for you to come to Washington then I should like to have one of my Counsel phone you to give you the full picture of what we have in mind. We are leaving for Washington this evening and shall be stopping at the Washington Hotel. We can probably be reached during the day, on Wednesday at least, through Mr. Charles Horsky at Republic 7900. I should appreciate your phoning Mr. Isserman or myself collect on Wednesday, and if that is not possible, one of us shall try to reach you by phone.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

gm.ek
uopwa 16

George Marshall

Correspondence

February 25, 1948

AIR MAIL

Mr. Thurgood Marshall
1838 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Thurgood:

We have just learned of the death of your father. On behalf of Dr. DuBois, who is away, Mrs. Murphy, and myself, I want to extend our sympathy to you and your mother, and your family.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

230-14

Gratefully acknowledging
and thanking you for
your kind expression of sympathy

The Marshall Family

ISADORE MARTIN Real Estate
15 NORTH 40TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA

February 13, 1948

23-25-45

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

It would be a real pleasure to join the Fiskites in honoring Dr. DuBois on the occasion of his 80th birthday but I have not been well since June, 1947. I must therefore with real regret decline your kind invitation to the dinner on February 23rd. However, I shall look forward to receiving an invitation to join you in honoring Dr. DuBois on his 90th anniversary.

Very truly yours,

Isadore Martin

Isadore Martin

IM/rra

Corresp. M

MISS K. M. MARVIN
LANCASTER, MASSACHUSETTS

May 4, 1948.

23-33-4

Dear Mr. DuBois,

When the last Trish News came I resolved to write and tell you how much I enjoyed the articles about you and the beautiful picture, it was good to see that, after all these years of life with so many hard things to be met and dealt with.

I wish I might have gone with Miss Scribner to the meeting where there were so many I would have liked to meet.

Recently I came across this Invitation to one of our Parties and perhaps you will recall composing it.

I remember that I said you could not get my name in and you said you could, and you did.

I have my little picture of Burghardt, the most interesting baby I ever saw; he used to look at one so earnestly as if he were classifying us in his mind, and knew just where each one of us belonged. I always felt that he was too highly endowed for this world and belonged in the Other World, leaving us a precious memory.

After I left Fisk in 1902 my sister Mary and I had happy days years here till her death in 1941. I still live here, but the near relatives live around Washline

MISS K. M. MARVIN
LANCASTER, MASSACHUSETTS

23-33-4a

right for where I have visited times, and sometimes they come here.

We had a long, cold and trying winter, my eyes suffered from the glaring sunshine on the snow. Spring was late in coming but we are now enjoying the weather.

With kindest regards to yours family I am, cordially

Katharine M. Marvin.

I am sorry for so many mistakes - the letter ought to be rewritten.

May 6, 1948

Miss K. M. Marvin
Lancaster
Massachusetts

My dear Miss Marvin:

I was very much pleased to have your letter and especially the bit of literature which it contained. What memories that brings back. I did not know where you were living, or I should have gotten in touch with you before.

Mrs. Du Bois has not been well for two years, and is bedridden, but the rest of us are quite well. My daughter has been teaching in Baltimore for 20 years, and my granddaughter, now 15, is a student at Northfield School for Girls.

I stayed in Atlanta on my second engagement for 10 years, until after President Hope died. I am now back with the NAACP doing some desultory writing and lecturing. I am glad to know that you are well and fit.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 7, 1949

22-40-18

Mr. Herbert Aptheker
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Aptheker:

The plates on the SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, published in 1903 in Chicago, have been offered to me for $100. I am going to buy them January 15. There will then come the question as to what can be done with them.

I wish you would think this over and advise me. I have been thinking thatpossibly a sort of jubilee edition might be undertaken, perhaps with some addition taken from the TIMES article or the Petition to the United Nations. Howard Fast, I think, has some ideas. Let me hear from you at your leisure.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

→ New Masses [Masses and Mainstream]

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

INCORPORATED

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0233 • 832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

February 6, 1948

Dear Friend:

We are proud to announce that the weekly NEW MASSES and the quarterly MAINSTREAM are being combined and will be published, starting with the March, 1948, issue, as a new cultural monthly, MASSES & MAINSTREAM.

MASSES & MAINSTREAM, a challenging new voice in the cultural life of America, will provide Marxist initiative and leadership on the cultural front. It will be a magazine that fights for progressive ideas in literature, art, politics, science. It will feature high-level fiction, poetry, reportage, and art work, and cover books, theatre, music, radio, the dance, and other fields of creative and intellectual activity.

MASSES & MAINSTREAM will be edited by Samuel Sillen and associate editors Herbert Aptheker, Lloyd L. Brown and Charles Humboldt. Designed by Bert Clark, who gave us the highly-praised typography and format of MAINSTREAM, it will be 96 pages.

Although your previous subscription has expired, we are writing to urge you to send in a subscription to the new monthly. The new MASSES & MAINSTREAM will need all of the friends and supporters that it can muster. We want it to be a powerful influence in the cultural arena.

Subscriptions are $4 for one year, $7 for 2 years, $2 for 6 months. Foreign subs are 50¢ additional. The retail price of MASSES & MAINSTREAM is 35¢

For your convenience, we are printing a sub form below. Please make checks or money orders payable to New Century Publishers, as we are the national distributors.

Sincerely yours,
NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, Inc.

New Century Publishers
832 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

Date _____

Enclosed please find $_____ for a _____ year (or months) subscription to MASSES & MAINSTREAM.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____
(include zone number)

uopwa
16-59

23C - 33 - 6

confirmed-okay
by phone 2-21-48
by Shirley Graham

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 Algonquin 4-0233

9 February, 1948

22-40-15

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I write to tell you of the keen pleasure my fellow-editors had in learning that you had consented to review Franklin's and Aptheker's books, in about one thousand words, for our April or May issue. We look forward, also to your article on third-party movements in the United States as viewed through your own experiences.

May we have the honor of your association with this magazine as a contributing editor?

Respectfully yours,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

February 25, 1948

22-40-16

Mr. Herbert Aptheker
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Aptheker:

I shall ge glad to serve as contributing editor to "Masses and Mainstream." This will confirm my acceptance by telephone made by my assistant on February 21.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 Algonquin 4-0233

March 2nd, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

23-47-11

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The staff editors of the magazine are eager to meet with the contributing editors at regular intervals to exchange views on the work of the magazine. Your participation in these discussions will be of the greatest value in helping to guide the character of the magazine and strengthen its effectiveness.

We warmly invite you to attend the first meeting, which will be held at the home of Arnaud D'Usseau, 5 East 54th Street, on Tuesday, March 9th, at 8:30 P.M. We should like at this meeting to examine the first issue and to discuss plans for our future work. We hope it will be possible for you to attend.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen
Editor

SS:ML
ang-cio

P.S. I am sending you a copy of the first number under separate cover.

March 3, 1948

Mr. Samuel Sillen, Editor
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Sillen:

Your letter of March 2, giving notice of the first meeting of the contributing editors of MASSES & MAINSTREAM on March 9, has come during the absence of Dr. DuBois from New York. He will be gone for several weeks, and on March 9, he will be speaking in Palo Alto, California. I know that he regrets his inability to be present, but under the circumstances I know that you will understand.

Sincerely yours,

HUGH H. SMYTHE
FOR DR. DUBOIS

HHS:lm

March 22, 1948

22-40-4

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
832 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Aptheker:

We have learned that MASSES & MAINSTREAM is being published, but as yet we have not seen a copy. Will you be good enough to send a copy to Dr. DuBois? I know that he would be pleased to have it.

I have written Dr. DuBois, as I promised you, about the reviews and the article on the Doctor's sixty years as an independent in politics.

Hope everything is well with you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 [redacted]

GRamercy 3-5145

March 30th, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks,
Prarie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

23-47-9

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have drawn up the enclosed Open Letter in response to an Open Letter addressed some months ago by a distinguished group of Soviet writers to American writers and artists. The Soviet Open Letter was printed in the January 13th issue of New Masses.

Our plan is to publish the enclosed letter in the May issue of Masses & Mainstream with the signatures of a number of prominent American intellectuals.

We warmly invite you to add your name to the list of signers.

Since our May issue will go to press very shortly, we should appreciate having your reply reach us by April 6th.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen
Arnaud d'Usseau
Howard Fast

MLL

Richard O. Boyer

[Enclosure]

Reply to an Open Letter of Soviet Writers

Some time ago you sent an Open Letter to writers and representatives of culture in the United States. You expressed your concern for the future of mankind, once again threatened by the tide of war which our ruling class has set in motion. You asked why more of our writers and artists, scientists and teachers did not speak out against those who cause rivers of blood to flow in Greece, Indonesia and China. You urged us to defend the peace which the plain people of all countries fought for and yearn to keep.

Your letter tells us that you are not deceived by the snarling of the jackals in striped pants, the shots fired in the air by our press and radio, the furious wailing of paid mourners for the status quo, all the caterwauling that passes for the voice of America. You know that it is not the plain people of our country who slobber over some rancid king washed up on our shores; it is not they who see in the toadstool rising above Hiroshima a throne from which to enslave the world; theirs is not the breath of hate from which humanity recoils. They too are targets of the exploiters. Burdened by debts that others contract, fenced in by fears not of their own making, warned not to talk or think for themselves, their tradition of freedom traduced, they see a Fourth Reich sponsored in their own land by criminals in top hats and helmets. Your appeal to us is an immense hand of hope stretched out to our people as they strain to reach the truth. We will help them to take your hand, speaking, pointing, writing the simple fact, the direction of peace, the honest word that shrivels up the great lies.

We are proud to be addressed by you, whose books we have read with love for their nobly human, light-bearing character, a trait which is the core of all your cultural achievements. Answering you, we resolve to work day and night for friendship between our peoples and to halt the shameful course of world conquest and betrayal in which the present leaders of our government are engaged at the command of their lords, the finance capitalists.

We wish that we could answer you in behalf of all the intellectuals of our country. But the mind, too, has its traitors and its lost persons. There are some who will crow for a compliment; others have to be stuffed with their soul's food, money. They have only one function: to promote disbelief that their masters can be monsters for the sake of profit. In Germany their kind said, "Perish the thought, it can't happen here." In America they cry peace perched on the bones of Greeks and Chinese, they shout freedom over the bullet-ripped miners of Chile, they chatter of equality before the chained Negro people, and they whine friendship for the martyred and now once more derided Jewish people. They hope a fine speech will weigh against murder.

Honorable intellectuals will not bleat behind these Judas sheep. The conduct of the Hollywood writers and directors before the Un-American Committee is a rehearsal in courage for them. Scientists resist the degradation of their knowledge from its role as a bearer of happiness to that of an instrument of horror. Educators protest the conversion of their campuses into drill grounds. Thousands of cultural leaders have come to understand that the baiting of Hanns Eisler in the

330-47

United States and the hunting of Pablo Neruda in Chile are not unrelated, and that the barring from our country of the Ukrainian singers Zoya Haidai and Ivan Patorzhinsky, the Mexican painter, Xavier Guerrero, the Brazilian architect, Oscar Niemeyer, and the detention of the physicist, Irene Joliot-Curie are portents of their own persecution. The growing support for Wallace's candidacy among American cultural workers shows that they have some memory for history. It is a memory shared by millions of Americans who have already turned to the third party movement in defense of their basic rights and their very lives. Did we not call our country the cradle of liberty? Our greatest writers were mirrors in which every man could test his conscience and know whether he stood with oppressor or oppressed. Our working class has fought over and over again for human progress. We shall never forget this, nor let our nation sink into the swamp of fascism.

Nor have we forgotten the bankers who financed Hitler. Today we see them turn up creatures under stones to rule in Germany, mass torturers and nightmare figures out of the Teutoberg forest. We watch them flatter the feudal fascists of Japan and supervise the prison slaughterhouses of Korea. They want to plant the dragon's teeth of our bayonets in every land and have our young men spring out of that bitter ground. Uranium volcanoes spout in their dreams to enflame the earth. Brains of metal, hearts like dried peas, what honest man among us can vindicate such hyenas?

Our capitalists have suddenly become aware of the force of culture. They want to tell us what to say and not to say in defense of their system. Our President becomes an art critic; after a few easy lessons he insults painters with confidence. At a dinner in Washington connoisseurs from Wall Street admire a sculptured pastry called Bombe Atomique. They may even give a Pulitzer prize to the cook who created this masterpiece.

But American artists know what these culture lovers are like. If the book will not bring in six percent, if the symphony will not attract customers, if the painting will not sell that refreshing drink, then it is not art. The poetry and music our State Department broadcasts to Europe, to impress everybody with the riches of imperialist culture, are the work of men neglected and scorned throughout their lives by the hypocrites who now pretend to honor them. The patrons of de Gaulle and de Gasperi have nothing but contempt for, and fear of, creative labor. We know how differently artists are looked upon in your country, which surrounds them with the love of millions of people and provides them with the means to carry out their social responsibility.

Dear friends, we want to share that responsibility with you. Loving our country, we answer you, promising that we will help show our awakening people the true nature and source of their terrible peril. We hope that your letter and our reply will begin a close and fruitful communication between us, so that we can exchange thoughts and speak together against the voices of death. Our enemies will see that our international solidarity stands firm against their frantic writhing and thrashing. Together we will yet show the carcass of their dying system to wondering children who will ask us, how could we let this monster live so long? Together, dear friends, we will read aloud the poem of history written by the victorious working class. On this May Day we grip your hand, the hand of all mankind.

33C-47

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 [redacted]

GRamercy 3-5145

April 2nd, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

23-47-12

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The first meeting of the editors and contributing editors gave us the opportunity for a stimulating exchange of views which proved to be highly valuable to the work of the magazine. We look forward to seeing you at the second meeting. It will be held on Tuesday evening, April 13th, at the home of Barbara Giles, 176 West 87th Street, Apartment 8A. We plan to begin at 8:30. We hope to see you at that time.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen
Editor

SS:ML
ang-cio

April 6, 1948

Mr. Samuel Sillen, Editor
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Sillen:

I have your letter of April 2 to Dr. DuBois, concerning the second meeting of the editors and contributing editors, which is to be held on April 13. According to the Doctor's present schedule he is not due to return to New York until April 15. However, I shall bring your letter to his attention when he arrives.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

330-47

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 [redacted]

GRamercy 3-5145

June 8th, 1948

23c-38-11

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed please find check in payment of your contribution in the current issue. I want to thank you again for your cooperation.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen
Editor

SS:ML
enc.
ang-cio

xxxxxx

June 25, 1948

22-40-5

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
832 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Aptheker:

Here is the article Dr. DuBois has prepared on his more than fifty years as an independent in politics. He said that he knows this is far longer than it should be and that you are at liberty to cut it, so long as the basic meaning and thought are not lost.

Also, if the title does not suit you, you may revise this to serve your purposes.

Hope all is going well.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure

Fill

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 [redacted]
GRamercy 3-5145

July 7th, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

23-38-57

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In accordance with your request you will find enclosed herewith the galleys of your piece. We are entitling it, "From McKinley to Wallace" with a deck - "My Fifty Years as a Political Independent." It has been cut, as you will see, so that it meets the maximum space we were able to give it - about 3700 words - but the thoughts and expressions are yours, of course, and in cutting I took great pains to retain your own meaning and message as fully as was possible. These galleys have not been proofread; please do not concern yourself with typographical errors. If, however, you find that there is some substantive correction that you wish to make please be good enough to get this to us not later than July 12th.

With warmest personal regards,

Respectfully yours,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

HA:ML
ang-cio

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

July 21st, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed please find check in payment of your contribution in the current issue. I want to thank you again for your cooperation.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen
Editor

SS:ML
enc.
ang-cio

A35-38-12

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 [redacted]
GRamercy 3-5145

September 1st, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

23-38-60

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for sending in your review of the Gandhi autobiography. We, however, found it disappointing because your review summarized the contents of the volume, but did not tell the reader what Du Bois thought of the book and of the meaning of Gandhi's life. This is what would be of the greatest interest - what does Du Bois - whose life and work in so many ways paralleled Gandhi's - what does he think of that world-figure? We wanted an analysis, an evaluation and a commentary, not a summary.

Would you find it possible to do this for us, please, in perhaps 1500 words? And could you get it to us by September 25th so that we may run it in our November issue?

Accept my warmest regards.

Respectfully yours,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

HA:ML
enc.
ang-cio

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

23-47-13

October 21st, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Re: your letter published this day in the New York Star, the white editor said to the Negro labor leader: "They were complimenting you sir." Warmest regards.

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

HA:ML
ang-cio

Fill

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 Algonquin 4-0233

23-33-12

December 7th, 1948

Dear Friend:

We believe that every American concerned with the defense of intellectual freedom has a vital stake in the forthcoming trial of the twelve Communist leaders. We hold with Henry Wallace who in speaking of this case said: "Defense of the civil rights of Communists is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people."

Because the issues in this case have been grossly misrepresented in the press, we have invited the defendants to meet informally with a number of leading American intellectuals so that there will be a full opportunity for questions regarding the indictments and their implications.

We warmly invite you to be present at this gathering, which will be held at the Terrace Lounge of the Hotel Capitol, 8th Avenue and 51st Street, at 4:30 P.M., on Sunday, December 19th. Refreshments will be served. There will be neither an admission charge nor an appeal for funds.

We very much look forward to seeing you on December 19th.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen
Editor

R.S.V.P.

SS:ML
ang-cio

23-33-19

December 15, 1948

Mr. Samuel Sillen, Editor
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

My dear Mr. Sillen:

I have your invitation for Sunday, December 19. I am not sure that I can come, but I will if possible.

Meantime, may I congratulate you and the editors on the outstanding success of MASSES &MAINSTREAM during its first year.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

December 15, 1948

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
832 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Aptheker: I have explored my December program. It will simply be impossible for me to write the article which you ask before January. I am sorry.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

aptheker

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

22-40-17

December 16th, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter of December 15th. We regret that you find it impossible to do the piece for us any time during December. Upon consultation with the other editors, we have agreed that should you be able to write the suggested article for us by the 5th of January we would fit it into the February issue. Do not trouble to reply to this. If you do find it possible to do this for us it will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

S 71 B F

HA:ML
ang-cio

23-25-71

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Fisk UNIVERSITY NASH=

ADMIRERS FROM INDIA SEND WARMEST GREETINGS DOCTOR DUBOIS ON 80 BIRTHDAY HAIL HIM AS CHAMPION OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM AND ~~PROFIT~~ OF A NEW CIVILIZATION=

YUFUF MEHERALLY.

~~banner~~ prophet) a former mayor of Bombay

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Req for Info.

COLBY JUNIOR COLLEGE
NEW LONDON, NEW HAMPSHIRE

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 21, 1948

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
Society for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-16-24

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

About twenty-two years ago when I was a student at Smith College I had the pleasure of hearing you lecture and the opportunity of meeting you afterward. You were kind enough to send me some material which I needed for an intercollegiate debate, for which I was very grateful. (Incidentally we won the debate!)

Now, after this considerable lapse of time, the picture repeats itself. On February 4 I am giving a talk on Education For Democracy before a Social Action Committee in New Hampshire. A considerable portion of this talk will be devoted to the problem of racial minorities. I have a considerable amount of material but would like to be sure that I have the most up-to-date facts and figures.

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me any material which will help me explain and advance the cause of the American negro. Both personally and professionally, in my own small and quiet sphere of influence I have done my best to advance this cause. I would particularly like reading lists, facts concerning the status of negroes politically and socially in various states, legislation now underway including the bill before the United Nations, and any other material which would be of help.

You may be interested to know that Colby sponsors an interracial camp for a month every summer where children of many races and nationalities are given a free, happy month at Colby Lodge under the supervision of Colby instructors and students. I will be glad to send you write-ups of this project if you are interested. Patricia Whitby, who graduated from Colby in June, 1947, was the only negro girl in the college at that time but she made a fine adjustment and did much to promote racial understanding while she was here.

With personal good wishes for yourself and for your work,

Very sincerely yours,

Charlotte D. Meinecke

Mrs. Carl W. Meinecke
Dean

CDM:t

January 27, 1948

23-16-25

Mrs. Carl W. Weinecke, Dean
Colby Junior College
New London, New Hampshire

Dear Mrs. Weinecke:

Thank you for your letter of January 21. Hearing from a person after twenty-two years is indeed an experience that does not happen every day.

In regard to your request for information, I am enclosing some material which I think you might find helpful in your work, and under separate cover I am posting you additional booklets, pamphlets, and so on. Also, you will find it helpful to consult bibliographies in such books as FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM, John Hope Franklin, Knopf, BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, W.E.B. DuBois, Harcourt, Brace, or you might write to The Schomberg Collection, 135th Street Public Library, New York City, asking for their bibliography on books about the Negro. Again, you might write The Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, for their book list and materials the Fund distributes. From these sources you will find information that should guide and help you in carrying on your work.

With best wishes for success, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Camp. C

COLBY JUNIOR COLLEGE
NEW LONDON, NEW HAMPSHIRE

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

23-13-48

February 6, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I am indeed grateful for the fine packet of material which you sent me. I learned a great deal for my own information and was able to make a far better speech than I could have done otherwise.

I am enclosing my check for membership in the N.A.A.C.P. and would be glad to have you bill me for materials and postage which you have sent.

Dr. Thomas Patrick, the Director of the Willowemoc Camp, spoke at Colby yesterday and has given a decided impetus to our thinking at Colby.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Charlotte H. Meinecke

Mrs. Carl W. Meinecke
Dean

CDM:t

23-13-45

February 25, 1948

Mrs. Charlotte Meinecke
Colby Junior College
New London, New Hampshire

Dear Mrs. Meinecke:

The check for your NAACP membership has been turned over to the membership office. Within a short time you should receive your membership card.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Lecture

THE CHURCH OF THE MASSES — 132 W 138th St

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23-29-41

132 WEST 138th STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

February 5, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Metropolitan Interfaith Youth Council is a new group organized. It is made up of young people of all faiths. Our church has representatives on this council.

Once every month we meet at either a church or synagogue and hold a forum where we discuss current problems.

On Sunday, February 29, 1948 at 2:30 p.m., our church, Abyssinia, will be the host church. Since February is the month during which we celebrate Negro History, our program will be built around the two ideas, the idea of brotherhood and Interfaith Cooperation and Negro history.

You have probably heard from the other group, (Metropolitan Interfaith Council) already. Will you please let me know if it will be possible for you to be with us.

Sincerely yours,

Gwendolyn Jones

Gwendolyn Jones
Director of Religious Education

Sorry we missed you
→ Carl.

The Vermont Inter-racial project is sponsored and supported by us — will you help?

February 9, 1948

Miss Gwendolyn Jones
Abyssinian Baptist Church
132 West 138th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Jones:

Thank you for your letter of February 5, asking Dr. DuBois to be with your group on February 29. Unfortunately, as much as the Doctor would love to attend, he will be away in the Midwest on a lecture tour at that time, and from there goes on to California.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

A. G. MEZERIK
63 WASHINGTON SQUARE
NEW YORK 12, N. Y.

United Nations Corresp

23-19-25

January 13, 1948

Dear Hugh:

Herewith the material which we discussed on the telephone.

1 Letter from The Hague Library

2 Letter from Johnathan Daniels

3 Four documents from UN

Please return all these as soon as they have served your purpose.

Greetings to Dr Dubois.

Cordially,

Avrahm

Mr Hugh Smythe
NAACP
N Y C

Smythe

January 14, 1948

Mr. A. G. Mezerik
63 Washington Square South
New York, New York

Dear Mezz:

You were wonderful to send the information and you know that we thank you for it. Undoubtedly Jonathan Daniels has a peculiarly guilty conscience, but his letter is to be appreciated. You certainly did not have inadequate information when you did the "The Nation" piece, and you certainly are not to be held responsible for something that develops after you have done an article. So long as your facts were correct at the time you wrote you were in good order.

I am enclosing the material you sent. We have made copies of everything but the Background Paper No. 21, and have sent off a request to the United Nations for this. Doctor is sending you his reaction to the material under separate cover. I thought you would like to have this and asked him to tell you what he thought.

Have a lot of work to do now. Incidentally, the printed petition is now ready and I am saving a copy for you. The next time we get together I shall bring it along for your files. Must run now, for I have a lot of work to do. Give our regards to Marie and tell her we are anticipating the next get-together. We may have to bring the baby, if it is all right. Lots of luck and many, many thanks for your cooperation.

As ever,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

22-39-78

Susan Siris
Helen Newberry Dorm.
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

March 16, 1948

Dr. W. E. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Dubois,

The anti-discrimination committee of the Student Legislature of the University of Michigan is anxious to establish a library of information on discrimination problems in the United States, to supply organizations on campus with data they request for their programs. I am interested to know if the NAACP has published any pamphlets, or other relevant data, such as access to films, which could be forwarded to me. Such information would be a great help in setting up our library, and would be very much appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

Susan Siris

March 22, 1948

Miss Susan Siris
Helen Newberry Dormitory
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Miss Siris:

Your letter of March 16 to Dr. DuBois has just come to our attention. The Doctor has been away since February 24 and is not due to return to New York until the middle of April. However, to facilitate your securing the material you want, I suggest that you write to Miss Julia Baxter, 20 West 40th Street, stating your request for pamphlets or other material this association publishes.

In regard to films, this association does not produce such. However, I think you will be able to secure the type of film you want if you contact the Film Bureau, New York University, Washington Square: or the Department of Visual Education, University of Wisconsin, Madison Wisconsin. Also, write to the Director, The Wendell Wilkie Foundation, 20 West 40th Street, and Miss Margaret Anderson, COMMON GROUND, 20 West 40th Street. The Anti-Defamation League 20 West 40th Street. It might also help you to write to Mr. Henry Schuman, Publishers, 20 East 70th Street, and ask him for information concerning the film based on the book "In Henry's Backyard", by Benedict and Weltfish. Also, you might secure some helpful material for your library from the American Jewish Congress, 1834 Broadway; or the American Jewish Committee, 386 4th Avenue, or The Bureau for Intercultural Education 1697 Broadway, or The Intercultural Workshop, 204 East 18th Street, or The National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, and The Federal Council of Churches, 297 4th Avenue. All of these are located in New York City.

If we can be of further help please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-38

Michigan
CHRONICLE

268 ELIOT DETROIT 1, MICH. TEMPLE 1-4877

June 1, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Your letter of May 21 regarding your proposed column to selected weeklies has been received during Mr. Martin's absence from the city.

I will call the matter to his attention upon his return.

Very truly yours,

Joyce Smith

Secretary to Louis E. Martin

jrs

23.39.96

Michigan State Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY

900 Lawyers Building
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
Telephone CAdillac 9894

23

February 20, 1948

23-25-9

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Research Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

After more than three score years of selfless service to your fellowman, the 80th anniversary of your birth finds you still in the leading vanguard of the gathering forces of a mighty phalanx of the people that is historically destined to triumph over the forces of reaction and repression and achieve for our countrymen and the peoples of the world a bright and singing age of peace, of prosperity and the brotherhood of man.

Your creative contributions to American literature, your scientific researches in the nature and source of human bondage are only surpassed by your greater work:-- a lifetime of fearless partisan leadership in the struggle of the Negro people and the oppressed colonial masses of the world. Your name will live through the ages as a great teacher and leader of generations of your fellowmen in the struggle for the essential freedoms necessary to the fulfillment of man's hope and humanity's promise.

We extend these greetings of appreciation and affection on this occasion of your 80th birthday with all best wishes and great confidence that you will enjoy many more years of leadership in the peoples struggle for the birthing of the Age of the Common Man.

Very sincerely yours,

Carl Winter
Carl Winter

James E. Jackson, Jr.
James E. Jackson, Jr.

Philip Schatz
Philip Schatz

For the Michigan State Committee
Communist Party, U.S.A.

JJ:fg
uopwa #26

FORM B
APPROVED FOR USE IN
PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Labor

Others →

116 Sheetz St.
W. Lafayette, Ind.
February 16, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am a student at Purdue University. I am very interested in Negro history and have read some of your work and admire greatly your courage in fighting for Negro rights.

At present, I am taking a course in Labor Problems. I must do a term paper for this course, and would like to write on the history of the National Colored Labor Union and organized Negro workers in the Reconstruction period. My problem is where to find the material for this paper. I would greatly appreciate any suggestions you might give me as to books, pamphlets or periodicals which contain this material. I would also appreciate information as to where I could obtain or borrow any of this material.

Thank you and best wishes in your great struggle for the freedom of your people.

Respectfully yours,
Alex Miller

P.S. I would be extremely grateful if I could receive ~~this~~ information within the next month to 6 weeks.

A. M.

23-13-2

March 11, 1948

Mr. Alex Miller
116 Sheetz Street
West Lafayette, Indiana

Dear Mr. Miller:

Your letter of February 16, to Dr. DuBois, has arrived during his absence from New York. He is on the West Coast lecturing and will not return to his desk until late in April. However, in regard to your request I shall do what I can to help you.

I think you will find some material on the Negro Labor Movement during Reconstruction in BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, by Du Bois. THE AMERICAN NEGRO, ANNALS, November 1928. FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM, by John Hope Franklin. THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, by C. S. Johnson, . HISTORY OF AMERICAN LABOR, by Foner. THE NEGRO WAGE EARNER, by Green and Woodson. THE LIFE AND STRUGGLES OF NEGRO TOILERS, by Padmore. THE BLADK WORKER, by Spero and Harris. BLACK WORKERS AND THE NEW UNIONS, by Cayton and Mitchell. RACIAL FACTORS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY, by Feldman.

Other material may be found in : NEGRO LIBERATION, by Allen. THE NEGRO AT WORK DURING THE WORLD WAR AND DURING RECONSTRUCTION, by Haynes. THE EVOLUTION OF NEGRO LABOR IN THE ANNALS, January 1903.(Period 55-76) THE NEGRO AND THE LABOR UNIONS, by Booker T. Washington, in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY, June 1913. (Pages 756 to 767) NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES: 1850-1925 , by Wesley. HISTORY OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, by Commons, et al. In these and the sources mentioned in the above paragraph you will find adequate bibliographies that will give you leads to other material.

I suggest also that you write to: Professor Milton Konvitz, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornel University, Ithaca, New York, and ask him for further suggestions. Also write to Dr. Abram Harris, Department of Economics, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Dr. Lorenzo Green, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri. Dr. Luther Jackson, Department of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia. Dr. L. D. Reddick, Curator, The Schomberg Collection, 136th Street Library, New York, New York. And to Dr. Ira De A Reid, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. I believe that these individuals may be able to furnish you with some helpful material and advice.

We hope the above may be of some assistance, and if we can be of further help please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

23C-31-18

HHS:LM

[Milwaukee Public Library]

Req for photograph

CITY OF MILWAUKEE
MILWAUKEE PUBLIC LIBRARY

814 W. Wisconsin Av
Milwaukee 5, Wisc

March 4, 1948

Mr. William DuBois
409 Edgcombe Avenue
New York City
New York

5 card photographs?

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We hope you will be able to help us.

We plan to have a display of contemporary illustrators to be used in several of our children's rooms. We want the children to become better acquainted with the illustrators of their books and to feel they are their friends.

22-32-7

We thought signed portraits would do the trick. Could you possibly spare time to sketch one for us? A printed illustration or two from some of your books would add to the display.

We would be most grateful and happy if you could do this favor. We do want to include you in our exhibit.

Hopefully,

Doris H. Moulton

Doris H. Moulton, Librarian
Young People's Room

P.S. The space available is: height 15" width 30"

DHM:pjp

[Milwaukee Public Library]

March 22, 1948

22-32

Miss Doris H. Moulton
814 West Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee 5, Wisconsin

Dear Miss Moulton:

Your letter of March 4, to Dr. DuBois, has just come to our attention. From its contents we are sure there must be some mistake. Dr. DuBois is a writer of books, not an illustrator. Also, his books ordinarily do not carry illustrations.

If, however, we are not correct in our interpretation of your letter, please feel free to write us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

INFO
Rec'd May 31, 1948

Robert J. Mitchell Jr.
75 East Eleventh Ave.
Columbus 1, Ohio

14326 APR 23 '48

22-39-32

Research Bureau
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Gentlemen:

I would like to know if it would be possible that I could obtain some data concerning the native problem in South Africa.

I am a student at the Ohio State University and I am doing some research on this problem in the Union. Your office was referred to me as being a rather lucrative source in connection with the Negro problem in South Africa.

I would deeply appreciate your rushing me as quickly as possible any of your available dispensation. Anything would be acceptable, lectures, editorials, statistics, comments (official and unofficial), surveys, statistics, etc..

22-39-33

Thanking you in advance for your conscientious consideration.

Sincerely yours

Robert F Mitchell Jr.

Reg INFO

22-38-34

May 5, 1948

Mr. Robert F. Mitchell, Jr.
75 East 11th Avenue
Columbus 1, Ohio

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter to the general research bureau has been turned over to this office for reply. Unfortunately, our office does not have material for distribution, since our files are for our purposes and are necessary in carrying on the work of this department. However, we do refer individuals to sources where they may secure material, and in your case if you write to the following concerning South Africa I am sure you will be able to get some help.

Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Council on African Affairs, 257 McDonough Street, Brooklyn, New York. He is educational director for this organization.

Mr. Walter S. Rogers, Director, Institute of Current World Affairs, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. This man has been sending out full releases on current material about South Africa, and you might ask for past issues of such data.

Write to the Passive Resistance Council (of the Transvaal Indian Congress) 47 End Street, Johannesburg, South, Africa.(P. O. Box 2948)

General Secretary, League of Coloured Peoples, 19 Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.1, London, England.

Mr. George Padmore, 22 Cranleigh House, Cranleigh Street, London, N.W., 1 England.

Reverend Michael Scott, P. O. Box 8312, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The Editor, The Sun, P. O. Box 2050, Cape Town, South Africa.

Write to Dr. Joseph Douglas, State Teachers College, Fayetteville, N. C. Dr. Douglas did his thesis at Harvard on the color question in South Africa and can direct you to fruitful sources.

Contact the Bureau of Information, United Nations, Lake Success, New York. Ask specifically for material on South Africa.

Consult the files of THE PEOPLES VOICE, a New York newspaper. See the column by W. E. B. DuBois, "Pan Africa," from 1945-1948.

From the above you should be able to get some material that should help you with your project. If you feel that we can be of further help, be sure to write us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

April 6, 1948

THE MONTHLY BULLETIN
117 Tower Street
Kingston, Jamaica
British West Indies

Dear Sir:

At the suggestion of Mr. George Padmore of London, I am writing to ask if you will place me on the mailing list to receive regularly issues of THE MONTHLY BULLETIN. If you can find your way to do this, I shall be grateful for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

W E B DuBois

W. E. B. DuBois
By: Hugh H. Smythe

23-23-12

HHS:lm

[Returned & marked "not known at address"]

UNION BAUTISTA DE ADULTOS
UNION BAUTISTA DE JOVENES
ESCUELA DOMINICAL

"PREDICAMOS A CRISTO CRUCIFICADO"
PRIMERA IGLESIA BAUTISTA
DIAGO NO. 51
COLON. CUBA

SOCIEDAD MISIONERA DE MUJERES
SOCIEDAD DE SEÑORITAS
SOCIEDAD BAUTISTA DE HOMBRES

Reply
Respondido

22-40-100

October 3rd. 1948

Dr. William E.B.DuBois,
Atlanta.

Dear doctor DuBois:

I am writing this letter to ask a favor of you. I would like to know if you are a believer in God, also what is your opinion about the Lord Jesus

Sir, with these lines I wish to express my gratitude to you for answering this letter.

Respectfully yours

E. Piña Moreno

22-40-RJ

November 15, 1948

Mr. E. Pina Moreno
Primera Iglesia Bautista
Diago No. 51
Colon, Cuba

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of October 3, may I say: If by being "a believer in God," you mean a belief in a person of vast power who consciously rules the universe for the good of mankind, I answer No; I cannot disprove this assumption, but I certainly see no proof to sustain such a belief, neither in History nor in my personal experience.

If on the other hand you mean by "God" a vague Force which in some uncomprehensible way, dominates all life and change, then I answer, Yes, I recognize such Force, and if you wish to call it God, I do not object.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Moulton, Arthur. W.]

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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TA77 LONGT.KHB16 NL PD=SALTLAKECITY UTAH 29 1948 APR 29 PM 10 27

DR W E B DUBOIS,CARE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=WILLKIE MEMORIAL
BLDG 20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

:WILL YOU JOIN ME IN INITIATING APPEAL TO GROUP PROMINENT AMERICANS TO SPONSOR NATIONAL ACTION AGAINST UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE AND ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR THEIR UNCONSTITUTIONS INTERFERENCE WITH RIGHT OF AMERICAN PEOPLE TO SPEAK UP AND WORK FOR PEACE BY BRANDING BOTH INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS AS SUBVERSIVE? 3IN ASSOCIATION WITH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, AN ORGANIZATION NAMED AS SUBVERSIVE AND WHOSE DIRECTOR, RICHARD MORFORD, IS BEING PERSECUTED BY UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE FOR HIS WORK FOR PEACE, IT IS PROPOSED THAT NUMEROUS MEETINGS BE ARRANGED THROUGHOUT COUNTRY TO BRING ACTIONS OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE AND ATTORNEY GENERAL BEFORE BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION. AIM IS TO RE-ESTABLISH THROUGH INFORMING AND AROUSING PUBLIC OPINION THE FREE EXERCISE OUR RIGHT TO DISAGREE WITH GOVERNMENT'S POLICY WHEN IT THREATENS AMERICAN SECURITY AND LEADS TOWARD WAR AND OUR RIGHT TO PROMOTE PEACE BASED ON HONORABLE COOPERATION WITH SOVIET UNION:

:END SHEET 1..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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1948 APR 29 PM 10 27

23-35-M

:I FULLY APPRECIATE THET UN-AMERICAN AND SUBVERSIVE LABEL HAS BEEN FASTEND ON MANY ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS ON VARIOUS GROUNDS. YET CASE OF NATIONAL COUNCIL AND ITS .IRECTOR GOES STRAIGHT TO CENTRAL ISSUE AND IS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO ME BECAUSE I HAVE LONG DEVOTED MYSELF TO CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. IF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE AND ATTORNEY GENERAL GO UNCHALLENGED DOOR IS WIDE OPEN TO INTIMIDATION AND THREAT OF ALL PEACE-LOVING AMERICANS. TIME IS RUNNING SHORT.

¶BELIEVE PLAN WILL BE IMPLEMENTED IN CONSTRUCTIVE DIGNIFIED FASHION AND THAT YOU AND I MAY WISELY JOIN IN ITS SPONSORSHIP. AM SENDING SIMILAR INVITATIONS TO NUMBER PERSONS INCLUDING:THE REV WELTER RUSSELL BOWIE MRS PEARL BUCK THE REV MARK A DAWBER PROF ALBERT EINSTEIN DR DOUGLAS HORTON DR ROBERT M HUTCHINS.

¶PLEASE DIRECT YOUR CONSENT TO ME BY WIRE COLLECT AT 171 SOUTH FIFTH EAST STREET, SALT LAKE CITY=
THE RIGHT REVEREND ARTHUR W MOULTON BISHOP OF UTAH.

.171.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

April 30, 1948

Slight mis Correct

Read to you you in
your typed

W E B Du Bois

FOR COCKTAILS

in honor of Henrietta Buckmaster and her new book "Fire in The Heart"

FROM 5 UNTIL 7 O'CLOCK

23-231

ON Thursday, October twenty-first

Jean Ellis
10 West 86

R.S.V.P.

1298

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23-33-3

N16D380 6R NL PD

NEWYORK NY OCT 11 1948

DR W E B DUBOIS OR SECRETARY, CARE NAACP

20 WEST 40 ST NYK

DUE TO A PROFESSIONAL THEATRICAL ENGAGEMENT I MUST POSTPONE COCKTAIL PARTY IN HONOR OF HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER UNTIL THURSDAY OCTOBER 28TH I HOPE TO HEAR THAT YOU CAN COME.

JEAN MUIR

846P

cancp M

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

ESTABLISHED 1892

MEMBERS A. B. C.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICES · 628 N. EUTAW STREET
BALTIMORE 1, MD.

22-40-130

December 14, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I read with interest your letter on discrimination in interstate travel which appeared in the New York Times.

I want to raise this question. Isn't there something the people of New York themselves can do? Take the Atlantic Coast Line train, the "Champion". Isn't it a fact that colored persons are sold seats in a colored coach only in New York City and New Yorkers must travel from New York through Maryland as jim crow passengers, in states which require no separation of races in interstate travel? Isn't it true also that such discrimination against colored people violates the state anti-discrimination laws in both New York and Pennsylvania?

Very truly yours,

Carl Murphy

Carl Murphy
President

CM/erh

22-40-131

December 17, 1948

Mr. Carl Murphy
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

My dear Mr. Murphy:

Answering your letter of December 14, may I say that the discriminat on which you mention is difficult to get at. What happens is this: If an obviously colored person goes to make a reservation on one of the through reclining coach trains, he may be assigned to coach No. 1. This is not a "Jim Crow" coach, but on leaving Washington, no white person is seated there and all colored persons are segregated there. The same thing happens in Chicago, on through trains South. On the other hand, if the colored person secures an assignment to some other coach, which he can easily arrange, he rides in that coach till he comes to the mason and Dixon line; even then, on many occasions, he is not disturbed. On other occasions, he is asked to move, but not compelled if he does not want to; and in still other cases he is forcebly removed or even arrested and fined.

In any case in the North, if he is assigned to coach No. 1, and there are seats in other coaches he can make a row and usually get another seat. If not, he can bring suit, but of co rse it would be difficult to prove that there were vacant seats in the other coaches. Any compulsory segregation would violate the state laws of New York, Pennsylvania and I am pretty sure of Illinois.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

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February 20, 1948

23-25

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P. Offices
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Sir:

Eighty years a world citizen - and what a life! From "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade" to that expression of our present yearnings to the United Nations, you have enlightened men, saved lives of would-be victims of lynching, enlivened dull statistics with a bristling humanitarianism, set standards of education and government, and otherwise made a colossal contribution to a workable democracy.

Even men who disagree with you have tremendous respect for the Truth up to which you have held and still hold the world.

Heartiest congratulations of,

Josephine Dibble Murphy

Josephine Dibble Murphy

Harry S. Murphy, Sr.

Harry S. Murphy, Sr.

24-35-5

[Myrdal]

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WESTERN UNION

1201

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

(48)

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LOVE AND VENERATION=

ALVA AND GUNNAR MYRDAL.

88 LA

:234 139TH NEWYORK30=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[1948]

Thursday morning
January 22nd

Dear Andre:

Your two notes have been received relative to your engagements in San Francisco, etc. We are so glad you are coming. So far no new dates have been arranged.

I am very glad to see you will be at Stanford University March 9th - because the West Coast Regional Conference meets in Los Angeles March 5-6-7 and I shall have to be there. Doesn't that beat the planning of Dame Fortune? -- and I always wanted to make the trip to Los Angeles but along with that wish I failed to include the time so the time came and it doesn't coincide with my wishes....but if you are around San Francisco, which apparently you will be since you speak here on the 7th and at Stanford on the 9th I shall see you. No doubt Mr. Griffin and I shall leave Los Angeles Sunday evening, the 8th.

So I shall expect to find you here on Monday, the 9th, and as soon as I can decently leave the office which should be about noon, I shall see you. Perhaps you may be here the 10th also. Why not?

I loved your "cane" column last Sunday in the Defender - it sounded like you were talking to me!!

When do you leave New York? Love, Marielle

30-14-43

Marie West Coast Register [1948]

Monday, March 22nd

Andre:

Glad the cigarettes reached you O.K. Sorry they had to be returned once, however, as my original idea had been to have them awaiting your arrival in Los Angeles.

Glad your I.A. meetings went over so well. I know the U of New Mexico will be as successful or better.

I was at your last talk in San Francisco with my gang - you looked tired - was the reception worse than they usually are? My gang completely wore me out, and rather than bore you with meeting them afterwards, when you left the platform I "dragged" them out and started home. I did want to say goodbye to you.

Please send a nice letter with some nice kind words about Mr. Griffin's worth, etc. that we may read to gathered citizens at a dinner given in his honor before he leaves for Florida for the Noah Griffin Day on April 16th. We expect the dinner to take place either April 13th or 14th. Now remember I want something especially NICE - and his name is Noah W. Griffin!

With love,

Marielle

Marielle

3-44-C2

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

Official Organ: The Crisis

Please direct reply to:
WEST COAST REGIONAL OFFICE NAACP
N. W. Griffin, *Regional Secretary*
Sentinel Building
916 Kearny Street, Rooms 703-704
San Francisco 11, California

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Labor Secretary

23-23-10

April 15, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am wondering whether my letter addressed to your home reached you regarding the little testimonial of appreciation a few of us plan to hold for Mr. Griffin upon his return from Tampa, Florida where they are holding a "Noah Griffin Day" on April 16th.

I asked for a few lines from you that we may read expressing your thought of his sincerity, worthiness and straightforward thinking along progressive lines.

Received your note from Los Angeles and note you had a full and happy time. Did you cohtact Dr. MacLean? I trust you are very happy and not too busy.

Sincerely,

Ethel Ray Nance

Please send the letter right away as I am holding them all until his return to present them at a small gathering. Address it to him and send it to me, please.

NOAH GRIFFIN DAY TO BE SPONSORED AT TAMPA, FLORIDA ON APRIL 16th

San Francisco--- In a recent communication received at the Regional Office NAACP, Mr. Harry T. Moore, Executive Secretary, Progressive Voters League of Florida this organization
States", is sponsoring a "Noah Griffin Day" on April 16th at 8 p.m. On this date a program will be held in the City Auditorium in Tampa at which time Mr. N. W. Griffin, West Coast Regional Secretary, NAACP, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College, will speak.

23-23-11

Mr. Moore wrote: "Noah Griffin is one of Florida's most outstanding citizens. For a number of years he taught in the schools of Florida, and along with John Gilbert, Edward D. Davis, Harry T. Moore and others, pioneered in the fight for equal salaries for Negro teachers. Because of his firm stand on the question of equal salaries Mr. Griffin was finally ousted from the public school system of this state. Citizens from all sections of Florida are expected to gather in Tampa on April 16th to pay homage to this man. Hundreds of other well-wishers who will be unable to come to Tampa are joining in the celebration by wearing a "Noah Griffin" tag on that day."

Mr. Griffin served as the first president of the Florida State Conference of NAACP Branches, was President of the Jacksonville Branch and also President of the Florida Teachers Association.

The State Voters League expect the April 16th meeting to climax the registration of 150,000 Negroes.

April 21, 1948

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
WEST COAST REGIONAL OFFICE NAACP
Sentinel Building
916 Kearny Street, Rooms 703-704
San Francisco 11, California

23-23-11

My dear Marielle:

Your notice about the "Noah Griffin Day" celebration came too late for me to do anything. I was lecturing in Chicago on that date. I came back to New York and then flew to Chicago and have just returned to my desk. I am sorry, because I think a great deal of Mr. Griffin and his work.

I hope you are well and the family. I am feeling very well after my long trip. I think perhaps I wrote you that after leaving you I spoke in Los Angeles and spent a week there, then at the University of New Mexico and spent two weeks in Texas. I talked in Houston and in Atlanta and am now back here. I remember the lobster thermidor and its accompaniments.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

22-28-01

August 6, 1948

Dear Ethel:

I have not heard from you for a long time. How are you, and how is the family?

I am enclosing a rather typical letter. Won't you please take time, if you possibly can, and go and talk with this poor woman.

What are your plans for the future? Let me hear from you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HES

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
916 Kearny Street, Room 704
San Francisco, California

Enclosure

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

Official Organ: The Crisis

Please direct reply to:
WEST COAST REGIONAL OFFICE NAACP
N. W. Griffin, *Regional Secretary*
Sentinel Building
916 Kearny Street, Rooms 703-704
San Francisco 11, California

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22-28-02

Nov. 30-48

Dear Arden -

My dad passed yesterday and my brother from Portland and I are taking him to Detroit tomorrow in accordance with mother's wishes.

I have thought of you much and want to know how the battle is going -

Love

Marelle

(Ethel Ray Nance)

22-22-03

December 7, 1948

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
West Coast Regional Office NAACP
916 Kearney Street
Rooms 703-704
San Francisco 11, California

My dear Marielle:

I learned with great sorrow of the death of your father. Please give your mother my deep condolence.

Nothing important has taken place here but I expect to be able to do my writing with freedom in the future. I will let you know when I am sure and know what my plans are.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[National Alliance of Postal Employees]

U.N. Petition Campaign

February 4, 1948

Mr. E. Albert Norris
111-13 166th Street
Jamaica 5, New York

23-19-9

My dear Mr. Norris:

If any action is taken by the National Alliance of Postal Employees, it should be sent to the following address: United States Delegation to the United Nations, 2 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. Request that the United States Delegation put this matter before the Assembly of the United Nations at its next meeting; and emphasize the fact that such a move on the part of our country would affirm our belief in democracy and our willingness to discuss frankly its failures.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

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UN Petition Correspondence

"Ad mortem fidelis"

National Alliance of Postal Employees

EIGHTH DISTRICT

ORGANIZED OCTOBER 6, 1913 — BRANCHES IN THIRTY-TWO STATES

NO DATE (probably April 18, 1948)

OFFICE OF

Welfare Director
110-26 175th St.
Jamaica 5 N.Y.

April 18, 1948

23-19-18

N.A.A.CP.
20 West 40th St.
N.Y.C.

Attention Dr. DuBois :
My dear Sir :

ON February 4th. last, Mr. E.A.Norris and myself had the pleasure of an interview with you in which we attempted to express the desire of our organization to have the UN take under consideration the petition submitted by the N.A.A.C.P.

You promised to send us a list of all members of the Little Assembly to whom we might make petition for this study and consideration, also any other information pertinent to this matter.

As this matter is of prime importance to us and stands first on the agenda of our welfare program we should like to see it to a successful conclusion.

May we have the pleasure of another interview with you at your earliest convenience.

Respectfully,
James Hill Jr.
James Hill Jr.

April 20, 1948

Mr. James Hill, Jr.
National Alliance of Postal Employees
110-26 175th Street
Jamaica, New York

Dear Mr. Hill:

Your letter of the 18th, addressed to Dr. DuBois, has just arrived and we want to thank you for writing. The Doctor has been away from his desk since February 14 on a lecture tour and has been in the city only recently. Because of this, much of our correspondence has been delayed.

In reply to your letter I am enclosing the address list of the Little Assembly.

Concerning further work in regard to the NAACP United Nations petition, we have since published the document in pamphlet form and it retails for fifty cents per copy. I am enclosing a copy for your convenience. We are trying to give it wide distribution and anything that your organization can do to push its circulation will be greatly appreciated. As many copies as desired can be secured by sending an order to Miss Julia Baxter, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

Further, we have written every member of the Little Assembly asking them to publish the petition in their native language and distribute it in their countries; to give us their support in bringing it before the General Assembly of the United Nations next September, 1948, by helping to get the petition placed on the agenda for discussion. We have had replies from several of these nations, most of them giving the perfunctory answer that the matter was being transmitted to the home government for action. However, India wrote that she would do everything possible to aid our cause.

We have had word from the United Nations that they have been receiving written requests to place the petition on the General Assembly's agenda. (It would be helpful to encourage other organizations and individuals to do this.)

The petition is given publicity through our writing and speaking. It has been discussed in periodicals and newspapers, and the members of the Department of Special Research have spoken on it as subject material before labor unions and other organizations.

In order to force its open discussion by the United Nations and to secure some action to put into effect the things it petitions for, there is need for concerted action by all who are interested to get some nation to put it on the agenda. It would be advisable to contact the United States Delegation to the United Nations, writing to Mr. Warren Austin, and find out what they intend to do about the matter. A personal interview with member delegations would be quite effective here.

Although Dr. DuBois is out of the city frequently now, he will be glad to have a conference with you whenever convenient. If you will be good enough to call LOngacre 3-6890 an appointment can be arranged that should be mutually suitable.

Please accept our thanks for your continued interest and rest assured that we shall not forget your efforts to push this matter to make life in America worth living for the millions of non-whites who now live as only part citizens. Please feel free to write us at any time in regard to this matter. We shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

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"Ad mortem fidelis"

National Alliance of Postal Employees

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Trustees

Civil Rights

May 15, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecomb Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

23-22-14

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed, you will find a digest of "A Statement on Civil Rights" which has been prepared under the direction of the Educational Committee of the National Alliance of Postal Employees. Because of your record of service in behalf of the extension of Civil Rights, you have been selected to receive a pre-publication copy of the complete text of the Postal Alliance Statement.

Under separate cover, you will receive your copy within the next few days. We solicit your endorsement of our position. However, we will welcome any comment you may care to make, favorable or otherwise.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Bertram A. Washington

BERTRAM A. WASHINGTON, Chairman,
Sub-Committee on Civil Rights
Nat'l. Alliance of P. O. Empl.

Enclosure

[Enc.]

A STATEMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS BY THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES

(A D I G E S T)

PART I. INTRODUCTION
Postal Alliance Fights for Rights
Relation to Community
President's Committee Reveals Nothing New
Time for Action Is Now
Postal Alliance Concept

The National Alliance of Postal Employees, founded in 1913, has carried on a continuous struggle since its inception To Secure These Rights. Contacts and experiences with Federal Government and various communities provide the basis for a constructive and critical analysis of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, entitled - "TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS".

The Report is commendable for its comprehensive study and its forthright recommendations. In view of the many previous studies of a similar nature, it is believed the time has come for direct action. The facts are in. Many powers, now available to the Administration, have not been put to full use to correct a number of practices in America which are regarded by the world, as crimes against humanity. Such powers must be utilized in conjunction with a call for greater powers if the aggrieved are to have confidence in the sincerity of a program To Secure These Rights.

23-22-25

The Postal Alliance has encountered many and diverse obstacles in a tireless effort To Secure These Rights both for Negro employees in the postal service and for Negro citizens in the communities. Therefore, contention is made that consideration must be given to many questions of elemental human rights which do not come within the purview of the Committee's Report.

PART II ORGANIZED LABOR AND CIVIL RIGHTS
Role of Government
Taft-Hartley Law and the Negro

Negro leaders and organizations have been among the most vocal sections of working people in protesting recent attacks upon organized labor. The record of the American labor movement attests the fact that many rights have been won and protected by the organizations of the working people. With all its faults, organized labor has been consistently, a progressive force in America. The Taft-Hartley Law and actions by Federal Government, restricting the activity of labor unions, are blows at all working people, including the Negro people. The Taft-Hartley Law must go.

PART III IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION AND CIVIL RIGHTS
NAACP Appeal for Redress of Grievances
Danger of Facism in America
Communism and Fascism
Clear Definitions Needed
House Un-American Committee
Group Slander and Libel

The historical development of American Negroes as well as their present disadvantages, have created a natural abhorrence of Facism. Of all the American people, Negroes, perhaps best understand the meaning of this term. Many accounts of Fascist atrocities have their counterparts in American Negro history. The theory of the master race had its birth in the American South. Numbers of events in present-day American life, parallel similar events leading to the rise of Fascism in Germany and Italy. Negro people simply cannot understand the indifference of federal agencies to this development.

On the other hand, those people and organizations most friendly and helpful to the American Negro's struggle for full emancipation, have been denounced as Communists or Communistic. In fact, the whole idea of equal rights for Negroes is regarded as "Communism" in many quarters. The hysterical fear of Communism and the apathetic disregard for Fascism, makes obvious the need for concise definitions of "Communist", "Fascist", "subversive", and "disloyal". The Negro people of America demand the right to continue their struggle for full democratic rights, without fear of abuse or accusations of "disloyalty".

23-22-26

The House Committee on un-American Activities has been outstanding in opposition to the struggles of American Negroes. Moreover, the un-American Committee has given aid and comfort to the leading exponents of master race ideology. It has opposed, continuously, every progressive thought and movement in America, slandering and libeling the whole Negro people, their friends and organizations. Abolition of the un-American Committee is a necessity for the protection of civil rights. In addition, laws must be enacted to protect the individual or group of individuals from mass slander and libel.

PART IV PRESIDENT'S LOYALTY ORDER - EXECUTIVE ORDER 9835
Effect on Government Workers
Effect on Postal Alliance

The vague and ambiguous language of the Executive Order, in addition to unorthodox procedures of enforcement, in the opinion of the National Lawyers Guild-

"(1) Constitutes an unwarranted intrusion of the executive into the sphere reserved for the legislative branch;

(2) Denies the constitutional safeguards of a fair hearing;
(3) Sanctions the unconstitutional doctrine of guilt by association;
(4) Sets up the Attorney General as high priest of political orthodoxy;
(5) Violates the constitutional doctrine that standards for punishment be precise and definite."

The Postal Alliance contends that, until such time as clear and concise definitions are formulated, and enforcement procedures are found to be in keeping with the American tradition of the right to face and cross-examine one's accusers - until that time, the President's Loyalty Order must be recalled.

PART V FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
Discrimination in Government Service - Post Office
Department of Labor
Department of Justice

Absence of Law and Order
Reconstruction Period
Ethics of Share-Cropping
Discrimination and the United Nations

23-22-27

The President's Committee takes note of existing racial discrimination in Federal Government employment and up-grading, but fails to recommend in any place that special and specific provision be made for the inclusion of Negro personnel at higher levels in order to compensate for the special and specific exclusion of Negroes for many, many years. The absence of available, qualified, Negro personnel - except for token appointments - in many administration and enforcement agencies of Federal Government, is a most important contributing factor to the admitted failure of these agencies to function efficiently in protecting the civil rights of American people.

The Department of Justice, particularly, has evidenced its inability to either protect the lives and property of American Negroes, or to successfully prosecute those responsible for loss of life and destruction of property. Under present conditions, the only immediately effective course of action is a declaration of martial law in all areas where civil processes do not provide protection for the lives and property of all American citizens. Under the protection of non-segregated federal troops and local non-segregated militia, democratic processes can be given a tremendous forward surge. Henry Wallace has demonstrated what can be accomplished by defying local customs and successfully insisting upon speaking to non-segregated audiences in a recent tour of the South.

The question of land has been a dominant problem since the abolition of chattel slavery in America. The plantation system

of share-cropping as the present basis of Southern economy is, undoubtedly, the most stubborn deterrent to the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination, and the greatest obstacle to the establishment of the rights of suffrage, education and equal rights before the law. This entire shameful condition can be changed materially, by a federal program of rehabilitation which includes the purchase, reclamation, and distribution of land to landless agrarians of the South.

Federal government concern for democracy abroad, contrasts sharply with apathy in face of denial of democracy in many States of the South. American Negroes follow with interest, the actions of appointed representatives of the American Government to the United Nations. It has been noted that these appointed representatives consistently have opposed all practical proposals to mitigate the oppressive conditions of colonial peoples of the world. In view of the deep sympathy of the Negro people for the struggles of subjugated peoples everywhere, and the recognition of the similarity of restrictive conditions imposed upon these peoples, it is difficult to reconcile the attitudes of these appointed representatives with protestations of deep concern for world democracy, coming from many quarters in the American government.

23-22-28

PART VI SUMMARY

The National Alliance of Postal Employees insists upon the strengthening of elemental human rights as the condition for the success of a program To Secure These Rights. The right of the American people to organize in defense of their rights is one elemental right which must be guaranteed. Therefore, while concurring in the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, the Postal Alliance calls for the implementation of the following recommendations in order to establish the foundation upon which TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS:

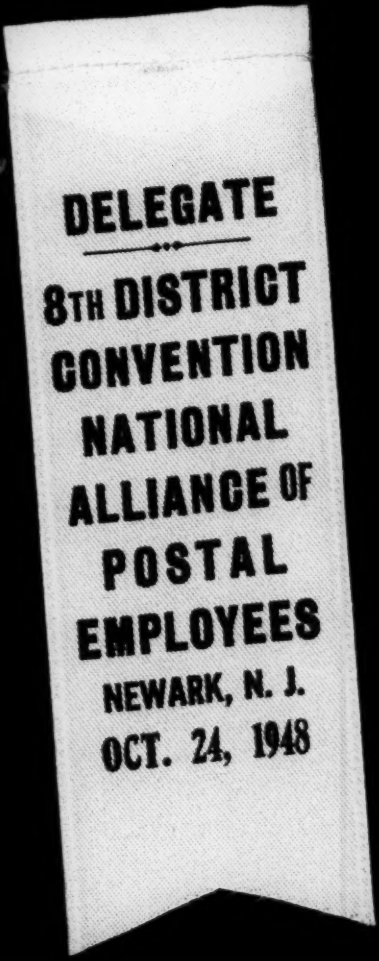
1. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.
2. Abolition of the House Committee on un-American Activities.
3. Recall of the President's Loyalty Order.
4. Immediate FEPC in Government Service.
5. Distribution of Land to Landless Agrarians.
6. Martial Law for Protection of Life and Property.
7. Elimination of Segregation in Armed Forces and Militia.
8. Strengthened Slander and Libel Laws.

The National Alliance of Postal Employees calls upon the President of the United States to use all of the powers and influence of his office - with the Congress, with the press, radio and screen, and with the American public - to implement the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and the National Alliance of Postal Employees.

The Postal Alliance calls, too, upon all freedom loving American people and organizations to endorse and support its position and to actively strive for the fulfillment of these recommendations.

Prepared at the direction of Ashby B. Carter,
President, National Alliance of Postal Employees

23-22-29


DELEGATE
8TH DISTRICT
CONVENTION
NATIONAL
ALLIANCE OF
POSTAL
EMPLOYEES
NEWARK, N. J.
OCT. 24, 1948

[NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL EMPLOY.]

H.H. Smythe

32.25.21

ANNUAL CONVENTION

EIGHTH DISTRICT

1948

NAT'L ALLIANCE · POSTAL EMPLOYEES · 1913 U.S. MAIL

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

OCTOBER 23, & 24, 1948

"PROPERTY IS THE FRUIT OF LABOR, PROPERTY IS DESIRABLE, IS A POSITIVE GOOD IN THE WORLD. THAT SOME SHOULD BE RICH SHOWS THAT OTHERS MAY BECOME RICH AND HENCE IS JUST ENCOURAGEMENT TO INDUSTRY AND ENTERPRISE.

"LET NOT HIM WHO IS HOUSELESS PULL DOWN THE HOUSE OF ANOTHER, BUT LET HIM WORK DILIGENTLY AND BUILD ONE FOR HIMSELF, THUS BY EXAMPLE ASSURING THAT HIS OWN SHALL BE SAFE FROM VIOLENCE WHEN BUILT."

A Lincoln

This space paid for by
A FRIEND

Series 'L' 4, American Educational Press Service, New York

Greetings:

The officers and members of the Newark Branch N.A.P.E. deems it a great pleasure to extend to the officers, delegates and members of the 8th District, of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, a most cordial welcome as guest in the city of Newark.

The National Alliance of Postal Employees was founded to effect a closer social relationship between Postal Employees, and to enable them to promote any movement that will benefit them as a group or benefit the Postal Service.

We sincerely hope that our program has been so arranged that the maximum in progressive Legislation will come from our deliberations, further enhancing the stature of the Alliance as one of the most potent and highly respected Postal Service Organization existing.

We are most grateful to our supporters from among the many friends, Organizations, Business and Professional firms for their interest and contributions in making this Convention a success. Certainly such co-operation deserves the patronage of our many friends and members.

We offer our gratitude to Postmaster Reilly, the various Committees and the Women's Auxiliary for their unstinted support in helping to make this meeting a successful one.

We further hope this Convention will be long remembered by our visiting officers, delegates and friends.

NEWARK BRANCH N.A.P.E.

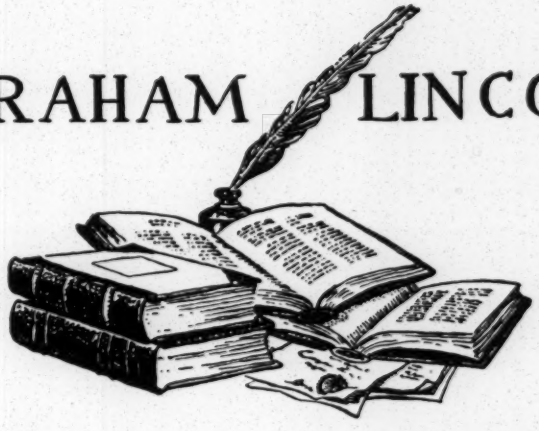
Theodore P. Pettigrew, President

Hon. LOUIS A. REILLY

POSTMASTER

NEWARK, N. J.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN



"THERE IS NO CLASS OF HIRED LABORERS AMONGST US. TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO I WAS A HIRED LABORER. THE HIRED LABORER OF YESTERDAY LABORS ON HIS OWN ACCOUNT TODAY, AND WILL HIRE OTHERS TO LABOR FOR HIM TOMORROW. ADVANCEMENT—IMPROVEMENT IN CONDITION IS THE ORDER OF THINGS IN A SOCIETY OF EQUALS."

A Lincoln

This space paid for by
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CONVENTION NOTES AND AUTOGRAPHS

LOOKING FOR THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH?

Throughout the ages men have been seeking the Fountain of Youth.

Maybe we'll find it some day. Certainly scientists and doctors have already greatly lengthened our life span.

If we could have eternal youth, it would save us a lot of trouble. We'd never have to plan for old age—because we'd never grow old.

But meanwhile all of us still face the problem of economic security for the future.

For most of us the only solution is regular saving. And there is no better, safer, or more painless way to save than by buying U. S. Security Bonds on the Bond-A-Month Plan.

Ask your bank about it. It's automatic. You sign up and the money saves itself—and every $3 becomes $4 at the end of 10 years.

And wise saving today helps to keep prices down. Your Security Bond dollars will do their part to stabilize prices.

So even if you think eternal youth is right around the corner, you'll find the Bond-A-Month Plan is a wonderful idea.

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[National Alliance of Postal Employees]
[1948?]

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DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

STATE HOUSE TRENTON, N. J.

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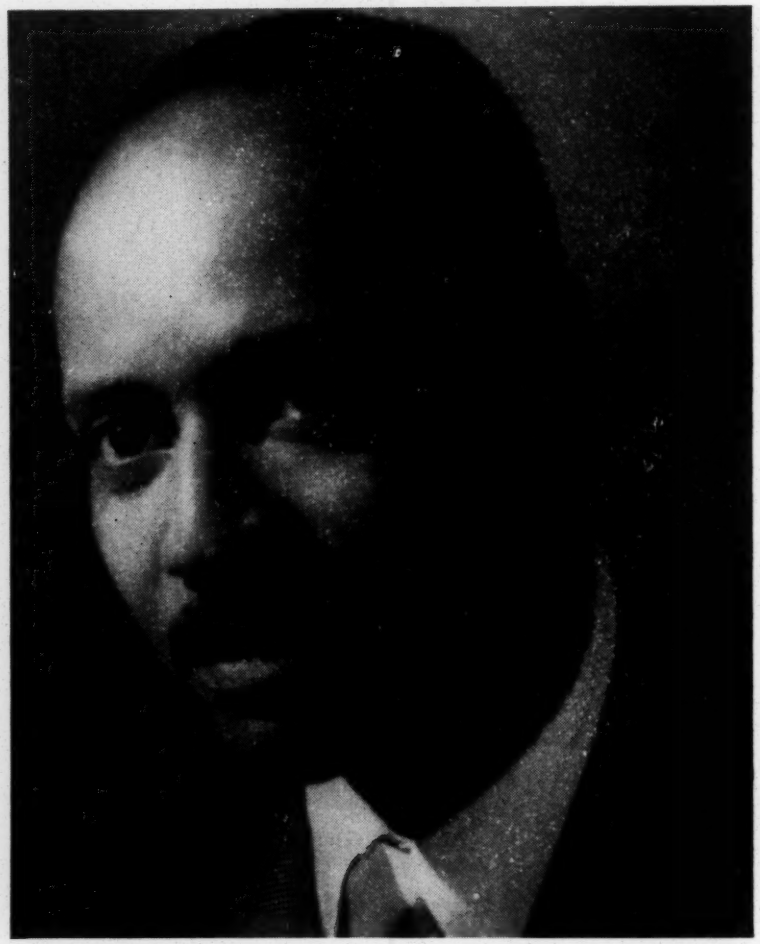

E. ALBERT NORRIS

PRESIDENT

EIGHTH DISTRICT

National Alliance Postal Employees

32 25'24

THEODORE P. PETTIGREW

PRESIDENT

NEWARK BRANCH

National Alliance Postal Employees

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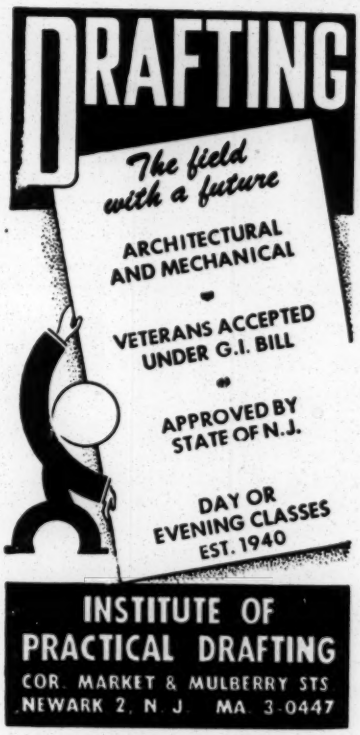
32 25.27



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National Alliance of Postal Employees

WOMEN'S AUXILARY

EIGHTH DISTRICT

Y.W.C.A. — GREEN PARLORS

. . . PROGRAM . . .

Registration.....Mrs. Elizabeth Pettigrew and Mrs. Anne Johnson

Morning Session — 10 A. M.

Presiding.....Mrs. Isabelle Cooper
President, Eighth District Women's Auxiliary

Devotions.....Mrs. Georgia Stuetly
Welcome Address.....Mrs. Margaret Jenkins
Response.....Mrs. Beatrice Simpkins
Appointment of Credential Committee
Address.....Postmaster of Newark, Hon. Louis A. Reilly
Report of Credential and Resolutions Committees
Mrs. Beatrice Simpkins, Financial Secretary Mrs. Beatrice C. Slaten, Recording Secretary
Mrs. Alma Reed, Treasurer
Report of Executive Board Communications

Luncheon — 1:00 to 2:00 P. M.

Greetings from National Officers
President's Annual Address
Report of Delegates of each Branch on its activities
Introduction of Guest Speaker.....Mrs. Carrie Powell
Address.....Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson
Retired Newark School Teacher
Member of Newark Branch N.A.P.E. Citizens Advisory Committee
Member of Nat'l. Executive Board N.A.A.C.P.
Appointment of Standing Committees Unfinished Business
New Business Introduction of Visitors
Announcement of Next Meeting Place Adjournment

1. Call To Order.....Theodore P. Pettigrew
2. Star Spangled Banner.....Mr. Emma Waller
3. Invocation.....Rev, Howard U. Johnson, Chaplain Newark Branch
4. Greetings from Host Branch.....Percy L.Conrad, Former Pres. District 8
5. Introduction of Pres. District 8, E. Albert Norris.....Theodore P. Pettigrew
6. Greetings.....Mayor Vincent A. Murphy, Newark, N. J.
7. Response.....Harold L. Pilgrim, National Vice President
8. Introduction of Mr. Robert F. Kearse, Postmaster, Vauxhall, N. J.....E. Albert Norris
9. Introduction of Mr. Louis A. Reilly, Postmaster, Newark, N. J.....Robert F. Kearse
10. Address.....Hon. Louis A. Reilly
11. Response.....Atty. Thomas C. Hall, Asst. Solicitor P. O. Dept.
12. Acknowledgment of The Representation of Visiting Organizations
13. Appointment of Committees:
    Credentials Resolutions Appointment of Sergeant-at-Arms
14. Report of Credentials Committee 15. Minutes of Previous Session
16. Communications 17. Reports of Commitees:

Standing:
I. Welfare II. Organization & Reorganization III. Ways & Means

Special:
I. Resolutions II. U. N. III. Constitution IV. Finance Control

18. Luncheon—1 Hour
    Miss Eleanor G. Coit, Ex. Dir. American Labor Education Ser., New York
    Mr. Hugh Smythe, Ex. Secretary N.A.A.C.P. to the U. N.
    Response.....Wm. C. Jason, LLD., Welfare Director N.A.P.E.
19. Reconvene
20. Address.....Ashby Carter, President, N.A.P.E.
21. Remarks.....Thomas P. Bomar
    Asst. Dist. Supt. at Large, Railway Mail Ser., Washington, D. C.
22. Speech.....William C. Jason
23. Unfinished Business 24. New Business 25. Place of Next Convention 26. Adjournment

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A Lincoln

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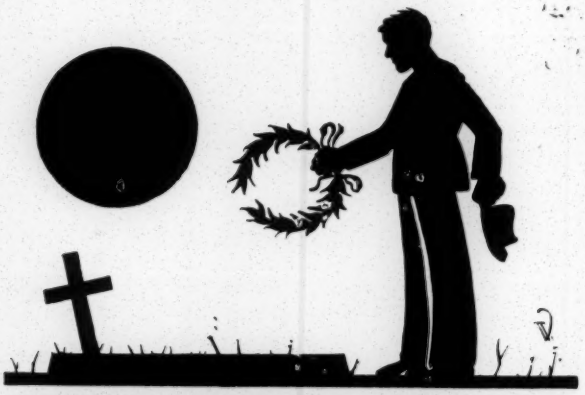

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WHAT COMMUNISM WOULD DO TO YOU

How would you be affected if Communists con'rolled tho Government of the United States? In what ways would life be different for all of us?

The following answers contrast life under our form of government and Communism. They should rouse every thinking American into action against co unism. Which would you rather have—life as described in column 1 or in column 2 ?

TWO WAYS OF LIFE—A CONTRAST

(1) IN DEMOCRACY	(2) IN COMMUNISM
FREEDOM OF THE PERSON	
Everyone has basic rights and freedoms guaranteed.	No one has guaranteed rights. Everyone is sub- Arbitrary arrests; imprisonment without trial;
No arbitrary seizure of persons or property or search of homes. Trial by juries guaranteed.	Arbitrary arrests: imprisonment without trial; secret police can seize anyone, search any home, everyone watched.
ECONOMIC FREEDOMS	
Anyone is free to start any kind of business.	State controls all business. No private enterprise.
Anyone may own a home, farm, or business.	State owns housing facilities, farms, businesses.
Worker is free to choose job and change job.	State dictates job, freezes workers in job.
Collective bargaining union contracts.	Wages and conditions dictated by bureaucrats.
OTHER FREEDOMS	
Free press and radio, free speech.	State-controlled press and radio. Persons critizing Government imprisoned.
Freedom to seek truth in schools and universities.	State tells everyone what to believe.
Religious freedom.	Church dominated by state.
THE GOVERNMENT	
(1) IN DEMOCRACY	(2) IN COMMUNISM
Government by laws enacted by chosen representatives of the people.	Government by decrees of dictators, without consent of the people.
Free elections, candidates nominated in primary elections or conventions of parties.	One-party "elections," chosen by Communist Party officials.
RESULT	
High living standards.	Miserable living standards.

WHAT YOU GET FOR YOUR WORK

In Order to Buy	In the U. S. You Work These Hours	Russian Communists Work These Hours
Daily food	3	9
Cotton stockings	1	24
Cotton shirt	3	320
Woolen gloves	2	100
Alarm clock	4	160
Lady's coat	75	1 000
Wrist watch	30	1,600
Galoshes	3	140
Bottle of beer	*10	8
Toothbrush	*15	4

*Minutes

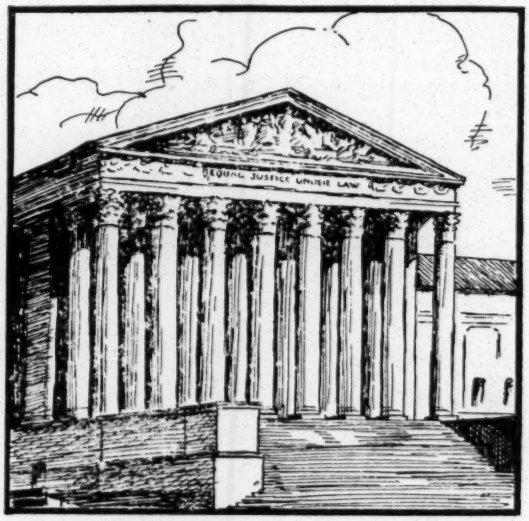
Average wage in Russia—25 cents per hour.

A few U.S.S.R. prices: wrist watch, $400 to $700; coat for worker's wife, $250; cotton shirt, $80 to $100; bottle of beer, $2.

These are facts taken from the records.

Is there any question which you would rathe. have in the United States—Democracy or Communism?

American Educational Press Service, New York



UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT BUILDING – CITADEL OF THE CONSTITUTION

AS THE PATRIOTS OF SEVENTY-SIX DID TO THE SUPPORT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, SO TO THE SUPPORT OF THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS LET EVERY AMERICAN PLEDGE HIS LIFE, HIS PROPERTY, AND HIS SACRED HONOR— LET EVERY MAN REMEMBER THAT TO VIOLATE THE LAW IS TO TRAMPLE ON THE BLOOD OF HIS FATHER, AND TO TEAR THE CHARTER OF HIS OWN AND HIS CHILDREN'S LIBERTY.

A Lincoln

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Series 'L' 2, American Educational Press Service, New York

[NAT COMMITTEE TO FREE THE INGRAM FAMILY]

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO FREE THE INGRAM FAMILY

HOTEL THERESA - ROOM 108
125th St. & 7th Ave.
New York City

PRESS RELEASE

23-16

The National Committee to free the Ingram Family is presenting a petition or Brief on behalf of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons to the General Assembly of the United Nations the third week in September.

The 2400 word document is written by the noted historian and scholar, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois. "We are bringing this case to your attention and begging you to give it your earnest thought and discussion, not because we are disloyal to this nation, but especially because we are citizens of this land and loyal to the freedom and democracy which it professes far and wide to observe", states the opening paragraph.

Then it speaks about the 500 Negroes publicly lynched in the state of Georgia in the last sixty years, "the latest victim being murdered this very year". Reference is made to the election campaign of Governor Talmadge in which he "publicly promised to break the laws of this land and deprive a million black citizens in his state the right to vote".

The brief states "This crucifixion of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram is of one piece with Georgia's treatment of colored women. In 1946, twenty-five white lynchers in Walton County, Georgia killed two untried colored men, and then wantonly shot their wives to death because the women recognized the murderers. No one has ever been indicted nor punished for this outrage.

Thus it is clear that the part of this nation which boasts its reverence for womanhood is the part where the women of Africa were slaves and concubines of white Americans for two and a half centuries; where their daughters in states like Virginia became human brood mares to raise domestic slaves when the African trade stopped; and where their granddaughters became mothers of millions of mulattoes."

It records that Schley County has 3000 colored and 2000 white inhabitants. In 1942 only 455 votes were cast in the county and of these only 100 were colored. "The colored people are almost totally disfranchised, hold no political offices of any kind, never serve on juries, and work mostly as sharecroppers on land owned by whites. Of the 750 farms 600 are worked by tenants. The money income of Negro

families is probably less than $200 a year; their schools are poor and short in term. Twenty-four dollars per child is spent for white children and four dollars for colored, white school buildings are worth $1000 each and colored $600. Four Negroes have been lynched in this country without trial since 1900. It can be affirmed that in this county no Negro 'has any rights which a white man is bound to respect'."

23-16

The brief places the responsibility on the Federal Government to change this condition. "The formula upon which this nation rests in the ignoring and mishandling of cases like this, is the legal fiction that a sovereign Government can if it will renounce all responsibility for securing justice to its citizens and leave such matters entirely in the hands of subordinate and irresponsible local corporations, even when such bodies openly transgress the law of the land. In the face of this, the United States of America declares its practices of democracy before the world and sits in the United Nations which has promised in its fundamental Charter to promote and encourage 'respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.' "

The concluding paragraphs are directed to the Social and Economic Council and the General Assembly.

"We appeal in this case to the Social and Economic Council and ask them to insist that the fundamental right of petition be affirmed and enforced in the Human Rights Commission. And further than this, we appeal to the General Assembly itself and to every member of it, to place on the agenda of its next meeting and publicly discuss, the relation of democracy in the United States of America to its citizens of Negro descent. We affirm that if the Assembly can and should discuss at length matters affecting the fifteen million Jews of the world, the thirteen millions of Czechoslavakia, the seven and a half million people of Greece; the ten millions of Arabia; the six millions of Austria, and the four million of Finland, it might find a half hour to discuss fifteen million of Negro Americans without disrupting the Charter of the United Nations or affronting the dignity and sovereignity of the United States.

Any nation has the right by law to curtail, for the greater good of the nation, the individual liberties of its citizens; but no country has the right to break faith with itself and deny its

23-16

citizens rights which its own laws guarantee and its own declarations proclaim; and when it does this, is not this action a matter of international concern? Division of powers between nation and locality may satisfy the metaphysics of practical administration but it cannot divest a nation before the world of its responsibility for elementary justice to its citizens. This was admitted years ago when Louisiana lynched Italians and arrogantly refused punishment or reparation. The nation after years of vain quibbling was compelled by International law to pay damages to their kin. The state of Georgia with its illiteracy and lawlessness is not a nation in the eyes of the United States, but the United States of America is a nation and as such bears sole responsibility of the miscarriage of justice in the case of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram."

The petition (or brief) is signed by the National Officers and sponsors throughout the nation, white and colored. They include:-

Mary Church Terrell - National Chairman - Washington, D. C.
Ada B. Jackson, National Vice Chairman - New York
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Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson Mrs. Mary P. Thompson	Connecticut
Miss Sally Peek	Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Lula B. White	Houston, Texas

[fragment]

Ingram, 3

Mrs. Alva Mydral, Acting Assistant Secretary-General of the department of Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, on September 21, 1949. One-hundred and thirty men and women participated in the ceremony. The comments, protests, and petitions from all parts of the world can be summed up in the words of Dr. Jan Drohojowsky, Polish delegate to the United Nations: "A most flagrant and brazen violation of human rights."

Many of the sponsors and members of the National Committee to Free the Ingram Family will be on hand during the sessions of the Human Rights Commission at Lake Success, New York.

230 - 15

[1948? Nat Comm Ingram]

On November 4, 1947, John E. Stratford, a white man of Ellaville, Georgia, was killed. He was a sharecropper on land belonging to C.M. Dillinger, Americus. The neighboring sharecropper was a colored woman, Rosa Lee Ingram. Hre husband, Jackson Ingram had died the previous August. They had rented the farm, but after the father's death were working the land on a 50-50 contract had 12 children in the family, of whom two were dead. Of the others, one boy of 17, was at school and doing farm work; at home were Wallace, 15; Samuel, 13; and others of 12, 9, 7, 6, 5, 3 and nineteen months.

On the morning of November 24, several of the hogs belonging to the Ingrams and one of their mules, together with two mules belonging to Dillinger, broke through the barriers and wandered into Stratford's field. Mrs. Ingram heard him shouting, and leaving her work and putting her baby in charge of the nine-year old girl, hurried out to see what was wrong. Stratford told her to get the animals out of his field or he would kill them. She declared that two of the mules belonged to the landlord, but that she would do her best to drive them home. Suddenly, Stratford appeared from a field with a 32 caliber rifle. He struck the widow with the gun and she siezed it and struck him back. Thereupon, Stratford began to beat her until her head was bloody. She was screaming and her two boys standing by begged Stratford to stop. At last when he was beating her about the head with an unopen knife, the oldest boy of 15, Wallace wrenched the gun from his hands, struck him twice with it and killed him.

35-1-198

Mrs. Wallace, returned to the house to attend to the baby and sent Wallace to sherif Devane to report the incident. The sherif came with his deputies. ~~They~~ They were immediately taken to jail and the five little children left to the care arrested Mrs. Ingram, Wallace and Sammie, and Charles, aged nine. ~~The other~~ Jackson Ingram, 17, the oldest boy who was not on the place at the time. All five were put in separate jails, where they were examined and threatened. The county Grand Jury indicted them January 22 for murder. They were allowed no communication with friends, and no consultation with a lawyer until the morning of the trial Jan. 26. Then S.H. Dykes of Americus, Ga., was appointed by the court to defend them. The jury composed of whites found Mrs. Ingram, Wallace and Sammie guilty of murder in the first degree. Jackson, 17, was sent to the chaingang for a year and Charles, 9, was aquitted. The judge, W.M. Harper, set the execution for Feb 27. The attorney won a stay of execution on motion for a new trial.

They

17 a year upon the gang

they were held without bail

Dillinger, the landlord, seized the milk cow and its calf; the 15 hogs, and the whole crop of corn, cotton, cane and pepers. Also he confiscated the plow, cultivator, peanut weeder, shovels, rakes, pitchforks and small tools. He left them only their furniture and the mule but the mule ran away.. The landlord also sued Mrs. Ingram for $194.

Judge William H. Harper, after postponing the hearing for a new trial three times at last on April 6, denied the motion, but commuted the sentence from death to imprisonment for life. A neighbor took the family to his home where they are under the care of Mrs. Ingram's one married daughter, who has two babies of her own. Money has been raised all over the country, chiefly among colored people and the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia, June 14.

35-1-189

The Ingrams under sentence have been shifted to six different jails since arrest and are now in the Bibb county jail, Monroe, Ga.

Prosecutor E. L. Forrester said the slaying was a "cruel and barbarous murder without mitigating curcumstances."

According to S. Hawkins Dykes, a local white attorney appointed by the court to defend the hapless mother and her two young sons: "The evidence showed clearly that John E. Stratford, the white farmer whom the Ingrams were accused of murdering, assaulted the mother with a rifle and died from a blow on the head when the Ingram boys came to her defense. Everyone around here knows the Ingrams would be free today had they been white."

35-1-190

"Under Georgia law matters of pardon and parole and matters relating to commutation of sentence imposed by our courts are exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Pardon and Parole Board. Executive authority exists only for the granting of reprieves, stays of execution, and before any action by the Governor of Georgia can be taken, all matters relating to such as these must first be presented to the Pardon and Parole Board and passed by that body."

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE AMERICAS

30 East 29th Street, New York 16, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 3-9080

June 1, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We were very happy to hear from Miss Graham that you are able to act as a sponsor for the Conference for the Advancement of the Americas. I am enclosing a copy of the revised statement of principles for the Conference, worked out on the basis of response by members of the Organizing Committee to our draft statement sent out earlier. This is to go out the first of next week over a partial listing of sponsors' names, in which you own will, of course, be included.

23-29-9

Because of time, money and forces available right now, the Conference has been cut to one day, and is not being projected as a large mass Conference at this time. Rather, its aim will be to bring together a representative group of leaders of the progressive movement in this area, to discuss the issues involved, and to initiate what may become the basis for broad popular action. The Conference itself is simply a means of getting sufficient representation from the democratic forces to make it possible to set up a Council with some authority, which can begin to take action on immediate issues. If we have 100 or 125 of such people present, and I think we will, this will be quite feasible. Such a Council might have as part of its perspective the planning of a large, national Conference, with speakers from Latin America, and delegations from other parts of the country, sometime next autumn.

The statement of principles, therefore, was revised after discussion with a number of members of the Organizing Committee, to conform not only to space requirements, but to this new orientation of the Conference. New signatories are being received every day. Response from the trade unions has been excellent--for the first time, to my knowledge, on this particular issue. We are also working actively among the professional and cultural groups in the city, and among the Latin American organizations.

We hope very much that your sponsorship means that you will attend and participate actively in the work of the Conference. We should like to ask your assistance also, a little later, in working out the function, content, and speakers for such a Conference.

Very sincerely yours,

Judy Peterson Newman

Judy Peterson Newman
Organizing Secretary

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

412

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE AMERICAS

30 East 29th Street, New York 16, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 3-9080

lecture exposition

June 16, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosed Call was sent last week to our entire mailing list of approximately 1,000 representatives of the trade union, cultural, youth, church, Negro and Latin American groups in the eastern area. Personal follow-up is being done this week; we hope to have an attendance of perhaps 150 labor and non-labor people, actively interested, to work out a program and continued action.

As the Conference approaches, and everyone's time is a bit more defined, we should like to ask you definitely for your own participation in the Conference.

23-29-8

In planning the program, emphasis is on content and flexibility, rather than on a series of formal reports. The first session in the morning, therefore, will be opened with a keynote address, and all further discussion will take place from the floor. Bernardo Vega, for instance, is prepared to open discussion with further amplification of the problems of Puerto Rico; Ewart Guinier of the United Public Workers will speak on Panama and the West Indies. Similar arrangements are being made for speakers on Chile, Brazil, youth, labor, the relationship between the exploitation of Latin America and discrimination within the United States against these minorities, etc. The speeches are being carefully prepared, and kept to a minimum length; we hope that the technique will serve to stimulate further discussion as well. Concrete proposals for action and resolutions will be presented, discussed and voted on during the course of the afternoon session, whenever they are appropriate; and the establishment of the organization itself, with the election of officers, will be carried out by vote of the Conference delegates.

We would like very much to ask you, therefore, to appear at the Conference and speak to the delegates on any topic you choose, at any time that is convenient for you. We should like to have your participation during the entire Conference, of course; if that is impossible, we shall be glad to introduce you at any time that you appear.

If you could let us know whether or not we can tell people that you will be present, we would appreciate it.

Very sincerely yours,

Judy Peterson Newman

Judy Peterson Newman
Organizing Secretary

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

412

June 22, 1948

Mrs. Judy P. Newman
30 East 29th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Newman:

I am writing in reply to your letter of the 16th to Dr. DuBois. The Doctor would like very much to take part in the conference on the Americas but his schedule is so full and the calls upon his time are so taxing, that in this instance he must decline. It so happens that it likely that on Saturday, June 26, he may not be in the city and would, therefore, be unable to speak for you. Perhaps at some other time in the future he may be able to help you.

With thanks for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
Asst.

HHS:s

[Enclosure]

Statement of the Call

to

CONFERENCE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE AMERICAS

Saturday, June 26 11 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Hotel Pennsylvania

The wave of violence that swept over Bogota, Colombia, during the recent Conference of American States was a single, dramatic incident in the grim results of steady United States abandonment of the Roosevelt Good Neighbor Policy, which once endeared us to the peoples of the world.

That Policy represented the first move in the history of the United States in modern times to demonstrate genuine friendship and justice toward the Latin American peoples. In contrast to the repressive United States policies of the forty years preceding it, this progressive undertaking encouraged political progress, economic well-being, and peace among all the nations of the Americas. With its moral and material support, programs of industrialization and land reform developed, which alone can raise the living standards of the Latin American peoples; popular, democratic governments came to power in many of these countries; organized labor made tremendous strides.

Today our country has abandoned the bold ideals and tangible program of this policy enunciated by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and has returned once more to the short-sighted policy of colonialism, of economic and military domination, which marked our relations with all of Latin America from the turn of the century onward.

The Clayton Plan, first put forward at the Chapultepec Conference in 1945, blocks the industrialization of South and Central America.

The Truman Plan for the standardization of arms, projected at the Rio Conference the same year, in the name of "hemispheric defense" is strengthening the hand of native reactionaries throughout Latin America, (many of whom were allies of Hitler during World War II).

The economic aggression of powerful United States corporations in Latin America has increased a hundred fold since the end of the Roosevelt era.

The results of this change in our country's policy has been the re-emergence of native fascists in all these countries, the overthrow of democratic governments, swift deterioriation in the already low living standards of the people, brutal attacks on the labor movement, mass jailings and murders of progressives and trade union leaders; all this despite the heroic resistance of the progressive forces of Latin America.

The guilt of our government and of our giant corporations is also the guilt of all of us who see this happening, and do not raise our voices against it!

But these policies of our country mean social, economic and political disaster not alone for the Latin American peoples. They threaten our own hopes and opportunities for living in a peaceful world, our hard-won labor rights, and even our very democratic standards themselves.

The extent to which United States big business and other tory interests can successfully undermine the painfully achieved liberties of the Latin American people, with little or no protest from the people of this country, will give them the measure of how far they can carry the destruction of our own democratic rights at home.

As conscientious American citizens, therefore, it is our responsibility to help make the people of our own country aware of what is happening in the rest of the hemisphere; to recognize the profound influence which we can bring to bear toward the establishment of a firm and lasting bond of democratic cooperativeness among the peoples of all the Americas.

To this end we have called this Conference--with its avowed purpose of exploring the issues relating to the Latin American countries, and determining the action necessary on our part to help secure the re-establishment of the Good Neighbor Policy.

The problem of the colonial areas, in that part of the hemisphere--Belize, the Falkland Islands, the Guianas, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the Panama Canal Zone--are an organic part of the larger, more comprehensive problem of economic dependency of the Latin American republics themselves. So, also, is the blatant economic, social and political discrimination within the United States directed against the Puerto Ricans, the West Indians, the Mexicans, and the other Spanish-American minorities. These questions, too, will be taken up at this Conference.

Fimally, an urgent task of this Planning Conference is the establishment of a broad and democratically constituted Council for the Advancement of the Americas, which will dedicate itself to these principles, and to a concrete and extensive program for carrying them out. We call upon all organizations to send delegates to the Conference, and invite interested persons to attend as observers.

230-29-42

[Enclosure]

For an immediate return to the Good Neighbor Policy . . .

For an end to repression and terror in the Western Hemisphere . . .

For peace, economic progress, and democracy in <u>all</u> the Americas . . .

lectures expected

Eastern Planning Conference

for a

COUNCIL FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE AMERICAS

Saturday, June 26, 1948

11 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Hotel Pennsylvania

23c-29-40

The violence that swept over Bogota, Colombia, during the Pan-American Conference was a single, dramatic incident in the grim results of steady United States abandonment of the Roosevelt Good Neighbor Policy, which once endeared us to the peoples of the world.

That Policy represented the first move in the modern history of the United States to demonstrate genuine friendship and justice toward the Latin American people, in contrast to the repression and "dollar diplomacy" of the forty years preceding it. With its moral and material support, programs of industrialization and land reform developed, which alone can raise the living standards of the Latin American peoples; popular, democratic governments came to power in many of these countries; organized labor made tremendous strides.

Today our country has abandoned the bold ideals and tangible program of this policy enunciated by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and has returned once more to the short-sighted policy of colonialism, of economic and military domination, which marked our relations with all of Latin America from the turn of the century onward.

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ening the hand of native reactionaries throughout Latin America (many of whom were allies of Hitler during World War II).

The economic aggression of powerful United States corporations in Latin America has increased a hundred fold since the end of the Roosevelt era.

The result of this change in our country's policy has been the re-emergence of native fascists in all these countries, the overthrow of democratic governments, swift deterioration in the already low living standards of the people, brutal attacks on the labor movement, mass jailings and murders of progressives and trade union leaders; all this despite the heroic resistance of the progressive forces of supposedly free and independent republics!

A further result has been the intensified oppression of the colonial areas in that part of the hemisphere—especially Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone. The problems of these areas are an organic part of the larger, more comprehensive problem of economic dependency of the Latin American republics themselves. So, also, is the blatant economic, social and political discrimination *within* the United States, directed against the Puerto Ricans, the West Indians, the Mexicans, and the other Latin-American minorities, and steadily increasing.

The guilt of our government and of our giant corporations is also the guilt of all of us who see this happening and do not raise even our voices against it!

But these policies of our country mean social, economic and political disaster not alone for the Latin American peoples. They threaten our own hopes and opportunities for living in a peaceful world, our hard-won labor rights, and even our very democratic standards themselves.

The extent to which United States big business and other tory interests can undermine successfully the painfully achieved liberties of the Latin American people, with little or no protest from the people of this country, will give them the measure of how far they can carry the destruction of our own democratic rights at home.

As conscientious American citizens, therefore, it is our responsibility to make the people of our own country aware of what is happening in the rest of the hemisphere; to recognize the profound influence which we can bring to bear toward the establishment of a firm and lasting bond of democratic co-operativeness among the peoples of all the Americas.

To this end we have called this Conference—with its avowed purpose of exploring the issues relating to the Latin American countries, and determining the action necessary on our part to help in securing the re-establishment of the Good Neighbor Policy.

An urgent task of this preliminary Conference is the establishment of a broad and democratically constituted ***Council for the Advancement of the Americas,*** which will dedicate itself to these principles, and to a concrete and extensive program for carrying them out.

As members of its Organizing Committee, and subscribers to its aims, therefore, we call upon all organizations to send delegates to the Conference, and invite interested persons to attend and participate in its decisions.

Co-Chairmen:

JOSEPH P. SELLY
President, American Communications Association, CIO
Member, CIO Latin American Affairs Committee

QUERO CHIESA
Artist

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(*All organizations are given for purposes of identification only*)

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ROSE RUSSELL, *Legislative Director, Local 555 (Teachers), United Public Workers, CIO*
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CREDENTIAL FORM

Name .....

Address .....

Organization .....

Organizational Delegate..... Individual Visitor.....

Enclosed is $..... registration fee ($1.00 per delegate).

Enclosed is $..... as a contribution in support of the Conference.

Address all communications to

JUDY PETERSON NEWMAN, Secretary,
CONFERENCE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE AMERICAS
30 EAST 29TH STREET, NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-9080

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE AMERICAS

30 East 29th Street, New York 16, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 3-9080

July 8, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The formal establishment of the Council for the Advancement of the Americas was the first result of the Eastern Planning Conference held on Saturday, June 26, at the Hotel Pennsylvania. We are enclosing a report of that Conference, with special memoranda on the major points of discussion.

The Council is the first organized movement since Roosevelt's death to work toward a resumption and an extension of the Good Neighbor Policy, to attempt to remove a major source of the power and profit now being used by U.S. monopoly to bludgeon us and the rest of the people of the world. In our own immediate interest, we must see that it succeeds.

In order to carry out the mandates of the June 26th Conference, (the program outlined in the enclosed material), the Council needs a minimum budget of $1000 a month. There are no angels for such an organization. There are only people who believe in it, and the organizations to which these people belong. Only through you, who have demonstrated your active interest in this movement, and through others like you, can we hope to make these vital projects a reality.

For this reason, we are asking that you present this letter to your organization as a formal request for a contribution to this phase of the fight for peace and security, and that you follow through on this request to see that it is acted upon.

And for yourself as an individual, we ask that you join us as a member -- a subscribing member at $2 per year, a sustaining member at $10 per year, a contributing member at $25 per year. Membership entitles you to receipt of the monthly Bulletin, to other published material of the Council as it appears, and to advance notice of all Council activities. More important, it signifies your participation in the fraternal, forward march of the peoples of <u>all</u> the Americas.

The first issue of the Bulletin will be off the press within the next two weeks. May we know by then that your name is on our rolls?

Very sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Selly

Joseph P. Selly

Luis Quero Chiesa

Luis Quero Chiesa

(For the Executive Board)

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

433-13

[NAT. CONF. ... 1948]

National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East

111 WEST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • LONGACRE 4-3943

National Chairmen
T. A. BISSON
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
HON. STANLEY M. ISAACS

Organizing Secretary
STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

Guest Column

AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA

By

Stanley M. Isaacs

The author, a prominent New York lawyer and member of the City Council, is one of the three Chairmen calling the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East to be held in New York on January 23-25. He is a former Borough President of Manhattan.

We have supported the present Chinese government with billions of dollars — including loans, arms, munitions, trucks, planes and ships. These gifts meant military aid to a corrupt, reactionary, anti-democratic regime which is tottering today.

Our course has been wasteful—we have accomplished nothing except to prolong civil war. It has been stupid—we have backed elements which many of our more intelligent representatives strongly condemned. It has been dishonest—General Marshall, in good faith, tried to reconcile conflicting parties in that great country while other representatives of the United States were undermining his efforts. It has been unilateral—we have ignored the United Nations throughout.

Before continuing along this tortuous path leading nowhere, our program should be reviewed and revised. For that reason I joined in calling a National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East. We hope that it will be representative of all phases of liberal thought in America. Its deliberations should result in a program which would advance the economic status of a mighty people now suffering from privation and want; totally lacking means of recovery. It should point out the advantages to us of ending civil war, of rehabilitating an important potential market that may well contribute to the maintenance of full production and full employment here. Incidentally, it should cover quite similar problems concerning our administration of Japan, our support of former Japanese collaborationists in the Philippines, and our economic exploitation of that country; our failure in southern Korea to develop a sound economic program to meet the needs of the people and establish a stable government, democratically based. It might discuss our failure to support those seeking freedom and progress in Indonesia.

From this Conference, there should develop better understanding of our policies in the Far East and a means by which citizens actively interested in promoting a sound policy can implement their ideas.

Reprinted from SPOTLIGHT ON THE FAR EAST, *January*, 1948.

22-33

National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East

111 WEST 42nd STREET · NEW YORK 18, N. Y. · LONGACRE 4-3943

National Chairmen
T. A. BISSON
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
HON. STANLEY M. ISAACS

Organizing Secretary
STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

23-17-18

January Thirteenth 1948

Dr W E B DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City New York

My dear Dr DuBois -

Here is the latest edition of the Conference program - just off the press: our office mimeo!

There are still a few spots that need to be filled in - but we are awaiting replies from people who already have been asked.

In addition to the people listed on the program we are inviting about thirty Far Eastern experts and people who know the Orient to be Conference "Resources"; these will be introduced at the opening session on Saturday morning and will be available for informal sharing of information with the delegates, and will help in the floor discussion.

We will print a final program for the delegates; but this will probably not come off our press until the day before the Conference.

Mr DeLacy asked me to send this "interim program" on to you and the other Chairmen.

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
For Mr DeLacy

[National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East]

111 WEST 42nd STREET · NEW YORK 18, N. Y. · LONGACRE 4-3943

National Chairmen
T. A. BISSON
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
HON. STANLEY M. ISAACS

Organizing Secretary
STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

22-33-09

January 14, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

This is just a note to tell you that preparations for the opening gun of the Conference and the public meeting at the City Center Casino, are proceeding well.

I am writing today to each of the speakers about their manuscripts and the subjects of their speeches. Since you are to be Chairman that evening, I would like to suggest that when you are introduced to chair the Conference, you make a five minute statement welcoming the people and touching on the objects of the meeting. At the conclusion of the meeting we would like you to make a 10 minute statement, lifting into proper focus for the Conference, the essential issues of human freedom and dignity.

I know of no man in America who can more movingly combine reason and passion. Your closing statement will send the people home from the mass meeting inspired and will launch the Conference session of the next day on the right note.

I hope these suggestions will meet with your approval.

Short biographies of Speakers
Does Wallace come?

Sincerely yours,

Hugh DeLacy

Hugh DeLacy, Coordinator
Far Eastern Conference.

HD:DS
uopwa 16

[National Conference on American Policy...]

January 16, 1948

Mr. Hugh DeLacy, Coordinator
Far Eastern Conference
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DeLacy:

In regard to your letter of January 14 to Dr. DuBois, concerning his chairing of the meeting at the City Center Casino, he would like you to give your attention to these matters:

1. Please send him short biographies of the speakers who are to appear that evening.

2. Are the persons who are to appear on the platform required to appear in formal dress?

He would be glad to have your reply to the above at your earliest convenience.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

22-33

File:- For Eastern Policy, Dem. Conv.

National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East

111 WEST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • LONGACRE 4-3943

22-38-05

National Chairmen
T. A. BISSON
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
HON. STANLEY M. ISAACS

Organizing Secretary
STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

January 21st 1948

T.- Helena Schurgot accord. Clarence Johnson BIOGRAPHIES

2 - D

Dr W E B DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York New York

My dear Dr DuBois -

The speakers for the Mass Meeting on the evening of Friday January 23rd are

(5) Dr James G Endicott

Born in China in a pioneer missionary home
University of Toronto M A
Served in Canadian Army in World War I
Married and went to China as missionary in 1925
United Church of Canada
In school and church work
1939- 1940 loaned by the Church to be personal advisor to the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in the New Life Movement war service.
Taught in West China Union (missionary) university three years
Taught in St John's (Episcopalian) University in Shanghai for one year after resignation from United Church of China Mission - 1945
Returned to Canada July 1947

(3) Dr Rexford Guy Tugwell

Former Governor General of Porto Rica
Now Professor of Political Science University of Chicago

(8) Miss Anna Louise Strong

Author Writer Lecturer
Long known for her enlightening reporting on the Far East and Europe
Just returned from a year and a half in China, Manchuria and Northern Korea - via the Soviet Union and other Eureopean countries

(4) Muriel Gaines (Clarence Johnson)

264 (6.) (6) 4 Chinese Amer.

22-38-06

(7) Mr Hugh DeLacy

Former U S Congressman from the State of Washington
Spokesman in Congress for a democratic Far
Eastern policy

This is a Mass Meeting so we are not asking our speakers to appear in formal dress.

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in getting ready for the meeting early!!

Sincerely,

Hugh DeLacy

Hugh DeLacy
Conference Coordinator

R.r

[NAT. CONFERENCE ON AMER. POLICY..., 1948]

LET US STOP THE KILLING OF CHINA'S PEOPLE!

Three Lions

American dollars, bombs, guns and bullets are striking down innocent people whose only crime is their hunger for freedom and a better life.

EVERY AMERICAN IS INVOLVED!

What is the truth behind the Truman Administration's secret diplomacy in China?

33-39-29

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

HUGH DELACY

DR. REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

DR. JAMES G. ENDICOTT

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS, *Chairman*

• *Entertainment* •

City Center Casino

135 WEST 55th STREET

Friday, January 23rd--8 p. m.

ADMISSION: $1.20—$2.40

Tickets at . . . Bookfair — 133 West 44th Street, Jefferson School Bookshop — 575 - 6th Avenue. Local 65 Bookshop — 13 Astor Place . . . Conference Headquarters.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA AND THE FAR EAST
111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y. **LOngacre 4-3943**

115

Working sessions of the Conference to be held January 24th and 25th at the Hotel Roosevelt. For information apply to Organizing Secretary at Conference Headquarters.

Far Eastern Policy, Dec Conf.

National Conference on China and the Far East
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N.Y.
Tel: LOngacre 4-3943

Number L-1

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

On January 24 and 25, 1948, the deliberately obscured facts and implications of America's Far Eastern policy will be given a long needed airing at a National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East.

This conference, which will be held at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City, will be attended by delegated representatives and observers from labor unions, religious and fraternal groups, veterans organizations, educational organizations and other national groups. Private individuals also will attend as visitors.

The announced purpose of the conference is to examine the effects of our Far Eastern policy on political and economic conditions at home as well as in the great population centers of Asia. After the facts of our policy have been presented and discussed, the delegates will then discuss a program of legislative and educational action. This will be a working conference and all decisions will come out of floor discussion. These decisions will be implemented in whole or in part by each organization in its own way.

The Call to the conference has been issued by its three national chairmen: T.A. Bisson, Far East authority; Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, authority on colonial issues; and the Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs, leading New York lawyer and member of the City Council of N.Y.

Further information concerning the conference can be obtained from Stephen H. Fritchman, the organizing secretary, at 111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N.Y.

From: Bernard Seeman

uopwa #16-172

For Eastern Policy Dem Conf

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Saturday, January 24 at the Hotel Roosevelt Madison Ave. and 45th Street

9:00 - 10:00 AM Registration of Delegates, Observers and Visitors
Meeting of Sponsors

10:00 - 12:00 AM Opening Session

Chairman: Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs
Election of Conference Committee
Delegates' Hour: Opportunity to present questions to Experts on the Far East
Keynote Address: Hugh Bryson

1:30 - 4:30 PM What Is The United States Doing in China?

Israel Epstein - Frederick V. Field - Hugh DeLacy
Delegates Discussion: What Do We Do About It?

7:30 - 9:30 PM What Is The United States Doing in Southeast Asia?

Dr. Derk Struik - Bernard Seeman
Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, Premier of Kashmir
Delegates Discussion: What Do We Do About It?
Entertainment

Sunday, January 25

22-38

9:30 - 10:15 AM Memorial Service for Brigadier General Evans Fordyce Carlson

Chairman: Agnes Smedley

Speaker: Michael Straight
General Feng Yu-hsiang

Veterans of the Pacific Campaign will participate

10:30 - 12:15 PM What Is The United States Doing in Japan and Korea?

T.A. Bisson - Mark Gayn
Delegates Discussion: What Shall We Do About It?

2:00 - 4:30 PM Closing Session

Report of the Conference Committee:
Suggested Action Program
Discussion and Adoption of Program
Closing Address: Paul Robeson

uopwa 16

make folder

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22-38

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We would appreciate your indicating the names and addresses of persons or groups who might be interested also in subscribing to the African Transcripts.

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[National Conference on American...]

CALL *to a*
National Conference on American Policy In China and the Far East

Friday, Saturday and Sunday
January 23-25, 1948

Hotel Roosevelt
New York City

National Chairmen

T. A. BISSON
DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS
HON. STANLEY M. ISAACS

Organizing Secretary

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

"His Daily Rice" M. E. Kriensky
Courtesy Knoedler Art Galleries, N. Y.

"It is my considered opinion that future generations will regard the betrayal of the Chinese people by the American Government in the Truman Administration as one of the greatest errors ever made in American diplomacy."
Brig. Gen. Evans F. Carlson, U.S.M.C.

The three undersigned National Chairmen, call upon all interested organizations to send delegates and observers to a National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, to be held in New York City, January 23rd, 24th and 25th, 1948.

The Purposes of the Conference are to discuss and plan action on —

1. The halting of United States intervention in China and other friendly Far Eastern countries.
2. The carrying out of the democratic decisions of the Potsdam Agreement and the Moscow Conference regarding policies in Japan and Korea.
3. The relationship between Far Eastern policy and domestic well-being.
4. A program to achieve a genuinely democratic Far Eastern policy which alone can give any hope of peace.
5. Rallying all democratic Americans to support of such a program.

We Americans have always felt a pride and strength in our heritage as a democratic people. Our Government's present Far Eastern policy violates our most cherished American political beliefs and threatens our own democracy.

In China, the largest nation on earth, United States policy, through military, financial and political intervention, is aiding in the imposition of a backward, corrupt, and violently anti-democratic regime which the vast majority of the Chinese people themselves repudiate. The most reactionary elements in the United States are now scheming for further intervention on a scale which will subject the Chinese people to an autocracy dependent upon outside financial and military help—that is the United States—for its continued existence. This American intervention also violates the Charter of the United Nations.

In Japan, many observers, Americans and others, are deeply disturbed over the practically unilateral American occupation which seems less concerned about eradicating the reactionary elements responsible for Pearl Harbor than in now harnessing these elements to the dangerous ambitions of an anti-democratic American group.

In the Philippines, the American Government is giving energetic support to Filipino collaborationists and other betrayers of their country's independence; and by imposing upon the Philippines economic conditions inimical to their development as a free nation, is making a mockery of Philippine independence.

In Indonesia, the people struggling against their Dutch oppressors have been forsaken by an American policy evidently geared to safeguarding the status quo rather than to giving encouragement to those seeking freedom and a rising standard of living.

In Southern Korea, where American occupation forces now rule over people who were our allies in the war, economic chaos and political fascism are the fruits of American policy.

The American democratic heritage and destiny is now suffering what may prove irrevocable damage from the present Far Eastern policy of our Government. This policy is costing us tax-payers billions of futile dollars; it is postponing the healthy trans-Pacific trade we should be enjoying; it is creating conditions that contribute toward an economic depression here at home; it is fast making enemies of the millions of Asia who are our natural allies in the desire for a peaceful and democratic world: it is engendering international frictions which can easily lead us into another war.

It is time for democratic American citizens to act. In addition to organizational delegates and observers we invite individuals to attend as visitors.

This Conference will bring together citizens who wish to secure the facts and understand the issues related to Far Eastern policy, and to discuss the means of effective citizenship action on that policy. The Conference will assist the delegates and individuals to carry back to their organizations and communities the facts, insights, convictions and suggested methods of action necessary at this time. All decisions of the Conference will come out of floor discussion and, we hope, will be implemented in whole or in part, by each organization in its own way.

National Chairmen: T. A. BISSON
W. E. B. DuBOIS
STANLEY M. ISAACS

PROGRAM

Friday, January 23

8 P.M. — Conference Mass Meeting (*Place to be announced*) — City Center Casino 135 W. 55th Street

Speakers: Anna Louise Strong, First Hand Report on the Far East
Just returned from 1½ years in China and Northern Korea

Dr. James G. Endicott, Toronto
Recently returned China-born missionary for the United Church of Canada

DR. REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Saturday, January 24

9-10 A.M. — Registration of delegates and observers, and meeting of Sponsors

10-12 M. — Election of Conference Committee

Delegates' hour: Opportunity to present questions to experts on the Far East

Keynote Address: Hugh Bryson, San Francisco

2-5 P.M. — What is the United States Doing in China?*

8-10:30 P.M. — What is the United States Doing in Colonial Areas?*

Dramatic Presentation by Theatre Workshop

Sunday, January 25

9:30-10:15 A.M. — Memorial Service for Brigadier General Evans F. Carlson, USMC

Address by Michael Straight, Publisher, *New Republic*

10:15-12 M. — What is the United States Doing in Japan and Korea?*

2-4:30 P.M. — Report of Conference Committee

Adoption of Action Program

Closing Address: Paul Robeson

**The major portion of these sessions will be devoted to delegates' discussions of positive action on Far Eastern Policy.*

Adjournment

Additional Conference speakers include: Hugh DeLacy, Israel Epstein, Mark Gayn and the three co-chairmen, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, T. A. Bisson and Stanley M. Isaacs. Further speakers will be announced.

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(Partial Listing)

Organizations are listed for the purpose of identification only. Such listing does not indicate sponsorship of the Conference by these organizations.

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(continued next page)

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Address.....

I am an individual visitor..... Organizational delegate..... Appointed observer.....

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Indicate whether Nat'l..... State..... Local.....

Enclosed is $..... for registration fee ($3.00 per delegate)

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Address requests for housing accomodations to Organizing Secretary.

Contributions in support of the Conference are invited.

Address all communications to:

The Organizing Secretary Far Eastern Conference

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EAA/JB

Discrimination

12th July, 1948.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Julia E. Baxter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, suggested that we should get in touch with you on any points dealing with colour discrimination with which we might be engaged. Actually, at the moment, as we are just entering the holiday season we have not undertaken any special tasks but I thought we should take advantage of the suggestion to make contact with you.

I enclose for your information two pamphlets which we have issued which may be of interest to you. The pamphlet 'Civil Liberty in the Colonies' is now really out-of-date, as there have been a number of changes since then, but you might care to have a look at it. The pamphlet on the Australian aborigines unfortunately, is still quite correct.

We should be very glad to hear from you if there are any points in which you are specially interested on which you require information.

Yours sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Allen

General Secretary.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

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23-47-1

March 8, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association For The
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are deeply pleased to tell you that the Honorable Alexander S. Panyushkin, the new Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the United States, is to make his first public appearance and address in this country at a dinner we are arranging in his honor at the Hotel Commodore in New York on Tuesday evening, March 23rd, at 7:00 o'clock.

It will be most appropriate, we feel, if a number of distinguished American leaders in civic and cultural affairs join in the welcome to the Ambassador on this occasion. It is our plan to hold a reception for all honored guests in the hour preceding the dinner.

We cordially invite you to be a guest of honor at these events and we hope you may be able to accept our invitation.

When word comes from you, we shall place in your hands the proper cards of admission.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. Howard Melish

Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
National Chairman

WHM:jr
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March 10, 1948

Mr. William H. Melish
American-Soviet Friendship Inc.
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Melish:

I know that Dr. DuBois appreciates the invitation to attend the dinner honoring the Russian Ambassador to the United States, Alexander S. Panyushkin. Unfortunately, I regret to say that Dr. DuBois is away lecturing on the West Coast and will not return to New York until the middle of April. Consequently, he will be unable to accept the honor extended him.

Sincerely y urs,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

250-47

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

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April 3, 1948

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23-47-4

Dear Doctor DuBois:

May I first thank you for your willingness to add your name to the list of more than 150 prominent Americans who signed the protest against the release of "The Iron Curtain", a partial list of which is enclosed.

Since then, events have moved rapidly. Release of the film, now scheduled to open at the Roxy Theatre in New York the 5th of May, has apparently been timed to take advantage of the rising tide of anti-Soviet war hysteria. Eric Johnston's office, for example, in replying to the many protests they have received, are declaring that this "forthright picture" is the answer to events in Czechoslovakia.

The need for action is imperative. We know that you will agree with us that signing a statement is not enough. May we ask you to take the following steps to fight this vicious war propaganda film while there is still time?

1. Write, telephone and see the manager of your local theatre, urging him not to book "The Iron Curtain". Get your friends and the members of any organizations to which you belong to do the same, and let this office know the results.

2. Bring "The Iron Curtain" to the attention of all possible organizations in your community - church groups, women's clubs, trade unions, student organizations, nationality groups, etc. Urge them to go on record with a resolution of protest, such as the enclosed from the Madison, Wisconsin Ministerial Association. Send this to Mr. Spyros Skouras, President, Twentieth Century-Fox Films, 444 West 56 Street, New York City, and another copy to all your local movie theatres.

3. Try to get together a group of community leaders to go with you to visit local movie theatres to protest the release of "The Iron Curtain". If you are in a large city, there should be a 20th Century-Fox exchange or some other large movie chain office which will be very sensitive to the opinions of leaders in their community.

4. We have prepared the enclosed combination leaflet and mailing piece for use in this campaign, and we hope you will write us for quantities of them for your use.

Within the next few weeks, Twentieth Century-Fox will be trying to show this picture throughout the country. What you do NOW to protest the release of "The Iron Curtain" can help prevent the spread of war hysteria in your community.

Very sincerely yours,

Wm. Howard Melish

Reverend Wm. Howard Melish
National Chairman

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enc.

[Enclosure]

CHURCH SIGNERS OF

PROTEST AGAINST "THE IRON CURTAIN"

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Rev. Donald B. Cloward	Exec. Secy. (national) Council Christian Social Progress Northern Baptist Convention
Rabbi Shephard Z. Baum	Formerly, Director American Jewish Congress
Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom	Temple Beth Jacob, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan	Rabbinical Council of North America

######

uopwa/19-91
c.i.o.

230-47

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

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23-47-2

May 4, 1948

Dear Doctor DuBois:

The vicious war propaganda film, "The Iron Curtain", is scheduled to open in more than 300 theatres throughout the United States on or about the 12th of May.

The movie industry is apparently determined to utilize the current war drive in promoting this picture. Eric Johnston's office, for example, in mimeographed reply to the many protests they have received, is writing that this "forthright picture" is the answer to events in Czechoslovakia.

Advance publicity for the film (we have seen several examples) deliberately panders to the "hate-Russia" feelings whipped up by the reactionary press and red-baits all those opposing the use of the screen for war propaganda. How all of this neatly fits into the present war hysteria developed by the press can be seen in the article on "The Iron Curtain" in the April 26 issue of Newsweek.

However, the forces protesting the release of "The Iron Curtain" as an incitement to war are also increasing steadily. The force and fury of the reactionary press in countering the opposition to the film is an indication of the effectiveness of our campaign. To date more than 250 prominent Americans have joined you in adding their names to the statement of protest.

Hundreds of national organizations have gone on record opposing this picture. Only recently, the Associated Church Press at its annual convention approved a resolution urging its 112 member publications "to warn their readers of the potential dangers of this war propaganda". The recent national organizing conference of the Wallace movement also passed a resolution urging its forces to protest this picture.

In many cities delegations or representative committees have visited local exhibitors and have set up community-wide organizations to warn the public against this picture.

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In the short period of time left before the scheduled opening on May 12 you can take one further action to prevent the release of the picture. Mr. Skouras must be particularly sensitive to the criticism leveled against him because of his contradictory efforts. On the one hand he is cooperating with the United Nations as the Chairman of American Overseas Aid - United Nations Appeal for Children. A campaign is presently in full swing to raise funds for relief to children suffering as the result of war. On the other hand, as President of Twentieth Century-Fox, he is responsible for the release of "The Iron Curtain" to inflame and incite the American people and push us toward a third world war which would bring suffering, famine and death to the children of the world.

23-47-3

We therefore, urge that you instantly send Mr. Skouras an individual telegram for yourself and recruit other individuals of your community to do the same, urging him not to release this picture, citing the above contradiction. Address - Mr. Spyros Skouras, President, Twentieth Century-Fox Films, 444 West 56 Street, New York, N.Y.

We also hope you will be able to take steps in your community to mobilize and educate public opinion against this picture so that if it is shown people will comprehend the vicious propaganda implanted in this film. We particularly urge that you concentrate your pressure on the managers of your local theatres and those community organizations most likely to undertake concrete action.

Please let us know if there is any material or information that can be of help to you on this matter. We shall send it to you in any quantity you may desire.

Very sincerely yours,

Wm. Howard Melish

Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
National Chairman

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[Enclosure]

C
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P
Y

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, Inc.
114 East 32nd Street · New York 16, N. Y.
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May 3, 1948

The Editor
Newsweek Magazine
152 West 42nd Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir,

Your article, "The Movie That Hurts", in the April 26th issue of your magazine, indicates that you, as well as we, are in agreement on one point. "The Iron Curtain" is an important film. That you have placed it in your "National Affairs" section rather than in your movie column is indicative. You have thereby made clear that you, too, recognize that the film is a political vehicle rather than entertainment.

You have raised the question of censorship. We stand with you against all forms of censorship. However, the Film Industry itself has granted that "The Iron Curtain" was made in response to pressure, and that its production was, therefore, an acceptance of censorship. VARIETY, for example, on January 21st of this year in an article headlined "Censorship Results of Red Probe Felt as 'Curtain', 'Senator' Blasted", reported: "Since 'Iron Curtain' deals with the recent communist spy scare in Canada, it is also believed that Twentieth's release of the film would do much to assuage the feelings of (House Un-American Activities) Committee members."

Every agency, including your own magazine, binds itself by certain rules of good taste and public safety. The Movie Industry has clearly accepted such responsibility. It recently acceded to a self-imposed ban on the Capone pictures and other gangster epics because of the recognized effect of such films in stimulating juvenile delinquency. How much more immoral is a picture like "The Iron Curtain" which, in essence, would provoke mass murder by inciting to prejudice and war hysteria? If we -- the American people -- have any moral or ethical standards, certainly they have direct application to a film whose only purpose is the political one of leading us on to a third Armageddon in a single generation.

In your columns you convey the impression that this picture is an authentic version of what took place in Canada. Your writer says, "He (Zanuck) set out to film the proved record of Russia's attempts", etc. What proved record? Did you check Twentieth-Century's sources? We did.

This is what we -- and you could have -- found out. Richard Hirsch's account, "The Soviet Spies", was withdrawn from Canadian circulation by William Collins Son & Co., Toronto publishers of the book, and the following notice was sent to all booksellers on October 29, 1947:

> "The question of libel regarding this publication has arisen and we are instructing you to withdraw all copies from sale ... we would point out that the bookseller is as liable to an action for libel as the publisher. So it is in your own interest to act promptly."

Moreover, other Canadian and American publishers, including TIME and TRUE magazines, have paid substantial damage claims to several of the acquitted defendants. The Canadian Royal Commission Report, largely based on Gouzenko's testimony has been severely attacked by the Canadian Bar Association, and by church, civic and labor groups. The fact is that many of those named in the Report were never brought to trial and the Canadian Courts acquitted seven of the defendants named in the Report, indicating thereby that accusations contained in the Report could not be substantiated.

You mentioned in your article the production difficulties encountered by the location crew in Canada. You might well have said that these were mainly due to the refusal of the Canadian Government to lend its name to a furthering of this travesty on justice. According to the OTTAWA CITIZEN of Nov. 28, 1947, Acting Prime Minister St. Laurent, Clerk of the House Dr. Arthur Beauchesne, and Prime Minister King refused Director Wellman permission to shoot the film in Commons.

23c-47

Finally, insofar as Gouzenko's own credibility is concerned, his own statements proved false so many times that the TORONTO STAR was forced on April 24, 1947 to make the editorial observation that "Gouzenko's unsupported testimony has no value."

The danger involved in the showing of this picture has been recognized by many elements in American life. It is not, as you declare, a "left wing" protest. The threat of war, and the realization that pictures can inflame a war psychology and contribute to some new disaster, have drawn the attention of all kinds of Americans. Some of the 100 prominent Americans (the list now numbers in excess of 200) who have protested this particular film, whom you skip over in your account, include six Protestant Bishops, as well as other outstanding men and women of integrity, known throughout America. Organizations which have gone on record as opposing the release of "The Iron Curtain" include local religious groups, such as the Madison (Wisconsin) Ministerial Association, and the Associated Church Press which passed a resolution at its recent annual convention urging its 112 member publications "to warn their readers against the danger of its potential war propaganda."

The fact that none of the signers of the public protest had seen the picture, does not bother us as it does you. We had read the script and made certain charges against the picture on the basis of a careful study of its content. The Company has made no attempt to answer the charges that the picture is a direct incitement to war, that it is false in its appearance of documentation, and that it is a violation of the U.N. resolution against war-mongering. Instead, you have replied obliquely, descending to attacks upon us, and by your own omissions largely substantiating our case against this political editorial in celluloid.

We shall appreciate hearing from you with respect to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Wm. Howard Melish

Wm. Howard Melish,
Chairman

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

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May 26, 1948

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Dear Friend:

The Senate Judiciary Committee with indecent haste has called hearings on the Mundt Bill for Thursday, Friday and Saturday of this week, with the latter two days set aside for opponents of the bill.

All indications are that this has been done in an attempt to jam the bill through the Senate in the face of the powerful opposition voiced by all sections of the American people. National organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the A.F.L. in the person of its President, William Green, the C.I.O., the N.A.A.C.P. and many other religious, labor and civic organizations have branded the Bill as an attack on the very foundations of American democracy, and a Hitler-like piece of legislation which will set up a police state system of thought control.

As a person of prominence in public life who has spoken out on many important issues, your voice raised now can help immeasurably in defeating this legislation.

We urge that you immediately wire Senator Alexander Wiley, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, protesting the haste with which the hearings were called and demanding an extension of time for the opponents of the bill. If it is at all possible for you to come to Washington, we urge that you also notify Senator Wiley of your desire to appear before the Committee to testify in opposition to the bill. We ask that in addition you send copies of this wire to the Senators from your own State.

If you wish, we shall be glad to present a statement from you to be entered into the record of the Committee hearings or to be of whatever further assistance we can in this matter. But in any event we wish to emphasize the importance of your wiring Senator Wiley.

The survival of America's democratic institutions of freedom of speech, press and assembly is at stake. If we all do our part <u>now</u> I am sure we can win this battle.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. Wm. Howard Melish

Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
National Chairman

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[Nat'l Council of Amer-Soviet Friendship DC May, 1948]

A STATEMENT

calling for

THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF U.S.-U.S.S.R. DIFFERENCES

The exchange of notes between the United States and the Soviet Union has brought about a decisive change in the world situation. The fear of war has given way to the hope of peace -- a hope which it is the responsibility of all of us to keep alive.

Ambassador Smith's note of May 4 contained the clear statement that the door is wide open for full discussion and composing of our differences with the Soviet Union. Despite the Administration's subsequent disavowals of the offer, the fact remains that the U.S.S.R. has agreed to a discussion to establish good relations.

We cannot agree with the Administration viewpoint that the cold war policy has the support of the American people and is not subject to change. Recent weeks have seen mounting pressure for a new, peaceful foreign policy from widely varied groups. Religious, business and labor, women's and civic organizations representing millions of people have presented peace programs urging a cessation of war-breeding policies, and insisting that common grounds for American-Soviet agreement can and must be found.

Now comes the enthusiastic response to the American-Soviet exchanges throughout our country and the world. The American people clearly desire a peaceful settlement through conference.

Mr. Wallace's open letter to Premier Stalin was in tune with this trend. He declared that there are no differences between the two countries that cannot be settled, and offered a series of concrete proposals as a basis for negotiations. Premier Stalin welcomed this overture. He declared that the Wallace proposals could serve as a fruitful basis for American-Soviet agreement and international cooperation. He reaffirmed the position of the Soviet Government that "despite the differences in economic systems and ideologies, the co-existence of these systems and a peaceful settlement of differences between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are not only possible but undoubtedly necessary in the interests of a general peace."

We submit that these several exchanges offer an opportunity that must be grasped. The issues at stake are, indeed, of world concern, but a peculiar responsibility rests upon these two great nations to resolve their differences first so that over-all settlements become possible. Never before in the history of our nation has so much depended on the sincerity and ability which our government brings to the task of building the foundations of a lasting peace.

We, therefore, call upon our Government forthwith to arrest the prosecution of the cold war and to take immediate steps to arrange the scope, the place and the time of a conference with representatives of the Soviet Union for a peaceful settlement of our differences. Such a venture will win the gratitude of the war-weary millions throughout the world and the fullest support of the American people.

# # #

uopwa 19-91

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43C-47

June 8, 1948

Dear Friend:

I wrote recently to ask you to join other American leaders in endorsing a Statement calling upon our Government to take proper steps to bring about a conference between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. for the peaceful settlement of our differences.

We appealed to a limited number of prominent Americans, only three hundred, in fact. Some seventy-five have already given their endorsement.

We would like to publish the Statement and its signers at an early date in order to impress the people as well as our Government with the necessity for positive action on behalf of peace now. The door to peace must not remain closed.

It will add greatly to the strength of this release, when it is made, if your name is included. I urge again your consideration and favorable response.

A card for signature, with return envelope, is enclosed. To expedite arrival from a distance, the use of air mail would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Melish

Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
National Chairman

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23-47-5

Dinner Dall

August 4, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Three years ago I was a member of a committee of five Directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship empowered to select a new executive director for the Council. After long consideration we offered this important post to a Presbyterian minister who had proven his ability in the field of social action, the Reverend Richard Morford.

The Wood-Rankin Committee was threatening the National Council with an investigation of its activities. We placed before Mr. Morford the complete story of the Council and made it clear to him that acceptance of the directorship of our organization might involve him in grave personal decisions. With the full knowledge of these possibilities but with the conviction as to the importance of the Council's program, he accepted our invitation. Three weeks later he was subpoenaed to appear in Washington, where he was confronted with a demand for the books, correspondence and names of contributors of the National Council. On the advice of lawyers, who gave as their considered opinion that this demand was a direct infringement of basic constitutional rights, Mr. Morford refused to comply with the Wood-Rankin Committee's ultimatum. For this he was cited for contempt of Congress. Two years later, in May of this year, he was found guilty in the Federal Courts. His case is now on appeal under circumstances where, for the first time, the constitutional issues may be heard.

Richard Morford is playing a notable role in the defense of one of the most crucial rights accorded American citizens by their Constitution: the right to discuss and to challenge foreign policies of our Government when conscientious and loyal belief is convinced that such policies are not in the interests of the American people. His is not the only Contempt Case in which the American public has an important stake but it is the case, in the opinion of many lawyers, which most clearly and distinctly involved the First Amendment of the Constitution and demands a Supreme Court ruling of major importance.

To accord Mr. Morford the respect which we all feel for his courageous conduct, and for his splendid contribution to the fight for world peace on the basis of American-Soviet friendship, and to register the concern of thousands upon thousands of American citizens that the Courts defend the basic rights accorded by the Constitution in the face of such brazen invasions as those of the Wood-Rankin and Thomas-Rankin Committees of Congress, we are planning a Dinner in honor of Richard Morford at the Iceland Restaurant, 1680 Broadway, on Wednesday evening, September 29, 1948 at 7 P.M.

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Leane Zugsmith

I know that you will be eager to join with me in sponsoring this tribute to Dick Morford. We want to make it a personal tribute to his integrity. We hope thereby to strengthen his cause as he goes before the Court of Appeals. We want him to know that we appreciate his fidelity to the duties of true citizenship, and that we are all behind him.

Will you join me in such sponsorship by signing the enclosed card and sending it to me?

Faithfully yours,

Wm. Howard Melish

Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
National Chairman

23-47-6

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22-39-92

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PCA | *Progressive Citizens of America*

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. * MU 3-5580

January 29, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o NAACP
Department of Special Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The finger of opportunity and destiny is pointed at us. Although I have a million other things to do, I have accepted for a year the National Chairmanship of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council of the Progressive Citizens of America. At the organizing meeting held in Chicago on January 16th, you were elected member-at-large, and naturally I hope you can accept.

At the Chicago convention we wrote and adopted without dissent our policy and programs for 1948. It may be that the PCA itself will sublimate into something bigger and better on account of the work it naturally will undertake in the interests of the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace; but the ASP Division is to continue as at present, much enlarged we hope, and will take active part in many progressive public issues, besides the candidacy of Wallace.

The newly reorganized ASP is to have four regional chairmen; East, West, Middle West, and South, and also fourteen vice-chairmen, one from each craft and profession. The regions are expected to be "semi-autonomous" within the framework of the general policy and program. A large council, representing the crafts and professions in all the chapters, will have distinguished liberals elected as members-at-large, in addition to those selected by the local chapters.

We are asking Helen Keller, Dr. Albert Einstein and Jo Davidson to be Honorary Chairmen; and Dr. Linus Pauling, Dr. John J. DeBoer, Dr. Rufus Clement and Olin Downes to be Regional Chairmen.

Will you please let me know of your willingness to serve? Your reply should be addressed to me care of the Progressive Citizens of America, 205 East 42nd Street, N.Y.C. We expect to have secretarial and other office assistance to carry the burden of the work, and also a legislative agency in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Harlow Shapley

Dr. Harlow Shapley
Chairman, National Council of
Arts, Sciences and Professions

HS/drm

22-40-32

PCA
Progressive Citizens of America
205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. * MU 3-5580

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ELMER A. BENSON
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PAUL ROBESON
DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY
PAUL TISHMAN
J. RAYMOND WALSH
A. F. WHITNEY
BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

February 17, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On January 30th I wrote you urging that you consent to be a member-at-large of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions. Doubtless, under pressure of work the letter has been overlooked, but as it is important to complete our organization, I am writing again to tell you how much we would appreciate your accepting this position.

The following have already consented to serve on the Council: Thomas Mann, Jo Davidson, Max Weber, Lillian Hellman, Paul Robeson, Norman Corwin, Dr. Allan Butler, Dr. Maud Slye, Prof. Curtis MacDougal, Prof. Melville Herskovits, John Cromwell, Dr. Frederick Schuman, Prof. Thomas Emerson, John Howard Lawson, Howard Koch, Philip Evergood, Dr. Theodor Rosebury.

I am sure you will agree with us that the work of this Council is of vital importance to all professional people in maintaining the freedoms so important not only to cultural groups but to all American citizens.

Looking forward to your joining us, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harlow Shapley

Dr. Harlow Shapley
Chairman
National Council of Arts, Sciences
and Professions

HS/drm

Very glad to accept!
W. E. B. DuBois

22-40-33

February 21, 1948

Dr. Harlow Shapley
Progressive Citizens of America
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Shapley:

In reply to your letter of February 17 which has just come to my attention, I want to say that I shall be very glad to accept appointment as a member-at-large of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

(NAT. COUNCIL of F ARTS ..17

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
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22-39-90

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UD NEWYORK NY MAR 26 1948

PCA

DR W E B DUBOIS CARE WALKER WHITS OR ROY WILKINS

KY 409 EDGECOMBE AVE

I AM CALLING EMERGENCY MEETING OF NATIONAL COUNCIL ARTS SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS TUESDAY EVENING APRIL 6 AT 39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK CITY, TO CONSIDER STEPS IN ESTABLISHING ASP COUNCIL AS INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION IN LINE WITH THE DECISION ARRIVED AT BY NATIONAL PCA CONVENTION IN CHICAGO ON JANUARY 17TH. PROPOSALS WORKED OUT AT COUNCIL MEETING WILL BE SUBMITTED BY MAIL TO ALL MEMBERS WHO CANNOT ATTEND FOR COMMENT AND VOTE. HOPE VERY MUCH YOU CAN ATTEND. RSVP 39 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY.

DR HARLOW SHAPLEY CHAIRMAN NATIONAL ASP COUNCIL

230A MAR 27

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions]

March 30, 1948

Dr. Harlow Shapley
39 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Shapley:

Your wire of March 26 to Dr. DuBois has just come to my attention. The Doctor is out of the city and is not due to return until late in April. Consequently, he will be unable to attend the emergency meeting of the NCASP on April 6.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

PCA

[Nat. Council, April 6, 1948]

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

Minutes of the Meeting Held In New York City
April 6, 1948, 8:30 P. M.

22-39

Council Members Present at the Meeting: Dr. Harlow Shapley, Chairman, Jo Davidson, Hannah Dorner, Max Weber, George Pepper, Howard Fast, Theodor Rosebury
National ASP Director: Alice P. Barrows

All Local Councils were invited to send representatives as guests. The following attended: New York ASP: Adele Jerome, Director: Administrative Committee: Jonas Rosenfield, George Hindes, Jo Grant, Max Lieber, George Skolsky. Philadelphia: Manuel Solomon, Chairman, Art Division

---

Dr. Shapley opened the meeting by reviewing the decision reached at the ASP Conference, held in Chicago last January, that when the National and local PCA merged with the Third Party, the National Council would call a meeting to discuss the possibilities of establishing an independent National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Because many local PCA chapters have already taken such action, the present meeting was called to consider a resolution with regard to an independent National ASP to be submitted to all Council members for vote.

Mr. Jonas Rosenfield said that, in drafting the resolution, the position of the Council on the candidacy of Henry Wallace should be made clear so that the press could not misinterpret our decision to become an independent organization. It was agreed to include in the resolution paragraphs six and seven from the Council's statement of "Policy and Program". A suggestion to include in the resolution a presentation of the organizational set-up of the National Council was referred to Dr. Shapley.

Dr. Theodor Rosebury moved the adoption of the enclosed resolution to be submitted to all Council members for vote; seconded by Hannah Dorner; passed unanimously.

Alice Barrows, National Director of ASP, gave a report on the development and activities of the National Council in the past two months: List of the officers and members were submitted. Local ASP Councils have been organized in the following 18 cities and 15 states: Arizona, Tucson, Phoenix; California, Hollywood, San Francisco, Berkeley; Colorado, Boulder; Connecticut, New Haven; Illinois, Chicago; Maryland, Baltimore; Massachusetts, Boston; Missouri, St. Louis; New Hampshire, Wilton (Headquarters); New Jersey, Newark; New York, New York; Ohio, Cleveland; Oregon, Portland; Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Vermont, Putney (Headquarters).

Of the 15 states having local councils, 11 will have held their state conventions by the end of April.

Action on violations of civil liberties: A speaking tour has been arranged for April and May for the Hollywood writers and directors, who go on trial in Washington on April 11th, in the following places: Boston, Mass., Dartmouth College and the University of New Hampshire; New Haven, Connecticut; Baltimore, Maryland; Philadelphia, Pa.; Newark, New Jersey; Portland, Maine. Providence, Rhode Island; Chicago and St. Louis are possibilities. Those who will speak at these meetings are Adrian Scott, author of "Crossfire" and "Murder My Sweet", Dalton Trumbo, author of "Thirty-Seconds Over Tokyo" and John Howard Lawson author of "Action In The North Atlantic".

Max Weber, Vice-Chairman representing Art, has asked leading artists to join him in signing a letter protesting the action of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in demanding the destruction of Anton Refregier's mural on labor which is a part of the murals he is painting in the Rincon Hill Post Office in San Francisco. All these murals have been approved by the U. S. Commissioner of the Public Buildings Administration.

Action was also taken on the Condon case and letters are going to chapters on the proposed release on May 5th of THE IRON CURTAIN which has aroused protests from many organizations. Protests were also made to the State Department on its refusal to admit Osca Niemeyer, the world famous architect, to give lectures at Yale University.

Local councils are also being asked to urge their Congressmen to have the House Rules Committee bring to the floor the proposal for the United States to join the World Health Organization. The matter of inclusion of a panel on

health insurance in the National Health Assembly has been referred to the Council's Vice-Chairman representing medicine, Dr. Allan M. Butler. It was stated that it is important for all local councils to notify the National ASP office of violations of civil liberties or other attacks in the fields of the arts, sciences and professions.

She reported that two publications of the Council are now in press and should be ready for distribution in May, i.e., "The Policy and Program of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions", and "The Case Against The Un-Americans".

In the discussion which followed, Jonas Rosenfield of the New York ASP spoke of the urgent need of action in reference to the film "The Iron Curtain". The suggestion that a group of prominent scientists ask to see a showing of the picture before it opens was referred to Dr. Maud Slye, Vice-Chairman representing Science in the Council.

22-39

Howard Fast brought up the problem of action in reference to the Board members of the Joint-Anti-Fascist Committee. He said that it was almost certain that the appeal for a hearing by the Supreme Court of this case would be denied unless some action was taken. If this appeal is denied, it would set a precedent for all other cases. Paul Trilling, Director of New York State PCA, suggested, and it was so ordered, that O. John Rogge be consulted for suggestions of the most effective action to be taken in this case.

Dr. Shapley raised the question of the function and duties of the Regional Chairmen. George Pepper said that the Regional Chairman should be the liason between all the local councils of his region and the National office, keeping the National office informed of problems and accomplishments in his region, and strengthening local councils through regional conferences. As an example of regional action, the Midwest Council has called a meeting of the Midwest members of the National Council to confer with George Pepper on April 11, during the Chicago convention, relative to the resolution being submitted to all members.

Interim Administrative Committee

Hannah Dorner suggested that an Interim Administrative Committee be appointed by the chairman to draw up a plan of organization for the National Council to be submitted to the members of the National Council for approval. This committee would not make policy but refer recommendations to the National Council for consideration. Dr. Rosebury moved that Dr. Shapley appoint such a committee; seconded by George Pepper, passed unanimously.

Peace Conference

Mr. Pepper reported that the Hollywood Council is planning to hold a Peace Conference in California in May because they feel it is imperative that people in the arts, sciences and professions get together to discuss what they can do for the preservation of peace.*

Miss Dorner suggested that the most outstanding leaders in science, the arts, and professions hold a 2- to 3-day conference to discuss the following points:

1. How did we get where we are?
2. Where do we go if we continue on the present path?
3. How can we stop it?
4. What are the potentialities for a better world if we do?

This two-day conference would not be open to the public but the findings would be given at a mass meeting at the end of the sessions.

George Pepper moved that a committee be set up to draw up plans for such a Peace Conference to be held by the National Council, preferably by the end of May. Motion seconded by Dr. Rosebury, passed unanimously.

The question of the relationship of the Professional Division to ASP was brought up and a full report on this subject will be sent to all members and local councils in the near future.

*****

*He suggested that the National Council also hold such a conference in May.

(NAT. COUNCIL OF ARTS...)

PCA | Progressive Citizens of America

39 Park Avenue New York City 16 MU 6-5300

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22-29-87

April 9th, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

At a meeting of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions held in New York City on April 6th, the enclosed resolution was passed for submission to you and all other Council members for comment and vote.

In drawing up the resolution we have taken into consideration the following points: The action we now propose was approved at our meeting in Chicago last January. Immediate implementation of that decision is necessary because of the speed with which chapters of PCA are merging with the Third Party or Wallace-for-President Committees. Already many of our local councils are wiring us for guidance in view of these mergers.

Because it is important to confer on our status with the Executive Committee National Board of PCA at its next meeting, which will be held on April 22nd, I am asking that all members send me their replies and vote within ten days of the receipt of this letter. Miss Barrows will send you, under separate cover, the minutes of the April 6th meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Harlow Shapley

HARLOW SHAPLEY, Chairman
National Council of the Arts,
Sciences and Professions

HS: mab
uopwa-16

enclosures

[Enclosure]

PCA

Resolution Passed at a Meeting of The
National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions
New York City, April 6, 1948

To be Submitted to All Members of the National ASP Council for Vote

In many states, PCA chapters have merged into the Third Party or Wallace For President Committees. In July, it is expected that the National PCA will merge into the Third Party. It is necessary, therefore, to consider immediate action on the organizational policy of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, as voted at a conference of delegates last January.

2-2-39

The world-wide crisis, the threats to democratic freedom at home, the failure to meet the pressing social and economic needs of the American people, make imperative a strong, effective voice for the arts, sciences and professions. We must act immediately on the issues confronting us.

We can do so most effectively through an organization which devotes itself to the vital issues that affect us in our work as artists, scientists and professionals and also as citizens.

As stated in the preamble of our statement on "Policy and Program" adopted in Chicago last January:

"In every crisis, American artists, scientists and professionals have played an honorable part in the fight for national progress and welfare. The historic tasks that face the American people today place special obligations upon professionals and cultural workers.

"We, of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, while basically non-partisan, have always supported those candidates of whatever political affiliation, best qualified to carry forward a genuine program in the best interests of humanity and progress. We have a program! It is a program that carries forward the hopes and achievements of the Roosevelt period. Today these hopes and achievements are embodied in the program and candidacy of Henry A. Wallace."

Be it resolved, therefore, that in accordance with the policy voted in Chicago last January, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions immediately confer with the National Board of PCA with a view to the establishment of an independent organization to be known as the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and that all local ASP Councils hold similar conferences with state or local PCA chapters, where they still exist, in order to effectuate similar action. It is our hope that the independent National Council of ASP can be established early in May.

# # # #

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

~~102 EAST 30TH STREET, NEW YORK 16, N.Y. CA 5-5300~~
Algonquin Hotel, 59 West 44 Street, New York 18, N. Y. MU 7-4400

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Chairman
HARLOW SHAPLEY

Regional Chairmen
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SAM MOORE
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THEODOR ROSEBURY
FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

May 24, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Dr. Shapley has asked me to send you the following communications:

Statement in re the recent exchange of notes between Bedell Smith and Molotov:

The enclosed statement was written by Dr. Shapley with the purpose of having it signed by the individual members of the National ASP Council and other prominent individuals and then to be released to the press.

If you approve this statement, will you please sign it and send it to me by return mail. This will indicate that you are willing to have your name used as one of the signers in the press release.

Plan of organization for National ASP Council

The enclosed proposed Plan of Organization for the National ASP Council was drafted at the meeting of the Interim Administrative Committee on May 9th in New York City. I am enclosing a copy of the minutes of that meeting.

The Plan of Organization must be approved by all Council members before it becomes effective. Therefore, will you please send your vote and comment on the enclosed blank not later than June 3rd, so that we may begin operating under the By-Laws as soon as possible?

Sincerely yours,

Alice P. Barrows

Alice P. Barrows
National Director
Arts, Sciences and Professions Council

apb/drm
enclosures

2-28-06

National Council of the Arts, Sciences & Professions

Minutes of the Meeting of the Interim Administrative Committee
Held Sunday, May 9th, 1948 from 1:00 P.M. to 5:00 P. M.
Room 30 - 39 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Council members present at the meeting: Dr. Maud Slye, Chairman, Dr. Allan M. Butler, Jonas Rosenfield, Howard Fast, Hannah Dorner, George Pepper; Alice P. Barrows, National ASP Director.

Representatives from Local Councils: Mr. H. Castleman, Mrs. H. Castleman - Baltimore ASP; Ruth Emery, Massachusetts ASP; George Hindes, Ann Coleman, Isabel Johnson - New York ASP.

In the absence of Dr. Shapley, Dr. Maud Slye acted as chairman at his request. After reading of the minutes of the April 6th meeting, Dr. Slye announced that the chief business of the meeting was to draw up recommendations for the organization of the National Council, and that a sub-committee had drawn up some proposals for organization which she asked the National Director to read.

22-28

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION PROPOSED

After some discussion, the enclosed proposed plan of organization was read and approved, paragraph by paragraph and as a whole. The two points on which there was some discussion were first, the question of representation of the local councils on the Board. It was pointed out that in the plan of organization adopted at Chicago each local council would elect one representative from each craft or profession in its council. Hannah Dorner suggested that there be a representative from each organized craft or professional division. Dr. Slye said that in Chicago the ASP is not set up with divisions for each craft or profession. They have a science group including doctors and scientists and an arts group, and therefore on the basis suggested by Miss Dorner their representation would be very small. Mr. Castleman said that the situation in Baltimore was the same as in Chicago. It was finally agreed that the representation should be "local council members shall be elected locally on the basis of one member or proxy, one from the sciences and one from the professions, and, in addition, one member from each organized craft or profession."

The second point on which there was some discussion was the matter of dues. The question of dividing the dues between the local and National Council was discussed and it was finally agreed that the minimum dues should be $1.00. That they should be collected by the local councils annually and should be retained by the local councils. It was pointed out that it was extremely important that the local councils feel the responsibility for helping to support the National office.

George Pepper suggested that the local councils should help support the National office by turning over to the National a certain percentage of the total income of each council, the dues to be counted as part of the total income. It was pointed out that in the case of Hollywood and New York the percentage would have to be higher than in the case of the other councils. As a result of this discussion the following was agreed upon: That a Finance Committee of the National Board be appointed by the Executive Committee which shall be responsible for the finances of the Council. The finance Committee shall work out plans for the financial obligation of local councils to the National by consultation with each local council.

It was moved, seconded and carried that the Executive Committee of the Board should consist of "the honorary chairman, the chairman, four regional chairmen, national representatives of the crafts and professions including all the vice-chairmen, one representative or proxy from each local council, and three members at large from each of the regions. It was voted unanimously that each local council would elect its own representative or proxy from each local council, and that the regions, through their Regional Chairmen, would nominate three members from each region.

Since the honorary chairman, chairman, four regional chairmen and the vice-chairmen had been elected in Chicago it remained to elect national representatives of the crafts and professions exclusive of the vice-chairmen. The following were nominated by Hannah Dorner, seconded by George Pepper and unanimously elected: Art-Robert Gwathmey; Film-Bosley Crowther; Writer-Mark Van Doren; Music-Norton Gould; Radio-Bob Heller; Science-Theodor Rosebury; Medicine-Dr. Leo Davidoff; Law-Martin Popper; Building Industries-Henry Wilcox; Press & Advertising - Richard Watts, Jr.; Social Service- Mary Van Kleeck; Joseph H. Levy, Louis A. Berne. Hannah Dorner suggested that the facancies in Theatre, Education and Clergy be left open to be filled in in consultation with the divisions. This was accepted unanimously.

PEACE CONFERENCE

Hannah Dorner reported on the plans for the peace conference. She opened by reading the correspondence between Dr. Shapley and Dr. Einstein which initiated the plans for the conference. She reported that this was to be an off-record conference of 40 or 50 leading intellectuals to examine the following points: How is this "cold war" boomeranging on us? What would be the physical, economic and social consequences of a new world war, and what steps can be recommended to avert a catastrophe to civilization. Miss Dorner said that a small meeting was called to discuss plans for the conference. At this meeting were Dr. Ernst Boas, Philip Morrison, Ernest Simmons, Theodor Rosebury, Carl Binger, George Pepper and Miss Dorner. It was decided at that time to use the above mentioned questions as a framework for the conference. She said it was the unanimous opinion of the people present at the planning meeting that this conference would be effective only if an intensive public relations campaign followed. She also said that plans for a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall were being discussed. The National Council of the ASP will be the sponsor. The proposed dates for the conference are June 5th, 6th and 7th and the mass meeting on June 8th.

George Pepper reported that plans were under way to hold a conference of this type in California simultaneoulsy with the conference in New York.

MUNDT BILL

Alice Barrows reported that an action directive was sent to all local ASP councils on the Mundt Bill. She asked the representatives from local councils present at the meeting to bring back to their membership the urgency of the issue and start wire, petition and letter campaigns. George Pepper suggested that delegations from ASP be formed within the states to visit senators and congressmen on the issue.

A resolution on the Mundt Bill was proposed to be released by the National Council. Some changes were suggested preliminary to sending it to Dr. Shapley for his approval before releasing it.

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Dr. Slye brought up the importance of the WHO, and it was agreed that Dr. Butler would take the necessary steps to start Congressional action on the resolution that the U.S.A. become a member of the WHO. It was further agreed that he draft a resolution on this subject to be released by the National ASP, and that George Pepper get in touch with Helen Gahagan Douglas to see if she would start action in Congress on this issue.

***

Hannah Dorner suggested that a Political Rights Defense Committee be set up within the National Council in liason with universities to fight against any threat to security of professionals because of political activity.

***

Hannah Dorner suggested that the ASP write a "Platform for Cultural Workers" to be submitted to all political parties and candidates. She said that Mr. Wallace had stated that he would be glad to include such a program as a plank in the platform of the New Party. It was

moved, seconded and carried that a committee be set up to work out such a program and that local councils be asked to send in suggestions.

FINANCE

Hannah Dorner explained that $5,000 to $10,000 was needed for the first 6 weeks of operation. This would take care of rent, supplies, telephone service etc. It was moved, seconded and carried that an Interim Finance Committee to consist of Jerome Chodorov, Sylvia Friedlander, Lee Sabinson, Vic Samrock, Hy Brown, Charles Irving; Horace Titus; Herbert Ahrend, Maurice Bergman, Mrs. Edie Harburg, Henry Wilcox, Max Vogel, Eddie Choate, be set up and charged with the responsiblity of getting the initial funds.

***

On motion the meeting adjourned at 5:00 P.M.

22-26

drm

22-28

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
Proposed Plan of Organization Adopted At The
Meeting of the Interim Administrative Committee
Sunday, May 9, 1948

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

A Constitutional Convention shall be called no later than January, 1949. Until this Convention, it is proposed that the following temporary by-laws be adopted:

PROPOSED TEMPORARY BY-LAWS

The Board of the National Council shall consist of:

One honorary chairman, one chairman, four regional chairmen, vice-chairmen representing each craft and profession, and members from the four regions, East, West, South and Mid-West; a secretary and a treasurer; and local council members elected locally on the basis of one member or proxy from the arts, one from the sciences and one from the professions and, in addition, one member from each organized craft or profession.

The National Board shall meet quarterly in New York and Chicago, alternately. A quorum shall consist of 20 per cent of the members of the Board.

Executive Committee of the Board:

The Executive Committee shall consist of the honorary chairman, the chairman, four regional chairmen, national representatives of the crafts and professions including all the vice-chairmen, one representative or proxy from each local council, and three members at large from each of the regions.

The Executive Committee shall meet once a month on a fixed date. A quorum shall consist of 25 per cent of the members.

Powers of the Executive Committee: Between the quarterly sessions of the National Board to which it is responsible, the Executive Committee shall implement the policy and program of the National Council, adopted in Chicago, January, 1948. Any new policy shall first be submitted by referendum to the National Board for approval.

The Executive Committee shall have power to appoint an Administrative Committee which shall function between meetings of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall appoint the director.

Finance Committee

There shall be a Finance Committee appointed by the Executive Committee which shall be responsible for the finances of the Council and shall render a statement of finances to the National Council annually.

Dues:

The basic minimum annual dues shall be $1.00, to be collected locally and retained by the local councils. All present ASP members who have paid dues since January 1st, 1948, shall be members until January, 1949.

A (Copy) ~~July~~ June 30, 1948 Copy and enclose in Mismoto Mr. White Sir Shapley

To the President and the Department of State

Twice this year our government has rejected Soviet offers to enter direct negotiations aimed at an understanding between the two nations. Such an attitude on the part of our government has many dangers; it may lead to a break with the Soviet Union; it may lead to so-called "preventive" war which would be suicidal war. The influence of our military men, encouraged by what is believed to be temporary military superiority, endangers the peace of the world. The cold war, with its militarization program and its attacks on our civil liberties, not only increases the threat of a real war but endangers the democratic institutions of our country.

The democratic tradition, however, is very much alive throughout this land, and the desire for a peaceful solution of the international problem is mounting everywhere.

Realizing that the American people must make their voices heard while there is still time, we, the undersigned

1. Advocate the calling of immediate conferences between the USA and the USSR to reach agreement on basic differences; we also advocate the resumption of conferences between scientific and cultural organizations of the USA and the USSR.

2. Insist that capitalism and communism can and must peacefully co-exist. USA-USSR cooperation won the last war, and abandonment of that cooperation led us to the present crisis.

   In the coming elections, it is important that the American people judge candidates exactingly by their commitment to promote USA-USSR conferences and to lay foundations for a modus vivendi with the Soviet Union and subsequently for the establishment of a permanent peace.

Name_____

Address_____

_____

Organization_____

330-36-10

Advisory Committee

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22-40-21

July 2, 1948

Dr. Harlow Shapley
National Council of the Arts,
Sciences and Professions
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Shapley:

I enjoyed the meeting of June 30 very much and am, personally, in full accord with your objectives. I left my signature on one of the statements. I do not, however, have the right to represent the NAACP officially, and although, I am putting the matter before the Secretary and the Board of Directors, I doubt if they will take any action. Partly, this is because the NAACP has always sought to restrict itself so far as possible to the matter of race discrimination, particularly in the United States. Usually it has refused to go outside this field.

Personally, I feel that in the present extraordinary crisis, the NAACP ought to regard the fight against war as one of the first items in its fight against race prejudice. I have, therefore, written the Secretary and the Board od Directors asking them if they would be willing to sign this statement. As I have said, I do not think they will but I have done all that I can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. . . . MU 2-7464, EXT. 71-72

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FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

July 16, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You are cordially invited to a reception in honor of Henry Wallace by members of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions on Sunday, July 25 at 5 p.m. in the Blue Room of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia.

We are most eager to make this an outstanding demonstration of support for Wallace by people in our fields. Please make every effort to come.

Would you be good enough to telephone your acceptance to MUrray Hill 7-2161? We'll be glad to furnish transportation information.

Sincerely,

Jo Davidson
Honorary Chairman

Harlow Shapley
Harlow Shapley
Chairman

HOWARD FAST
43 WEST 94TH STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

September 11, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Natl Assoc. for Advancement Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Uncensored, which is the magazine of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and the Professions, is planning a special election issue. In this issue, we hope to have statements by all of our Executive Board members, giving in brief the reason why they support the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace.

As a member of our National Board, would you be kind enough to write us a statement of 150 words, or less, commenting on Mr. Wallace, on his campaign, or on any of the reasons why you support him. We need this material by the 20th of September.

If you are pressed for time, even a paragraph will do, so long as you send us some sort of comment.

Sincerely,

Howard Fast

Howard Fast

1. Kind of man
2. His Character
3 U.S. War
4 understand Russia

45-2-536

45-2-536

Memorandum

To: Mr. Howard Fast

From: W. E. B. Du Bois

Subject: Henry Wallace

Date: September 15, 1948

I am voting for Henry Wallace for president of the United States for four reasons:

1. Because of the kind of man that he is; his unassuming friendliness, his willingness to meet opposition and injustice without anger and especially because he is a clean and honest example of the kind of citizen that America and the world needs.

2. I resent the kind of treatment which he has received. It was nothing less than a tragedy for Roosevelt to surrender to the politicians and not insist upon Wallace's nomination as vice president in 1944. What a difference it would have made to the world! And again, Mr. Wallace takes a speech to President Truman, reads it over to him and asks consent for its delivery; Mr. Truman consents, and then when the speech arouses opposition turns around and asks for Mr. Wallace's resignation. That kind of treatment to an honest man ought to be resented.

3. I vote especially for Henry Wallace because he is against war, because he knows that ideas cannot be pounded into or out of peoples heads by force, and that in this day war is the most outrageous and tragic thing to which a nation can resort.

4. Finally, I am voting for Mr. Wallace because he is willing to understand Russia, to work for settlement with her, to remember that she is a great and independent country, and that while he may not agree with all her ideas and methods, nevertheless, he knows that we have got to get on in t is world with people with whom we do not agree and we cannot put force in place of reason and understanding.

WEBD/lm

35-2-383

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. . . . MU 7-2161

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MAURICE B. VISSCHER

22-28-07

September 18, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As an organization of independents supporting the candidacy of Henry Wallace, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions is planning to release the enclosed statement for which we hope to have many hundreds of signers from among leaders in our fields.

Such a statement, if released around the first week of October, will aid immeasurably in reaching the independent voter and making votes for Wallace among the half million voters the polls indicate are still undecided. The statement will also be used in a full page ad in the New York Times and, if funds are available in papers in key metropolitan areas. It can have a great effect on the campaign.

Will you serve as an initiating sponsor? Please phone or wire your acceptance collect immediately since time is short and the need is urgent.

Cordially,

Hannah Dorner

Hannah Dorner
Executive Director

HD:ew
Encl:

These educators may no longer practice their professions because they dared to exercise their right to speak as citizens...

DR. GEORGE PARKER
PROF. JAMES BARFOOT
ELEANOR R. DUSHANE
DEAN LUTHER E. MacNAIR
EMILY NOACK
RICHARD G. MORGAN
PROFESSORS GUNDLACH, EBY, ETHEL, BUTTERWORTH, JACOBS AND PHILLIPS

Support these victims of bigotry at...

"ACADEMIC FREEDOM RALLY"

ST. NICHOLAS ARENA, 69 West 66th St., N.Y.C., SUNDAY, OCT. 10, 1948 at 8 P.M.

Speakers: DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY, DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS, NORMAN MAILER, ROSE V. RUSSELL

AND SOME OF THE DISMISSED EDUCATORS

A Dramatic Presentation — "THE ATTACKED"

Tickets:
Orchestra $1.20
Balcony 60¢

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

49 W. 44th ST.
Room 71
MU. 7-2161

33C-38-7

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. . . . MU 7-2161

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MAURICE B. VISSCHER

October 12, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please accept our thanks for the invaluable contribution you made to the success of our Conference on Academic Freedom. Both the Conference and the Rally, and the publicity surrounding them, without question brought the issue before people who had been unaware of its existence.

Dr. Miller and I feel that the Conference served effectively to launch the Bureau on Academic Freedom. We are most hopeful that the Bureau will be successful in the important work it has set out to do.

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Hannah Dorner

Hannah Dorner

HD:ma

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

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STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

23-38-5

December 10, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb AVenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosed statement is the proposed call to a Cultural Conference on World Peace, to be held in March. We are most anxious to have your approval of this and to be able to use your name in a letter to other leaders in the cultural fields, asking them to become initiating sponsors of the Conference.

Would you be good enough to telephone our office as soon as possible and let us know if we may have your acceptance?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Hannah Dorner

Hannah Dorner

encl.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

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STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

December 10, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am terribly sorry, but in our great haste to get the newly mimeographed call to the Conference, I'm afraid we omitted one full page of text.

At any rate, a complete copy is enclosed.

Please forgive our oversight.

Sincerely,

Muriel Alexander

Muriel Alexander
assistant to Hannah Dorner

[Enclosure]

PROPOSED CALL FOR PEACE CONFERENCE
AS SUGGESTED AT THE MEETING NOVEMBER 29th
HOME OF JO DAVIDSON

As American artists, scientists, and professionals, we aspire to enrich the sum of our country's culture, and contribute something to the happiness and progress of people everywhere.

With many of our colleagues, we hold these truths to be self-evident for our time:

That in this One World, no man is an island unto himself.

That those who seek the illusion of safety in an ivory tower cannot escape the risk of the atom bomb and the concentration camp.

That war - or even preparations for war - inevitably disrupts scientific and cultural advance, and perverts the creative gifts by drafting them in the service of destruction.

Yet today there is a threat of war. With the world in tension, peace, the living standards, and democratic rights of all people are imperilled.

We believe that in the November elections, the majority of the American people repudiated reaction, voting for a program of economic and social advance. We are convinced, however, that this progressive domestic policy is unachievable and incompatible with a cold war foreign policy.

In the period since the initiation of the cold war policy, we have seen alarming consequences for intellectual and cultural progress.

Science has come largely under the control of the military, restricting its development for peaceful purposes.

Free international exchange, which is the life-blood of the arts, sciences and professions, is threatened.

(More)

230-38-4

In our schools and universities, academic freedom is facing curtailment and censorship and self-censorship are being imposed on our writers, on the motion picture industry, the theatre and the radio.

The cold war imperils the inalienable right of the American people to listen to all shades of opinion, discuss them, and judge for themselves.

The cold war is a costly war. Instead of boot-training, this year's $15 to $18 billion war budget could vastly improve our housing, health and educational facilities and subsidize a program for cultural growth and expansion.

The cold war policy has led to our open intervention with arms and dollars or both for the support of corrupt and unworkable governments in Greece and China. These expenditures have brought neither economic recovery nor political stability, but instead have encouraged civil war. On a number of critical occasions our government has by-passed the United Nations, first by refusing to continue joint international aid through UNRRA, and most blatantly in its policy toward the creation of the new state of Israel. A large portion of Marshall Plan funds are being used to rebuild Germany which started two world wars. And an alliance with Hitler's ally - Franco - is being fostered as a "necessity" of the cold war.

33c - 38-5

The cold war has been costly in material, moral and human terms. Who can reckon the cost of a new world war, in the atomic age?

We agree that mankind must not pay that cost beyond all reckoning. Whatever may be our views in regard to the social, political and economic policies of the Soviet Union, we agree that it is necessary to re-establish American-Soviet understanding which alone can make peace possible.

We do not think the question of whether or not capitalism and socialism can exist together worthy of debate. Both do exist. The only question worth discussing is how to restore the mutual acceptance of that fact which brought victory in World War II, and which alone can avert World War III.

(More)

These are the considerations that have determined us to call together in a Cultural Conference for World Peace American artists, scientists and professionals; to meet, to discuss, and to come to agreement on the central question of peace as it affects our work and our aspirations in the various fields of culture.

We call upon those of no one party but of all parties, on all men of good will, to join with us.

23C-38-6

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. . . . MU 7-2161

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22-26-05

December 16, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will remember that Harlow Shapley, Olin Downes and Jo Davidson wired you to join with a small group of artists and professional people on November 29th to discuss the need for a Cultural Conference on World Peace. As a result of that meeting, the enclosed call was drafted, submitted to and signed by many artists, scientists and professionals. Space for the conference has been reserved at the Waldorf Astoria for the weekend of March 25-26th, the eve of the opening of the UN.

On Wednesday evening, December 22nd, at 8 P.M., at the ASP headquarters in the Iroquois Hotel, 49 W. 44th Street, we are meeting again to discuss programming the keynote dinner and the various panels of the conference. Feeling that you agree with us on the pressing need and the world-wide significance of this Conference, and knowing that you have a great deal to contribute toward the planning of it, I urge you to be present at the December 22nd meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Hannah Dorner

Hannah Dorner

hd/dk
enc.

[Nat'l Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions]

PROPOSED CALL FOR PEACE CONFERENCE
AS SUGGESTED AT THE MEETING NOVEMBER 29th
HOME OF JO DAVIDSON

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That war - or even preparation for war - disrupts scientific and cultural advance, and perverts creative gifts by drafting them in the service of destruction.

* * *

Today there is a threat of war. With the world in tension, peace, the living standards, and democratic rights of the American people are imperilled.

We believe that in the November elections, the majority of the American people repudiated reaction, voting for a program of economic and social advance. We are convinced, however, that this progressive domestic policy is incompatible with and unattainable in a so-called cold war foreign policy.

In the period since the initiation of the cold war policy, we have seen alarming consequences for intellectual and cultural progress.

Science has come largely under the control of the military, restricting its development for peaceful purposes.

Free international exchange, which is the life-blood of the arts, sciences and professions, is endangered.

(More)

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(More)

discussing is how to restore the mutual acceptance of that fact which brought victory in World War II, and which alone can avert World War III.

These are the considerations that have determined us to call together in a Cultural Conference for World Peace, American artists, scientists and professionals; to meet, to discuss, and to come to agreement on the central question of peace as it affects our work and our aspirations in the various fields of culture.

We call upon those of no one party but of all parties, on all men of good will, to join with us.

22-28

Copies of statements, etc will follow.

MINUTES

December 17, 1948 meeting of the National Board of

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

Chairman: Dr. Harlow Shapley

Present: Jo Davidson, Hannah Dorner, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Philip Evergood, Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, Howard Fast, Joseph Fleischer, Sidney Fox, Shirley Graham, Lillian Hellman, Carmelita Hinton, J. J. Joseph, Jack Kamaiko, Joseph H. Levy, Dr. Luther K. MacNair, Professor Philip Morrison, Michael M. Nisselson, Jonas Rosenfield, Jr., O. John Rogge, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Herman Shumlin, Paul Strand, Max Weber, Henry Willcox.

Guests: Florence Davidson, Dr. Clyde R. Miller, Maxine Wood.

Dr. Shapley opened the meeting with discussion on the ASP legislative program. He recalled the ASP four-point program, as recommended by the Executive Committee and included in the minutes of that meeting, November 16: 1 - Peace; 2 - Domestic legislation; 3 - Civil Liberties; 4 - Cultural activities.

ASP Legislative Program

a. Dr. Fairchild presented the report on Federal Aid to Education (copy attached). It was amended to include a demand that state grants be withheld from schools practicing discrimination. Dr. Shapley reported that he had written Senator Thomas of Utah (Chairman of the Senate Education and Labor Committee) and that federal aid to education had first priority on his list.

b. Mr. Levy presented the report on Social Security, first explaining that this was not based on discussion with our Social Welfare Division, but that its content, generally, had been approved by them. (Copy attached)

c. Mr. Willcox presented the report on housing, announcing that the Building Industries Division stood by the housing program as prepared by them and as set forth in the Progressive Party platform. It was felt that the prospects of putting it in effect were improved by the Democratic victory but that the ASP should put on the record their more progressive viewpoint in order to pressure for enactment of an adequate program. The Division is not spending time working out aids for private building industry, but for slum clearance, housing projects, etc. America can be completely rebuilt in ten years.

d. Dr. Shapley presented, in outline form, the plans for a National Science Foundation, stating that work was now going on in Washington on a new NSF bill.

e. Mr. Strand presented the Fine Arts program. (Copy attached.)

f. Memorandum on a health program was not ready at the time of the meeting. Copy is attached for your information.

(more)

General Remarks

Miss Dorner amplified the report by pointing out that many of our legislative demands were incorporated in the Democratic Party platform. It is our job to see that they are realized. An 18 billion dollar military budget is incompatible with a well-subsidized housing, health, social security and arts program, etc. We must put the Democratic Party on the spot by creating mass interest in these demands and apply pressure in Washington on Congressmen in a coalition relationship similar to that of 1944 and 1946. It would be the job of the Washington office of ASP to put our special services to use on the Hill on the legislation we are most anxious to see passed. Field chapters were urged to get local delegations to visit their local Congressmen during Christmas week to present our legislative program. A plan was also announced to get ASP people together in Washington about January 15 to meet with Congressmen and Senators, set up our Washington operation, and center our legislative activity there.

All reports were moved, seconded and accepted by the Board.

*****

Miss Dorner introduced Jack Kamaiko, ASP's new Administrative Director.

Dr. Shapley welcomed Michael M. Nisselson, President of the Amalgamated Bank, as the National Treasurer of ASP.

Finances

Mr. Nisselson presented the financial report and expressed confidence in the future financial stability of the organization. The office was congratulated on its capable handling of funds to date. Several specific fund raising events were discussed -- a dinner at the Waldorf Astoria prior to the Cultural Conference on World Peace; the preview theatre party for the new Arthur Miller play, "Death of a Salesman;" and a January 9 rally in New York calling for the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee.

It was moved, seconded and approved that the Council authorize the merger of the Administrative and Finance Committees, rather than set up a separate Finance Committee. The Council was also authorized to add to this, if necessary, and to make temporary loans, as needed, to cover operating expenses of the National Council, handling of these to be referred to the Administrative and Finance Committee.

The National Council budget of $65,000, as given in Mr. Nisselson's report, was approved by the Board.

Cultural Conference on World Peace

Miss Wood, Director of the "Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace", presented a progress report on the Conference. It was agreed that such a conference was long overdue. The Conference will open with a dinner at the Waldorf Astoria on March 25, with full and panel meetings on the 26 and 27. These dates were selected because of their closeness to the opening of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York, April 1. We hope to get some leading European

(more)

22-28

intellectuals to attend - PMS Blackett, Benjamin Britten, Gunnar Myrdal, a Soviet music guest - Shostakovich or Prokofieff, Sean O'Casey, Louis Aragon, Anna Seghers, Picasso. She reported also that we are now trying to get more sponsors and for more of a nationwide representation.

Discussion on the Conference

Dr. Fairchild suggested that the Call to the Conference be amended to read (page 1, paragraph 4) "... concentration camp of their responsibilities as citizens."
Mr. Rogge suggested we seek more scientists as sponsors, anthropologists, economists, psychoanalysts, etc.
Mr. Nissolson suggested we seek representation from South and Central America and Canada.
Mrs. Hinton suggested more educators be added.
Dr. Shapley pointed out the importance of the "glamor" people for press and radio coverage, even though the project was most serious.
Additional names suggested as initiating sponsors of the Call are Robert M. Hutchins, Brock Chisholm (WHO), Robert Lynd, Torres Bodet, director general of UNESCO, many from the UN roster.
Mr. Fast asked that the Board be empowered to send a delegation to the Inter-American Conference on Peace to be held in Mexico early in 1949, and to report back to us on it.
Dr. Shapley proposed that Trygve Lie be invited. He also stressed the need for real follow up -- to get it out to the grass roots. He proposed also that we print reports of the Conference, send them out to all schools, organizations, etc., and to be aggressive about peace. People are really concerned about 8 out of every 10 dollars going to pay for wars, past and future. It is not our job to sell people already sold on peace, but to sell the idea to new ones.
Miss Dorner proposed that two of the leading intellectuals be asked to stay here for two or three weeks to travel to 15 or more cities for similar meetings.

It was also urged that prior to the Conference, meetings on it be held in out-of-town areas, at which leading local ASP people would discuss the panels, send delegations to the New York Conference, and to participate more fully in the project.

Dr. Miller proposed the setting up of a Clergy Division, to be headed by Dr. Guy Emery Shipler of the "Churchman", who has expressed interest in working with us. Such a division would be of enormous help in follow-up to the Conference.
Dr. Shapley suggested that forums be held around the country based on our published Conference reports.

Campaign to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee

Miss Dorner reported on the drive for abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee, discussing the moves in Congress by Congressmen Coller and Holifield. Our position must be to demand outright abolition of the Committee, not a compromise. It was proposed that January be considered the month for a mass campaign

(more)

on abolition. State chapters were urged to hold meetings calling for abolition. The New York meeting is January 9 at the Hotel Commodore; the first half of the meeting to be in the form of a dramatic script (to be sent to out-of-town chapters as a proposed format for their meetings); to invite representatives of the various ASP fields which have been under attack, as speakers - such as Dr. Condon, Howard Fast, one of the Hollywood Ten; the package show then to tour Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey.

In advance of this, delegations were urged to visit Congressmen at their homes during Christmas week, asking them to go on record against the Committee, and to state their position on our legislative proposals.

Miss Dorner then presented a resolution on the 81st Congress (copy attached) for adoption. It was unanimously passed.

Dr. Shapley announced a Boston meeting on January 13 on abolition of the committee.

Academic Freedom

Dr. Miller made a progress report on the work of the Bureau on Academic Freedom, discussing several of the cases on which the Bureau was taking action as well as the establishment of a legal defense fund. Miss Dorner reported that Dr. Miller has been setting up campus chapters in Boston, Western Massachusetts, and that there are other areas with nucleus groups. Dr. Miller will visit any state chapter to help set up a local committee.

Mr. Rogge's request for a rotating $25,000 legal defense fund was adopted in principle.

Cultural Program

Miss Dorner announced that, as part of the cultural aspect of our 1949 program, we were looking for a building suitable for headquarters in New York in which to forward programs in theatre, film, music, arts, radio, etc. This was greeted with great enthusiasm by the board.

A statement to be sent to Senator Tom Connally on the costly "mistaken intelligence estimate" which nearly plunged this country into a state of full mobilization, the last step before war, was read, approved with revisions. (Copy attached.)

Miss Dorner proposed that four additional cultural leaders be elected to the National Board. These were unanimously accepted: Ira A. Hirschmann, Paul Draper, Garson Kanin, Richard Lauterbach.

Mr. Nisselson announced again the reception for the Board at Mr. Hirschmann's home and the meeting was adjourned.

*****

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. . . . MU 7-2161

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CHAIRMAN
HARLOW SHAPLEY

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CLARK FOREMAN
LINUS PAULING

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HOWARD KOCH
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
PAUL ROBESON
O. JOHN ROGGE
DR. MAUD SLYE
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THOMAS MANN
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SAM MOORE
GEORGE PEPPER
THEODOR ROSEBURY
FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

December 20, 1948

Memo from John Lardner

January 3rd is the opening day of the 81st Congress. The fight to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee will begin on that day. The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions plans to exert every effort to stimulate members of Congress in that fight. For that purpose, we are asking you and other leaders in the arts, sciences and professions to join in support of the attached statement; we ask you also to join our Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee which will sponsor meetings throughout the country during the month of January, when this campaign should be at its height. The first meeting will take place in New York on January 9, 1949.

We do have a chance to get this committee abolished in this session. Its record has been a complete affront to every decent American tradition. Please give us your support by signing the enclosed statement and returning it to us as quickly as possible.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

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FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

22-28-64

December 29, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Miss Dorner has asked me to answer your very nice note of the 20th. We were so glad you and Shirley Graham were able to come, even though you couldn't stay for the full meeting. And we don't blame you for keeping that date at the Metropolitan -- if anything, we're a little jealous!

Miss Graham had phoned about your dinners even before you letter arrived. And we told her what we're saying here, too. We were delighted to have you both as our guests that evening. Thank you for your concern about it.

All best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Muriel Alexander

Muriel Alexander

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

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FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

December 30, 1948

MEMORANDUM

TO: To all organizations and individuals interested in ridding America of the Un-American Committee.

Congress convenes on January 3rd and the President gives his message on The State of the Union on January 5th. Next to these dates you must place January 9th because on the date New Yorkers will have a chance to demonstrate their strong feeling for the abolition of this truly un-American Committee.

Tickets have been placed on sale at the book stores and are available at our office - 49 West 44th Street, MUrray Hill 7-2161.

The program includes Burt Lancaster, star of "Sorry Wrong Number"; Lester Cole, one of the Hollywood Ten who is coming East particularly for this occasion to tell of his recent court victory; and Lillian Hellman, John Lardner and Jose Ferrer. An original script has been written by Jerome Chodorov and Sam Locke titled "The Pumpkin Boys at Work".

This is the only mass action that has been planned in the City of New York and the National Council takes pride in calling upon you and your organization to support it to the fullest extent. There should be no doubt in the minds of our New York Congressmen where the voters of this City stand on this important question. I am sure I can count on your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Kamaiko

Jack Kamaiko
Administrator

POLICY AND PROGRAM 1948

NATIONAL ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS COUNCIL

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS • LIST OF OFFICERS, VICE-CHAIRMEN AND MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
Jo Davidson

CHAIRMAN
Dr. Harlow Shapley

REGIONAL CHAIRMEN

Far West	Dr. Linus Pauling
Midwest	Dr. John J. DeBoer
South	Clark Foreman
East	Olin Downes

VICE-CHAIRMEN

Art	Max Weber
Theater	Lillian Hellman
Film	Howard Koch
Writer	John Howard Lawson
Music	Paul Robeson
Radio	Norman Corwin
Education	Dr. Goodwin Watson
Science	Dr. Maud Slye
Medicine	Dr. Allan M. Butler
Law	O. John Rogge
Building Industries	Ernest Grunsfeld
Clergy	Father Clarence Parker
Social Service	Pearl M. Hart

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

John Cromwell
Dr. Marshall E. Dimock
Hannah Dorner
W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Albert Einstein
Professor Thomas I. Emerson
Philip Evergood
Howard Fast
Dr. Roy E. Harris
Dr. Melville J. Herskovits
Langston Hughes
Mrs. Florence B. James
Dr. Curtis D. MacDougal
Albert Maltz
Thomas Mann
Dimitri Mitropoulos
Sam Moore
George Pepper
Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Dr. Frederick L. Schuman
Studs Terkel
Dr. Maurice B. Visscher

[NAT. COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS, 1948]

PREAMBLE

This year, 1948, is a year of grave decision for all Americans.

The nation that first wrote the freedom of man's conscience into its fundamental law is threatened with the destruction of free communication and with police control of culture. The nation that first proclaimed the rights of man is threatening the rights of men, in our own country and in distant lands.

We, of the arts, sciences and professions, will not accept oppression, economic chaos and war, as the American way of life.

At every crisis in American history, the people have rallied to defend their rights and extend their liberties. And in every crisis, American artists, scientists and professionals have played an honorable part in the fight for national progress and welfare.

The historic tasks that face the American people today place special obligations upon professionals and cultural workers. We accept these obligations with pride.

We, of the arts, sciences and professions, while basically nonpartisan, have always supported those candidates, of whatever political affiliation, best qualified to carry forward a genuine program in the best interest of humanity and progress. We have a program!

It is a program that carries forward the hopes and achievements of the Roosevelt period. Today these hopes and achievements are embodied in the program and candidacy of Henry A. Wallace.

We support Henry A. Wallace because only in that way can our interests, the interests of humanity and the progress of our nation be served in 1948.

In order to expand the existing organization of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, we propose that the National Council adopt the following Policy and Program.

POLICY

1. The National Arts, Sciences and Professions Council is a national membershiporganization dealing with the specialized problems and activities in its several fields.

2. It shall conduct a fight for a democratic culture for the American people.

3. As a means of so doing, it shall develop a program which shall meet the special problems and needs of the various cultural and professional fields.

4. It shall place at the service of the American people the skills and talents of its members.

5. It shall conduct a consistent fight for freedom of thought, speech, and expression.

PROGRAM

1. *Peace*

The American people want peace. We can have peace only by exposing and stopping the bi-partisan attempt to split the world into two camps, embodied in the Truman doctrine and the Marshall Plan, as now developed.

We can have peace by adopting the Henry A. Wallace program of international cooperation, strengthening the United Nations, aiding other countries through the United Nations, and encouraging world trade on a reciprocal basis.

We face the choice between peace and the degradation of civilization, between the utilization of science and technology for human welfare and the horrors of atomic bombs and bacteriological warfare.

As artists, scientists and professionals, we demand the reduction of American military expenditure to an absolute minimum consistent with a peace policy and increased expenditure for social and cultural needs.

We oppose Universal Military Training as traditionally un-American, tending to cultivate authoritarian and undemocratic educational methods, and forming, in the context of the present world events, a dangerous step on the road to war.

2. *Freedom to Think, Speak and Create*

The Bill of Rights is not merely a document to be carried about on a train and exhibited to people who are being budgeoned by loyalty tests, deprived of the right of organization, threatened with a blackout of free communication.

We call on all Americans to fight for the Bill of Rights as the foundation of our political and cultural life.

The trial of ten Hollywood artists accused of contempt of Congress because they defended the constitution of the United States against the un-American Thomas-Rankin Committee, represents the most dramatic and far-reaching issue of civil rights before the American people today.

It is dramatic because the Committee has assumed direct political control and police censorship of the motion picture industry. It is far-reaching because the Committee's arbitrary assumption of power strikes at the roots of the tree of liberty and threatents every American's freedom of conscience, speech and assemblage. The drive against motion pictures follows attacks on individual writers, educators, scientists and artists. It sets the pattern for an intensified drive in all cultural and professional fields.

We call upon American artists, scientists and professionals to defend the Hollywood Ten, and all other victims of the Thomas-Rankin Committee.

We call for the abolition of the Committee, for the revocation of the President's Loyalty Order, for the abolition of "Little Dies Committees" in the various states.

We support the use of halls and meeting places for all organizations, and the unrestricted right of political affiliation and activity.

A critical struggle, involving fundamental American principles of free communication, is taking place in the field of radio. We oppose the attempt of the broadcasting companies to use the airways solely for the presentation of their own views and the advancement of their vested interests. We hold that the air is the property of the people, and that broadcasters are obligated to serve the public interest, to observe standards of honesty and fair play, and to give the American people the opportunity to judge controversial issues. We call for a broad compaign to assure the effective functioning of

the Federal Communications Commission as the guardian of the public interest.

The nation's greatest cultural need today is the expansion of our cultural resources. In order to create wider cultural opportunties, we support a National Federal Arts program with aids to culture on a state and community level. We furthermore propose the establishment of a strong National Science Foundation, which shall include the social sciences and which shall place support for scientific research and education under civilian rather than military control.

3. *International Cultural Cooperation*

Important to peace in our time are international communication and mutual understanding among the nations of the world. The drive to establish thought control in the United States is accompanied by the cutting off of cultural contacts between American artists and scientists and people engaged in similar activities in other countries.

Examples of this trend are the State Department's action in recalling an exhibition of American paintings that was being shown abroad, the refusal to permit the great American artist, Xavier Guerrero, to enter the United States for an exhibition of his own work, the exclusion of the well-known Brazilian architect, Oscar Niemeyer, one of the designers of the United Nations building in New York, who was prevented from filling an engagement to lecture at the Yale School of Fine Arts.

In order to oppose this dangerous interference with artistic and scientific activity which we recognize as an integral part of the drive toward aggression and war, we propose an effective international organization of artists, scientists and professionals, dedicated to peace, cultural interchange and truthful information.

4. *Economic Security*

When the people's living standards drop, the members of the arts, sciences and professions are among the first to suffer. The intimations of a coming depression are already evident in the widespread unemployment in radio, motion pictures, music and the theater. The inflationary spiral has a destructive effect upon the health and morale of teachers, educators, research workers and other professionals with small fixed incomes.

We call for an immediate price roll-back to be stabilized by a return to rationing and price control.

We demand the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, which has served the purpose for which it was designed; that is, it has increased the profits of monopoly of weakening trade union organization, thus lowering the real wages and living standards of all Americans.

5. *"All Men are Created Free and Equal"*

The great words of the Declaration of Independence are mocked by the daily indignities and oppressions to which Negro and other minority groups are subjected in American society.

Discrimination poisons our life and culture. It is an especially urgent problem in the field of the arts, sciences and professions. We demand genuine equality of opportunity for the Negro, the Jew and other minorities in every field of art, science and professional activity.

We demand that there be an end to the presentation of dishonest stereotypes which would be more appropriate in Nazi propaganda than in American plays, books, magazines, films and radio. We call for a vigorous fight for realistic portrayal of character, with dignity and respect for the human personality.

The discrimination that is so widely practiced against minority groups is also directed against American women. We demand equality of job opportunity and equal pay for women in every cultural, scientific and professional field.

We propose a three-fold campaign, geared especially to meet the problems and fulfill the obligations in our own field for congressional action on three decisive measures—a national Fair Employment Practices Act, anti-lynching legislation, and abolition of the poll tax.

We propose community action by all Arts, Sciences and Professions chapters to fight against restrictive covenants.

6. *Education*

We favor federal aid to schools and universities on the basis of the traditional American principle of separation of church and state.

We favor the extension of educational opportunities at all levels. We call for salaries for teachers that enable them to maintain a decent standard of living. We oppose discrimination because of race, creed, color, sex, political belief or national origin, either in the selection of teachers or the admission of pupils. We hail the decision of the Supreme Court on equality of educational opportunity as one step in the long march to true democracy. We demand the full enforcement of this decision.

We oppose the quota system. We point to the especially widespread discrimination that dishonors many of the nation's medical, technical and professional schools.

We ask for legislation giving an increase in subsistance payments to veterans.

7. *Health and Welfare*

As a result of inadequacies in the distribution of public health, medical and dental services, and the high cost of these services, many persons are deprived of adequate care. The health of a nation is one of the decisive tests of its democracy.

It is the inalienable right of every American to have medical, hospital, dental and public health services, and it is the obligation of the Federal government to make these services available to every individual regardless of race or economic status.

There must be an end to the discrimination in hospitals which deprives Americans of health and life by the refusal to admit them to medical treatment. There must be an end to the discrimination in medical education which is in part responsible for the fact that there are not enough doctors, dentists and other trained personnel to take care of the nation's needs.

We support a government-financed research program and a national health insurance program, following the principles of the Murray-Wagner-Dingall Bill.

8. *Housing and Community Development*

In view of the failure of private enterprise and private institutions to develop an adequate housing program, it is necessary that Congress enact measures to enlarge the role which government must play in providing adequate homes for the American people.

Every American family, in the cities and on the farms, must have a home consonant with the full potential of the American standard of living. These homes must be part of well-balanced communities, containing places for work as well as for those institutions and amenities necessary to provide for the needs of the people.

A planned and coordinated effort in this direction is entirely practicable. But the services that architects and planners are prepared to render are stymied by lack of adequate government planning, the monopoly of construction materials, and the financial power of the real estate lobbies.

It is essential to provide governmental machinery in the field of planned development, including the establishment of a National Resources Development Board, an arm of government which among other duties will study and make recommendations on such projects as TVA.

We favor immediate return to complete control of rents, genuine protection for veterans in securing homes, reduction of interest rates on FHA houses and rental projects, passage of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill, together with strengthening amendments and complete elimination of restrictive covenants.

TASKS AND METHODS OF WORK

1. *Political Activity*

Constructive and effective political action is the basic objective of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council. We recognize that our political effectiveness depends not only on securing a large membership, but on fully utilizing the resources and abilities of our members to publicize our program and to support progressive candidates.

We plan to develop political services and activities which will involve our entire membership—mobile theatrical units, caravans, political cabarets, radio programs, pamphlets, research projects, technical and scientific services.

2. *Tracts for the Times*

In addition to direct service in political compaigns, we plan to use our special knowledge and sklils in preparing bulletins and studies of current issues. The political pamphlet is one of the historical traditions of American culture. We believe that the tradition must be revitalized. There is an urgent need of factual information and analysis that utilizes the tools and methods of science. We shall try to meet the need in a series of *Tracts for the Times.*

3. *Community Activities*

We cannot teach and create unless we also learn and serve. Every division has special tasks in establishing close contact with the people on the basis of service, education and information. For

example, doctors can render special community assistance in aiding trade unions on strike, and similar activities. Architects can study and report on the specific housing needs in their areas. Artists and writers can perform local services of a useful and creative character.

4. *Information and Research*

We intend to devote our special skills to exposing the monopoly control of ideas and breaking through the iron curtain that prevents the American epople from receiving accurate knowledge. In the radio field, we propose that listening posts report and analyze on programs. Tabulation of material in books and magazines, mobilization of audiences in motion picture theaters to demand honest democratic material are among the activiteis planned.

ORGANIZATION

1. There shall be an honorary chairman, one national chairman, and four regional chairmen, elected from the four regions of the United States, East, South, Middle West, and West.

2. There shall be vice-chairmen representing each of the crafts and professions.

3. There shall be a national council composed of one elected representative of each craft and profession within each chapter. There shall also be members at large, the number of such members to be determined by the council.

[NAT. COUNCIL III, 1948]

PCA

National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions
List of Officers, Vice-Chairmen and Members-At-Large

Honorary Chairman	Jo Davidson
Chairman	Dr. Harlow Shapley
Regional Chairmen	
Far West	Dr. Linus Pauling Physicist, California Institute of Technology
Midwest	Dr. John J. DeBoer Professor of Education, University of Illinois
South	Clark Foreman President, Southern Conference on Human Welfare
East	Olin Downes Music Critic, New York Times

VICE-CHAIRMEN (One from each craft or profession)

Art	Max Weber Artist, New York City
Theater	Lillian Hellman Playwright, New York City
Film	Howard Koch Screen Writer, Hollywood
Writer	John Howard Lawson Screen Writer, Hollywood
Music	Paul Robeson Singer and Actor
Radio	Norman Corwin Radio Writer and producer, Hollywood
Education	(To be announced)
Science	Dr. Maud Slye Director, Cancer Laboratory, University of Chicago
Medicine	Dr. Allan M. Butler Professor of Pediatrics, Harvard Medical College
Law	O. John Rogge Lawyer, New York City
Building Industries	Ernest Grunsfeld Architect and City Planner, Chicago
Press & Advertising	(To be announced)
Clergy	Father Clarence Parker Episcopal Clergyman, Chicago
Social Service	Pearl M. Hart Lawyer, Social Service

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

East

Hannah Dorner

W.E.B. DuBois
Director of Research, NAACP

Dr. Albert Einstein
Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

Professor Thomas I. Emerson
Professor of Law, Yale Law School

Philip Evergood
Artist, New York City

Howard Fast
Writer

Langston Hughes
Writer

Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Associate Professor of Bacteriology, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman
Professor of History, Williams College

Mid-West

Dr. Marshall E. Dimock
Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University

Dr. Malcolm Dole
Professor of Chemistry, Northwestern University

Dr. Roy E. Harris
Composer, Colorado Springs, Colorado

Dr. Melville J. Herskovits
Head of Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University

Dr. Curtis D. MacDougal
Head of Department of Journalism, Northwestern University

Dimitri Mitropoulos
Conductor, Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra

Studs Terkel
Radio Commentator, Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Maurice B. Visscher
Professor of Physiology, University of Minnesota

Far West

John Cromwell
Film Director, Hollywood

Mrs. Florence B. James
Director of Seattle Repertory Playhouse, Seattle, Washington

Albert Maltz
Screen writer, Hollywood

Thomas Mann
Writer, California

Sam Moore
President, Screen Writers Guild, Hollywood

George Pepper
Musician

[NAT. COUNCIL ..., 1948]

NATIONAL ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS COUNCIL

POLICY AND PROGRAM

FOR 1948

PREAMBLE:

This year, 1948, is a year of grave decision for all Americans.

The nation that first wrote the freedom of man's conscience into its fundamental law is threatened with the destruction of free communication and with police control of culture. The nation that first proclaimed the rights of man is threatening the rights of men, in our own country and in distant lands.

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The historic tasks that face the American people today place special obligations upon professionals and cultural workers. We accept these obligations with pride.

We, of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, while basically nonpartisan, have always supported those candidates best qualified to carry forward a genuine program in the best interest of humanity and progress. We have a program.

It is a program that carries forward the great hopes and achievements of the Roosevelt period. Today these hopes and achievements are embodied in the program and candidacy of Henry A. Wallace.

We support Henry A. Wallace, because only in that way can our interests, the interests of humanity and the progress of our nation be served in 1948.

Therefore, in order to expand the existing organization of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, we propose that the National Council adopt the following Policy and Program.

POLICY:

1. The National Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, as established in the constitution of Progressive Citizens of America, is a national membership organization, with autonomy of operation in dealing with the specialized problems and activities in its own field.

2. It shall conduct a fight for a democratic culture for the American people.

3. As a means of so doing, it shall develop a program which shall meet the special problems and needs of the various cultural and professional fields.

4. It shall place at the service of the American people the skills and talents of its members.

5. It shall conduct a consistent fight for freedom of thought, speech, and expression.

22-39

PROGRAM:

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We face the choice between peace and the degradation of civilization, between the utilization of science and technology for human welfare and the horrors of atomic bombs and bacteriological warfare.

As artists, scientists and professionals, we oppose excessive national expenditures for war preparation and the consequent neglect of social and cultural needs.

We oppose Universal Military Training as traditionally un-American, tending to cultivate authoritarian and undemocratic educational methods, and forming, in the context of present world events, a dangerous step on the road to war.

2. FREEDOM TO THINK, SPEAK AND CREATE

The Bill of Rights is not merely a document to be carried about on a train and exhibited to people who are being bludgeoned by loyalty tests, deprived of the right of organization, threatened with a blackout of free communication.

We call on all Americans to fight for the Bill of Rights as the foundation of our political and cultural life.

The trial of ten Hollywood artists accused of contempt of Congress because they defended the constitution of the United States against the un-American Thomas-Rankin Committee, represents the most dramatic and far-reaching issue of civil rights before the American people today.

2. FREEDOM TO THINK, SPEAK AND CREATE (CONT'D)

It is dramatic because the Committee has assumed direct political control and police censorship of the motion picture industry. It is far-reaching because the committee's arbitrary assumption of power strikes at the roots of the tree of liberty and threatens every American's freedom of conscience, speech and assemblage. The drive against motion pictures is the prelude to a similar attack on science, education, labor, radio, the theatre and the press.

We call upon American artists, scientists and professionals to defend the Hollywood Ten, and all other victims of the Thomas-Rankin Committee.

We call for the abolition of the committee, for the revocation of the President's loyalty order, for the abolition of "Little Dies Committees" in the various states.

We support the use of halls and meeting places for all organizations, and the unrestricted right of political affiliation and activity.

A critical struggle, involving fundamental American principles of free communication, is taking place in the field of radio. We oppose the attempt of the broadcasting companies to use the airways solely for the presentation of their own views and the advancement of their vested interests. We hold that the air is the property of the people, and that broadcasters are obligated to serve the public interest, to observe standards of honesty and fair play, and to give the American people the opportunity to judge controversial issues. We call for a broad campaign to assure the effective functioning of the Federal Communications Commission as the guardian of the public interest.

The nation's greatest cultural need today is the expansion of our cultural resources. In order to create wider cultural opportunities, we support a National Federal Arts program with aids to culture on a state and community level. We furthermore propose the establishment of a strong National Science Foundation, which shall include the social sciences and which shall place support for scientific research and education under civilian rather than military control.

3. INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL COOPERATION

Important to peace in our time are international communication and mutual understanding among the nations of the world. The drive to establish thought control in the United States is accompanied by the cutting off of cultural contacts between American artists and scientists and people engaged in similar activities in other countries.

Examples of this trend are the State Department's action in recalling an exhibition of American paintings that was being shown abroad, the refusal to permit the great American artist, Xavier Guerrero, to enter the United States for an exhibition of his own work, the exclusion of the well-known Brazilian architect, Oscar Niemeyer, one of the designers of the United Nations building in New York, who was prevented from filling an engagement to lecture at the Yale School of Fine Arts.

In order to oppose this dangerous interference with artistic and scientific activity which we recognize as an integral part of the drive toward aggression and war, we propose an effective international organization of artists, scientists and professionals, dedicated to peace, cultural interchange and truthful information.

4. ECONOMIC SECURITY

When the people's living standards drop, the members of the Arts, Sciences and Professions are among the first to suffer. The intimations of a coming depression are already evident in the widespread unemployment in radio, motion pictures, music and the theater. The inflationary spiral has a destructive effect upon the health and morale of teachers, educators, research workers and other professionals with small fixed incomes.

We call for an immediate price roll-back to be stabilized by a return to rationing and price control.

We demand the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, which has served the purpose for which it was designed; that is, it has increased the profits of monopoly by weakening trade union organization, thus lowering the real wages and living standards of all Americans.

22-39

5. "ALL MEN ARE CREATED FREE AND EQUAL"

The great words of the Declaration of Independence are mocked by the daily indignities and oppressions to which Negro and other minority groups are subjected in American society.

Discrimination poisons our life and culture. It is an especially urgent problem in the field of the arts, sciences and professions. We demand genuine equality of opportunity for the Negro, the Jew and other minorities in every field of art, science, and professional activity.

We demand that there be an end to the presentation of dishonest stereotypes which would be more appropriate in Nazi propaganda than in American plays, books, magazines, films and radio. We call for a vigorous fight for realistic portrayal of character, with dignity and respect for the human personality.

The discrimination that is so widely practiced against minority groups is also directed against American women. We demand equality of job opportunity and equal pay for women in every cultural, scientific and professional field. We oppose the condescending and insulting characterizations of women that are common in American literature and entertainment. It is time for American culture to recognize that women are entitled to the inalienable rights proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence.

We propose a three-fold campaign, geared especially to meet the problems and fulfill the obligations in our own field for congressional action on three decisive measures -- a national Fair Employment Practices Act, anti-lynching legislation, and abolition of the poll tax.

We propose community action by all Arts, Sciences and Professions chapters to fight against restrictive covenants.

6. EDUCATION

We favor federal aid to schools and universities on the basis of the traditional American principle of separation of church and state.

We favor the extension of educational opportunities at all levels. We call for salaries for teachers that enable them to maintain a decent standard of living. We oppose discrimination because of race, creed, color or sex, either in the selection of teachers or the admission of pupils. We hail the recent decision of the Supreme Court enforcing equality of educational opportunity as one step in the long march to true democracy.

We oppose the quota system. We point to the especially widespread discrimination that dishonors many of the nation's medical, technical and professional schools.

We ask for legislation giving an increase in subsistence payments to veterans.

7. HEALTH AND WELFARE

As a result of inadequacies in the distribution of public health, medical and dental services, and the high cost of these services, many persons are deprived of adequate care. The health of a nation is one of the decisive tests of its democracy.

22-39

It is the inalienable right of every American to have medical, hospital, dental and public health services, and it is the obligation of the Federal government to make these services available to every individual regardless of race or economic status.

There must be an end to the discrimination in hospitals which deprives Americans of health and life by the refusal to admit them to medical treatment. There must be an end to the discrimination in medical education which is in part responsible for the fact that there are not enough doctors, dentists and other trained personnel to take care of the nation's needs.

We support a government-financed research program and a national health insurance program, following the principles of the Murray-Wagner-Dingall Bill.

8. HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In view of the failure of private enterprise and private institutions to develop an adequate housing program, it is necessary that Congress enact measures to enlarge the role which government must play in providing adequate homes for the American people.

Every American family, in the cities and on the farms, must have a home consonant with the full potential of the American standard of living. These homes must be part of well-balanced communities, containing places for work as well as for those institutions and amenities necessary to provide for the needs of the people.

A planned and coordinated effort in this direction is entirley practical. But the services that architects and planners are prepared to render are stymied by lack of adequate government planning, the monopoly of construction materials, and the financial power of the real estate lobbies.

It is essential to provide governmental machinery in the field of planned development, including the establishment of a National Resources Development Board, an arm of government which among other duties will study and make recommendations on such projects as TVA.

8. HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (CONT'D)

We favor immediate return to complete control of rents, genuine protection for veterans in securing homes, reduction of interest rates on FHA houses and rental projects, passage of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill, together with strengthening amendments and complete elimination of restrictive covenants.

22-39

TASKS AND METHODS OF WORK

1. POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Constructive and effective political action is the basic objective of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council. We recognize that our political effectiveness depends, not only on securing a large membership, but on fully utilizing the resources and abilities of our members to publicize our program and to support progressive candidates.

We plan to develop political services and activities which will involve our entire membership — mobile theatrical units, caravans, political cabarets, radio programs, pamphlets, research projects, technical and scientific services.

2. TRACTS FOR THE TIMES

In addition to direct service in political campaigns, we plan to use our special knowledge and skills, in preparing bulletins and studies of current issues. The political pamphlet is one of the historical traditions of American culture. We believe that the tradition must be revitalized. There is an urgent need of factual information and analysis that utilizes the tools and methods of science. We shall try to meet the need in a series of Tracts for the Times.

22-39

3. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

We cannot teach and create unless we also learn and serve. Every division has special tasks in establishing close contact with the people on the basis of service, education and information. For example, doctors can render special community assistance, aiding trade unions on strike, and similar activities. Architects can study and report on the specific housing needs in their areas. Artists and writers can perform local services of a useful and creative character.

4. INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

We intend to devote our special skills to exposing the monopoly control of ideas and breaking through the iron curtain that prevents the American people from receiving accurate knowledge. In the radio field, we propose that listening posts report and analyze on programs. Tabulation of material in books and magazines, mobilization of audiences in motion picture theaters to demand honest democratic material, are among the activities planned.

ORGANIZATION

1. There shall be one national chairman of the Council, and four regional chairmen, elected from the four regions of the United States, East, South, Middle West, and West.

2. There shall be vice-chairmen, representing each of the crafts and professions.

3. There shall be a national council, composed of one elected representative of each craft and profession within each chapter. There shall also be members at large, the number of such members to be determined by the Council.

ORGANIZATION CONT'D

4. There shall be an immediate membership and organizational campaign. We recommend that field organizers be employed to conduct the campaign.

5. We suggest that regional or state conferences be held whenever and wherever practicable.

6. There shall be a meeting of the National Council not later than the end of April, and the Council shall meet at least four times a year.

- - - -

22-39

(NATIONAL (EUGENE) DENNIS DEFENSE COMMITTEE)

IN THE

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1948

No. 436

EUGENE DENNIS,
Petitioner,

v.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ON PETITION FOR A WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

PETITIONER'S REPLY BRIEF

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32.30.88

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IN THE

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1948

No. 436

EUGENE DENNIS,

Petitioner,

v.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ON PETITION FOR A WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

PETITIONER'S REPLY BRIEF

I

The Jury Issue.

The Government's brief (pp. 13-15) misconceives the nature of petitioner's challenge to all talesmen who were government employees. The petitioner contends that he was deprived of a fair and impartial trial in violation of the Sixth Amendment because the government employees, under the circumstances of this case, were disqualified *as a matter of law* from serving as members of this jury. The issue here, therefore, is not whether government employees may in general sit in judgment in cases prose-

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cuted by the Government, nor whether opportunity was afforded counsel to inquire on voir dire into the juror's prejudices. The issue is: May government employees subject to the terms and provisions of Executive Order 9835 serve upon a jury in a criminal trial prosecuted by the Government for contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, where the action has been initiated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the defendant is the General Secretary of the Communist Party? The Government's brief in opposition appears to have overlooked the following considerations:

a) In *Frazier* v. *United States,* decided by this Court on December 20, 1948 (four Justices dissenting), a case involving a violation of the Narcotics Law, the sole issue before the Court was whether government employees, without more, could be disqualified from sitting on a jury in a criminal case prosecuted by the United States. The situation here is far different. Here something more, of a drastic nature, did occur. On March 21, 1947, the President of the United States issued Executive Order 9835 "Prescribing Procedures For The Administration of An Employees Loyalty Program In The Executive Branch Of The Government." Investigation of the loyalty of all government employees was ordered with the specific requirement that among the "pertinent sources of information" to which the investigators were to refer were the "House Committee on Un-American Activities files" (Executive Order 9835, Part I, Section 3e). The activities and associations of government employees which could be considered in connection with the determination of disloyalty included the following:

> "Membership in, affiliation with or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, *communist,* or *subversive,* or as

having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (Executive Order 9835, Part V, Section 2f).

When there is considered under what circumstances Executive Order 9835 was issued (R. 31 et seq.) and the wide publicity which surrounded the loyalty investigations of government employees (see Andrews, B., Washington Witchhunt, 1948); when there is considered the enormous consequences to government employees which flow from the finding of disloyalty under Executive Order 9835; when the testimony of the Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, John Parnell Thomas, is recalled with his "subversive list" of over a million names (R. 189) and the Committee's rule permitting "agents of the Government to come and see our files"—it appears clear that no government employee could be a "fair and impartial" juror within the intendment of the Constitution. As Mr. Justice Jackson stated of government employees in the *Frazier* case:

"* * * Of late years, the Government is using its power as never before to pry into their lives and thoughts upon the slightest suspicion of less than complete trustworthiness. It demands not only probity but unquestioning ideological loyalty. A government employee cannot today be disinterested or unconcerned about his appearance of faithful and enthusiastic support for government departments whose prestige and record is, somewhat, if only a little, at stake in every such prosecution. And prosecutors seldom fail to stress, if not to exaggerate, the importance of the case before them to the whole social, if not the cosmic, order. Even if we have no reason to believe that an acquitting juror would be subjected to embarrassments or reprisals, we cannot expect every clerk and messenger

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> in the great bureaucracy to feel so secure as to put his dependence on the Government wholly out of mind. I do not doubt that the government employees as a class possess a normal independence and fortitude. But we have grounds to assume also that the normal proportion of them are subject to that very human weakness, especially displayed in Washington, which leads men to '* * * crook the pregnant hinges of the knee where thrift may follow fawning.'"

b) In the light of the above, it is clear that no amount of inquiry by counsel nor assurances given by the talesmen could remove the bias inherent in these proceedings. It is unreasonable to assume that any government employee would ever admit his belief that any action taken by him at the trial would subject him to a loyalty investigation. The significant facts are that a majority of the jury were composed of government employees subject to the Loyalty Order; that the charge in the indictment was contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; that the jury were so reminded by the Court and the United States Attorney throughout the trial; that the Chairman of the Committee and another member, Karl E. Mundt, as well as the Chief Investigator, Robert E. Stripling, testified before the jury; and the jury knew and were informed time and again that the defendant was a principal officer of the Communist Party. Under these circumstances was it reasonable to assume that a government employee could render a "fair and impartial" verdict? If he held out for a verdict of acquittal, how could he ever be sure that a fellow juror would not report that fact to his agency, especially when under Executive Order 9835 "an investigative agency may refuse to disclose the names of confidential informants" (Part IV, Section 2). The case here presents the "combination of circumstances" to which the majority of this Court referred in the

Frazier case. Indeed, "the cards were stacked from the beginning."

The Government's argument that "the jurors were carefully questioned to determine that there was no bias" (p. 15) overlooks the events which occurred at the trial. Shortly after the jury was sworn, an alternate juror asked leave to speak to the Court (R. 125). He informed the Court and counsel that "this jury was sitting at the *Barsky* trial as spectators, more or less, and they heard, I think, this very argument that we were expelled from the room for—the question of law as to whether the Committee had the right to issue a subpoena" (R. 126). As counsel for the petitioner reminded the Trial Court (R. 128), not one juror had volunteered the information that he had listened to the arguments in the *Barsky* case, despite the fact that they had been, as the Government asserts, "extensively questioned on the voir dire for any signs of prejudice" (p. 14). To assume under such circumstances that a government employee would reveal his fear of the impact of Executive Order 9835 upon his verdict is to flout reality and arbitrarily determine impartiality where none can exist. Indeed, government employees ought not to be required under such circumstances to have to search their consciences to to determine their ability to withstand the pressures to which such an order subjects them, consciously and subconsciously. Clearly, in a case such as this, the strong possibility of fear and bias on the part of government employees is sufficient to disqualify them within the purview of the Sixth Amendment.

c) Moreover, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as the Court advised the jury (R. 335), was allegedly engaged in investigating "subversive" and "Un-American" propaganda. Basically, its inquiry was directed to the loyalty of citizens and the peti-

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tioner, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, was charged with contempt of the said Committee. With such terms as "sympathetic association", "subversive", and "disloyal" completely undefined, no government employee could be sure that his verdict of acquittal would not enmesh him in the web of Executive Order 9835.

It is submitted that the issue here is one of great public importance involving as it does a basic aspect of the administration of justice in the federal courts and should be passed upon by this Court. If it is error to refuse to permit an inquiry upon cross-examination as to where a witness lives for the purpose of showing to a jury that the witness is under detention by the Government and therefore biased (*Alford* v. *United States,* 282 U. S. 687, 1931), it is clear error, it is submitted, for government employees, subject to the terms of Executive Order 9835, to sit in judgment in an action where a verdict of acquittal may be tantamount in the opinion of government officials to evidence of disloyalty.

II

The validity of the statute creating the Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Government declines to meet the petitioner on the merits of this issue (pp. 8-9). We respectfully refer the Court to our arguments contained in the petition for the writ of certiorari and the brief in support thereof (pp. 13, 16-19, 26, 28-29, 30-35). The Government does not deny the public importance of the issue nor does it disagree with the view that "there is a serious need for this Court to exercise its historic function of interpreting the fundamental document" (pet. p. 17). To the many voices cited in our petition (p. 17) calling for a determination

by this Court of the fundamental issue herein involved we would add the voice of Alexander Meikeljohn in his recent treatise, Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government (N. Y. 1948):

> "May a teacher venture to suggest that the time has come when the court, as teacher, must declare, in unequivocal terms, that no idea may be suppressed because someone in office, or out of office, has judged it to be 'dangerous?' "

The argument that the petitioner is without standing to challenge the authority of the Committee is without merit. The gravamen of the Government's entire brief appears to be that the petitioner may not challenge the authority of the Committee and yet may be convicted for resisting its authority. The decisions of this Court are to the contrary.

In *McGrain* v. *Daugherty,* 273 U. S. 135 (1927), the witness failed and refused to appear after subpoenas served upon him, but this Court did not doubt the right of the witness to raise the question of the authority of the Committee when he was arrested and tried, although the question was decided against him. This Court stated that the two Houses of Congress are not "invested with 'general' power to inquire into private affairs and compel disclosures, but only with such limited power of inquiry as is shown to exist when the rule of constitutional interpretation just stated is rightly applied" (p. 173). See also, *Sinclair* v. *United States,* 279 U. S. 263 (1929).

Where a statute which requires the issuance of a license to carry on a business is invalid on its face, a person is not required to make an application for such a license in order subsequently to raise the question, but he may disobey the statute and raise the invalidity of the statute in an action brought to enforce its penalties. *Smith* v. *Cahoon,* 283 U. S. 553, 565 (1931). The rule is the same in free speech cases, *Lovell* v. *Griffin,* 303 U. S. 444 (1938). "As the ordinance is void on its face, it was not necessary for appellant

to seek a permit under it. She was entitled to contest its validity in answer to the charge against her" (p. 452).

An order of a Court restraining a union organizer from soliciting membership in a union without first obtaining an organizer's card as required by a state statute was disobeyed by the union organizer. This Court, in upholding his contention that the order was unconstitutional, decided that the organizer was within his rights in disobeying the decree of the Court. *Thomas* v. *Collins,* 323 U. S. 516, 536 (1946).

Nor does the statute here provide any remedy by which the appellant could judicially test the validity of the process served upon him. Compare, *Yakus* v. *United States,* 321 U. S. 414, 437 (1944). Under these circumstances, to deny him his constitutional defenses to this criminal prosecution would be a deprivation of his liberty without due process of law.

III

The issue of judicial participation in the violation by Congress of Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Here, again, the Government declines to meet the issue (p. 9). More important, the Government misstates the issue. The issue here is not the failure of Congress to exercise the power conferred upon it by Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment. The real issues are presented in the petition herein (pp. 15-16) to which this Court is respectfully referred. The issue is whether the judicial arm of government may become a party to a patent violation of Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment by the positive action of imprisoning the person who raises the issue. The issue is whether a person in jeopardy of his liberty through a charge of contempt of a committee partly composed of men seated in Congress in violation of Section 2

of the Fourteenth Amendment can be denied before the Court trying him for his freedom, the opportunity to offer proof that the Committee is without lawful authority; whether there exists no element of due process that may be claimed in court by a person against whom a Congressional committee so constituted demands criminal penalties.

The Government's claim that the issue is "political" and "collateral" is answered in our petition and brief (pp. 23-25, 43-51). The petitioner in the Trial Court was not attacking the apportionment of representatives as a member of the public at large. He was being subjected to an immediate, a direct, a present injury resulting from the violation of the Constitution. He was being subjected to criminal prosecution and he faced a present threat to his liberty. There was nothing "collateral" or "political" about the issue as it was presented to the Trial Court. In refusing the petitioner any opportunity to present proof to the jury that the Committee on Un-American Activities was without lawful authority to demand criminal penalties against the petitioner, the Trial Court gave judicial approval to the nullification of Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment and the imprisonment of the person who had raised the question. We submit that this was error, as was the decision of the Court of Appeals upholding the ruling of the Trial Court, a decision to which the Government understandably does not refer. For the latter decision encourages the continued monstrous nullification of the Fourteenth Amendment in asserting that Congress may with impunity ignore the provisions of Section 2.

IV

The issue of wilfulness and the exclusion from the evidence of petitioner's explanation for his non-appearance.

The Government's reliance upon *Fields* v. *United States,* 164 F. 2d 97 (App. D. C.), cert. den. 332 U. S. 851, appears misplaced. The authorizing statute there did not involve, as it does here, a vague and undefined power to inquire broadly into propagation of ideas (see the discussion in petition and brief, pp. 23, 36-38).

The Government attempts to justify the exclusion from the evidence of petitioner's explanation for his non-appearance by stating, first, that it "was not really an excuse for non-attendance; it was in reality a challenge to the legality of the Committee" (p. 11), and, second, that under the construction of the term "wilful" by the Trial Court, the "letter was clearly irrelevant" (p. 11). Were we to concede the premises upon which the Government bases its arguments, its contentions must nevertheless fail. Even under the most narrow construction of the word "wilful", the petitioner's explanation for his non-appearance was clearly relevant. The Government charged that the petitioner had wilfully defaulted in appearance before a lawfully constituted committee. The petitioner asserted in his communication that he had no intention "to ignore the authority of any lawful congressional body" (R. 396). It was his intention to challenge the authority of an unlawfully constituted body. Whether his *intention* was to ignore the authority of a lawful body, or to challenge the authority of an unlawful group, was an issue for the jury to decide, and upon that issue, his written explanation was clearly material and relevant.

V

The issue of the service of the subpoena.

The Government fails to distinguish the case of *Wilder* v. *Welsh,* 1 MacArthur 566 (Sup. Ct. D. C.), relied upon by the petitioner, nor does it reply to the arguments contained in his petition and brief (pp. 19-20, 38-39). *In re Hall,* 296 Fed. 780 (S. D. N. Y.), cited by the Government in its brief (p. 13), is contrary to its position. Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution deals only with the power of each House to compel members to attend its sessions when less than a quorum is present. *Norris* v. *Hassler,* 23 Fed. 581 (C. C. D. N. J.), is not in point. Petitioner was not subpoenaed to testify in the same matter as to which he was already in attendance. The importance of a ruling by the Court on this question is enhanced by the increased utilization of Congressional committees as roving investigatory bodies.

V I

The Government's avoidance of the other issues raised in the petition.

There is one basic issue which the Government appears studiously to have avoided in this proceeding. The issue is embodied in Questions 9 and 10 in the petition (p. 14) and in the subsequent discussion (pp. 22-23, 35-36). The petitioner was not afforded the elements of a judicial trial. His counsel was permitted to make no opening statement; he was not permitted to cross-examine; all the pertinent evidence which he offered to prove was rejected; virtually all his prayers for instructions were denied. There was here complete deprivation of liberty without due process of law. Upon an issue of such magnitude, the Government has no comment.

CONCLUSION

On this application, counsel have intentionally refrained from commenting upon the obvious infirmities in the opinion of the Court below with respect to the legal acumen displayed to lack of judicial disinterestedness revealed in the gratuitous comments upon the personality of the defendant and the arguments of counsel and the general tenor and ungrammatical and unrhetorical presentation of the opinion of the Court. Counsel advert to this only that they may not be accused of having overlooked these weaknesses in the Court's opinion. On the contrary, counsel have limited themselves solely to the basic questions involved in the prosecution and the decision of the lower Court.

The Government does not deny that the decision of the Court of Appeals involves important questions of federal law which have not been but should be settled by this Court. It does not deny that the questions raised are ones of substance and general importance. The prayer for the issuance of a writ of certiorari should be granted.

Respectfully submitted,

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Attorneys for Petitioner.

SAMUEL ROSENWEIN,
of Counsel.

The Hecla Press : : New York City

May 21, 1948

National Education Association
Research Division
1201 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Would you be good enough to send this office copies of FEDERAL AID SERIES, Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 9, March, 1948? These refer to the inequality of educational opportunities in the United States as revealed by Selective Service Rejections for educational deficiency in World War II.

Please accept our thanks for your courtesy in this request.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

NATIONAL guardian WEEKLY

17 MURRAY STREET · NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK · WOrth 4-6390

September 24, 1948

23-30-15

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I know you are as concerned about the future of the FDR progressive tradition as Henry Wallace, who said the other day: "For us life begins on November 3."

Several associates and I are going Mr. Wallace three weeks better. On October 18 we are beginning publication of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, a newsweekly, to give the inheritors of FDR's America facts to fight with. When, after election, the need becomes most pressing for a continuing publication devoted to progressive ideals, NATIONAL GUARDIAN will be an established reality.

Will you join us at a small coming-out party on Tuesday evening, October 5, from 8 o'clock on, at the home of Horace Titus, 322 East 50th Street, New York, to introduce our staff and some of our initial supporters and writers--including Norman Mailer (author of "The Naked and The Dead"), Stefan Heym (author of "The Crusaders"), Olin Downes and Dr. Guy Emery Shipler.

Please let me know on the enclosed postcard whether you can come. If you would like further information, please telephone me. I can be reached during the day at the GUARDIAN office.

Cordially yours,

Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc.

NATIONAL guardian WEEKLY
17 MURRAY STREET · NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK · WOrth 4-6390

October 1, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I hope very much that you are going to be able to undertake the article we spoke about. I should have mentioned to you, by the way, that we do have a small budget for outside contributions, and we would be able to make a very humble payment.

What we would be interested in is an authoritative piece relating your situation with the whole colonial picture of today, which is after all at the bottom of it.

It would seem clear that if something is to be done to improve the lot of the Africans without further violence, the enlightened American Negroes will have the principle task of arousing public interest and action in the quarter where power to effect changes mostly resides. The fact that someone like yourself can be so arbitrarily dealt out of the NAACP indicates a dark future for the millions of Africans who look to America to support their claim for education and independence.

I think very few people in America have any idea that there has been so much unrest all over Africa during the last year--and a survey of what has been happening by you would arouse a lot of attention. In any case, it is a pity that this kind of information should be given only to the more intellectual readers of the Atlantic Monthly. Such an article in the Guardian would reach a broad audience and be very effective. We could give it 1500 words if you can write it yourself. If not, I hope that we can at least send someone to see you so that it can be done in the form of an interview.

Sincerely yours,
Cedric Belfrage

CB:MH

article sent Oct 1948
Beartown Bssbs

October 7, 1948

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
NATIONAL GUARDIAN WEEKLY
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

My dear Mr. Belfrage:

THE ATLANTIC, as I thought, has returned my article on Africa. I should like to have your editors look it over and see if it could be split up into a number of articles.

There would be some newer matter to be added to it, and if you used any or all of it, I would expect to be paid.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

NATIONAL guardian WEEKLY

17 MURRAY STREET · NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK · WOrth 4-6390

November 10
1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois -

23-39-28

Under separate cover (first class mail) I am returning your ms. together with a few recent articles (clippings) about Africa which you may possibly not have seen. I am sorry to say that the last page of your ms. somehow got detached and I cannot at the moment lay my hands on it. I do hope you have a copy of it.

On considering the matter carefully, I feel that the space limit for the projected series of articles would have to be as follows : 1st article - 1000 words; 2nd and 3rd articles - 750 words each. The plan would be to run the first article on the center spread with a map and some good art, the other two on page 2.

I think it could break down in this way : lead off the first article with a brief, dramatic summary of the present situation in Africa with regard to the plans of colonial powers and the unrest of the Africans. Then use the rest of the article for a description of what Africa is, along the lines of what you have in the latter part of your article.

The second article would deal with the peanut and other imperialist schemes and show the grand strategy of the western powers with regard to Africa now that they are being driven out of Asia.

The third article would consist of the highlights of your material on unrest of the people all over Africa.

27

I am very conscious that this represents a big job of work and was most delighted to know that you were willing to tackle it yourself. A few general suggestions I might offer are probably superfluous since you have seen and studied our paper. Our aim is to produce a paper which will tell the basic facts of what is going on in the world in such a simple and colorful way that ordinary people with a little intellectual curiosity will read and enjoy it. While nobody could appreciate more than I do the scholarly nature of your long article, it is clear that to make this material interesting to the plain man it has to be as un-"academic"as possible. I think you will agree that the best way to give it this kind of appeal is to get in as much of facts, action and color as you can, and to minimize the space given to any sort of generalizations.

I think it will interest you to know that we already have a number of subscribers among Negro sharecroppers in the South - not the average sharecropper,to be sure - but still,sharecroppers. My friend Owen Whitfield has been going through the South getting subscriptions for the paper. These people will be particularly interested in your articles and I think you could hardly do better than to keep them in mind as you write.

The 8-page enclosure with your ms. (on yellow paper) is an attempt to begin breaking down your material - done by one of our staff. I think it shows the kind of stuff we would like to get in, but it is not meant to influence you.

In our next issue we are running a very fine article by Paul Robeson. It would be good if we could start this series the following week, but to do this we would have to receive your first article not later than next Wednesday. I daresay this is rushing you too much, but we would much appreciate some word as to when we can expect the material.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage

CB/sdh

Cedric Belfrage, Editor

December 2, 1948

23-38-12

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
THE GUARDIAN
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

Here is the third article; of course too long. I am sending it early so that you can cut it as you wish.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois.

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-6390

December 15, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N.Y.

23-36-13

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very anxious to include most of our best contributers in a New Year's Round-Up to appear in the issue of December 27.

Will you please let us have about 250 words for this round-up, of prospects and issues as you see them for 1949 from the standpoint of the Negro throughout the world? It is necessary that we have this by December 22nd.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage
Editor

CB/drm

35-2-368

December 23, 1948

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
NATIONAL GUARDIAN WEEKLY
17 Murray Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

When the young woman who made the map for my article was here, I loaned her one of my books, THE WORLD AND AFRICA, which she promised to return.

I have written her three times since and she has not returned the book. Will you kindly take the matter yp with her.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

January 26, 1948

To the Members of the Institute:

Results of the balloting upon the resolution drawn up by Messrs. Benét, LaFarge and Nevins show ~~108~~ 109 in favor, ~~31~~ 30 opposed and 8 not wishing to vote. Although this represents more than the necessary two-thirds of those expressing an opinion, the Council believes that several objections which have been raised should be considered carefully before final action is taken.

These objections are grouped under several headings:

1. That the resolution is too long and not suffiently clear.
2. That the resolution may be construed as tolerating the activities of the Communist Party in the United States.
3. That by criticising the Thomas Committee, a majority of which is Republican, and praising President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, the resolution has political implications.
4. That the Institute should confine its public utterances to matters of art.

The Council has therefore decided to rephrase the resolution in the form of a letter to the Speaker of the House Representatives,

and to resubmit it to the membership to determine whether more substantial agreement among us may not be reached without sacrifice of the principle involved or of the force of the argument.

A copy of this letter together with a list of the members voting favorably upon the original resolution is enclosed. Please indicate your wishes upon the accompanying postcard (even though you may have voted on the original resolution) and return immediately.

If two-thirds of the replies indicate approval, the letter signed only with the names of those members who give their authorization will be forwarded to Washington and twenty-four hours later will be released to the press as a news story.

23-28-15

The Council of the Institute:

Douglas Moore, President
William Rose Benét, Secretary
Philip James, Treasurer

Vice-Presidents

Leonard Bacon
Isabel Bishop
Henry Seidel Canby
Gilmore D. Clarke
Cecil Howard
Christopher LaFarge

[Enc.]

To the Speaker of the House of Representatives

Sir:

We, the undersigned, a group of members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, an honorary organization of American writers, artists and musicians, protest against the methods employed by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives in its examination of certain writers recently summoned before it. The investigative powers of Congress are proper and important powers. They include without question the power to inquire into activities dangerous to the people and government of the United States. But like all powers exercised by a democratic government they must be exercised with a proper and decent regard for the liberties of the citizen. It seems clear to us that the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives has not exercised its powers in this way. On the contrary the Committee, under the chairmanship of Congressman J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, has employed methods which menace the fundamental rights of the American people.

Under the American Constitution and under American law as it was understood from the foundation of the Republic down to the present, an accused person could defend himself in court by calling witnesses in his own behalf and by confronting and cross-examining witnesses against him; he could defend himself out of court by bringing action for libel and slander; and he was protected in preliminary investigations before the Grand Jury by the privacy which, under American law, surrounds such proceedings. All these safeguards and guarantees are rejected or denied under Mr. Thomas's procedure. The accused may not call witnesses on his own behalf. He may not confront or cross-examine witnesses against him. He is not protected by privacy, since the whole proceeding is open to press, radio, motion pictures, and public. Nor, since the entire hearing and all reports of it are privileged, may he defend his reputation by suits for libel or slander. If he demands the rights of the court-room he is told that he is not in court but under investigation. If he asks for the rights of a person under investigation he is pictured as wishing to hide the truth. If he attempts to protect his reputation against libels and slanders he is told that he has no remedy. The result is that a man may find his reputation permanently impaired in the minds of millions of his countrymen on the basis of evidence inadmissible in a court of law without having had any opportunity at any point or by any means to confront his accusers or to defend himself. Who can foresee who next will be subjected to this disastrous procedure?

23-28-16

We therefore regard this as a subversion of the traditional American sense of fair play and human decency. The fact that these methods were employed in an effort to expose Communist activities in the United States, and the further fact that the Communists, if they were in a position to do so, would undoubtedly use methods as bad or worse, does not seem to justify Congressman Thomas's conduct or the conduct of his committee.

We sign this protest as Members of the National Institute as well as in our capacity as private citizens because our interests as writers and artists and musicians are deeply involved. The right of any American to think as he pleases and to say what he thinks is a right of particular importance to us because upon it rests the freedom of the creative artist and, by consequence, the vitality of the creative arts. The methods employed by the Committee on Un-American Activities result in an indirect form of censorship. This is proved by the recent action of the motion picture industry in blacklisting the writers who defied the committee. Such censorship, even in the case of those whose political beliefs we vigorously oppose, endangers the very structure of our traditional free art and free literature in the United States.

As writers, artists and musicians we submit that Congress should take immediate steps to remedy the procedure used by its investigating committees, and to guarantee to the American people that no such attack on our liberties shall reoccur.

[Enc.]

Members who Approved Institute Resolution submitted December 30, 1947

Adams, Franklin P.

Adams, James T.

Aiken, Conrad

Allen, Hervey

Auden, Wystan H.

Bacheller, Irving

Bacon, Leonard

Barber, Samuel

Behrman, Samuel N.

Benét, William Rose

Bishop, Isabel

Bloch, Ernest

Brockway, Howard

Brook, Alexander

Brooks, Van Wyck

Burchfield, Charles E.

Burt, Struthers

Canby, Henry S.

Carpenter, John A.

Chase, Stuart

Connelly, Marc

Copland, Aaron

Davidson, Jo

DeVoto, Bernard

duBois, Guy Pene

DuBois, W. E. B.

DuMond, Frank V.

Eaton, Walter P.

Ellett, Thomas H.

Embury, Aymar II

Faulkner, Barry

Ferber, Edna

Fisher, Dorothy C.

Flanagan, John

Garber, Daniel

Greenslet, Ferris

Gugler, Eric

Hancock, Walker

Haseltine, Herbert

Higgins, Eugene

Hindemith, Paul

Howard, Cecil

Howe, M. A. DeWolfe

James, Philip

Jones, Robert Edmond

Josephson, Matthew

Kroll, Leon

Krutch, Joseph Wood

LaFarge, Christopher

Landeck, Armin

Lawrie, Lee

Lewis, Sinclair

Lindeberg, Harrie T.

Lippmann, Walter

Lovett, Robert Morss

MacKaye, Percy

MacLeish, Archibald

Manship, Paul

marsh, Reginald

Mason, Daniel Gregory

Mather, Frank J. Jr.

McFee, Henry Lee

McFee, William

Miller, Kenneth Hayes

Moore, Douglas

Moore, Marianne

Morgan, Wallace

Mumford, Lewis

Nason, Thomas W.

Nathan, Robert

Neihardt, John G.

Nevins, Allan

Olmsted, Frederick L.

O'Neill, Eugene

Payne, Will

Peattie, Donald C.

Perry, Bliss

Perry, Ralph Barton

Pier, Arthur S.

Piston, Walter

Poole, Ernest

Poor, Henry V.

Porter, Katherine Anne

Repplier, Agnes

Rice, Elmer

Robinson, Boardman

Rogers, Bernard

Saroyan, William

Sessions, Roger

Sinclair, Upton

Sloan, John

Sowerby, Leo

Sterne, Maurice

Taylor, Deems

Thompson, Randall

Thomson, Virgil

Tinker, Chauncey B.

Torrence, Ridgely

Untermeyer, Louis

Van Doren, Carl

Van Doren, Mark

Watkins, Franklin

Wescott, Glenway

Wheelock, John Hall

Winter, Ezra

Wilder, Thornton

Young, Stark

23-28-16

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

February 9, 1948

Dear Fellow Member:

The Council of the Institute met on February 6th and studied the results of the second ballot relating to the proposed letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, which were as follows:

123 signed the letter
40 disapproved of the letter
71 have not yet voted.

The Council voted (Mr. Clarke dissenting) to carry out the mandate of the two-thirds majority of those voting, and accordingly will send the letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, with the names appended of those so authorizing. After having done that, the President will release the letter to the press at which the dissenting representative of the Council will be present to make a statement for the minority.

Do you wish to have your name appended to a statement to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to be released to the press as follows:

> "The members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters whose names are subjoined, wish you to know that they dissociate themselves from the letter sent to you by 'a group of members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters' relative to the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives.

"These members are of the opinion that the Institute should not take action in a collective manner, either by vote of all of the members or of a portion of them, on a matter which they consider to be outside of the area related to 'the furtherance of the interests of literature and the fine arts,' the purposes for which the National Institute of Arts and Letters was incorporated by the Congress of the United States on December 2nd, 1912."

Please reply on the enclosed postcard, by return mail.

Very sincerely yours,

GILMORE D. CLARKE

A Vice-President of the National Institute of Arts and Letters

23-28-13

Note of acceptance from city sent. 2-24-48

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

February 19, 1948

To the Members of the Institute:

A Dinner and Meeting of the National Institute of Arts and Letters will be held on

Wednesday evening, March 10th at 7 o'clock
at the Knickerbocker Club,
2 East 62nd Street, New York City

in honor of the newly elected members.

It is hoped that you will make every effort to attend and greet the new members. Kindly designate on the enclosed card whether or not we may expect you.

Very sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

William Rose Benét
Secretary

23-28-10

32-21-63
[NAT. INST. OF ARTS AND LETTERS]

The American Academy of Arts and Letters

&

The National Institute of Arts and Letters

CEREMONIAL

Friday Afternoon, May 21, 1948, at 2:45 o' clock

ACADEMY AUDITORIUM

632 West 156th Street

New York City

32-21-64

DIRECTORS OF THE ACADEMY

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CHANCELLOR AND TREASURER

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VAN WYCK BROOKS

WILLIAM ADAMS DELANO
BARRY FAULKNER
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH
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DEEMS TAYLOR
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PRESIDENT

DOUGLAS MOORE

VICE PRESIDENTS

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ISABEL BISHOP
HENRY SEIDEL CANBY
GILMORE D. CLARKE
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CHRISTOPHER LAFARGE

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WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

TREASURER

PHILIP JAMES

32-21-65

CEREMONIAL PROGRAM

EXCERPT FROM "MANILA TE DEUM" (Composed in 1898) — WALTER DAMROSCH

NATIONAL ANTHEM

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY — PAUL MANSHIP

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTE — DOUGLAS MOORE

INDUCTION OF NEW INSTITUTE MEMBERS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INSTITUTE — WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

ART

Daniel Garber
Harrie T. Lindeberg
James Kellum Smith

LITERATURE

Wystan Hugh Auden
Padraic Colum
Bernard DeVoto
Matthew Josephson
Francis O. Matthiessen
John Hall Wheelock

MUSIC

Virgil Thomson

INDUCTION OF NEW ACADEMY MEMBERS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE ACADEMY — VAN WYCK BROOKS

John Taylor Arms John Dos Passos Mahonri M. Young

PRESENTATION OF THE ACADEMY AND INSTITUTE "ARTS AND LETTERS GRANTS,"

FOR LITERATURE, by — VAN WYCK BROOKS

Bertolt Brecht James F. Powers
Dudley Fitts Genevieve Taggard
Harry Levin Allen Tate

FOR MUSIC, by — PHILIP JAMES

Henry D. Cowell
Lou Harrison
Vincent Persichetti

FOR ART, by — LEON KROLL

Louis Bosa Philip Guston
Robert Cook, Jr. Oronzio Maldarelli
Stephen Csoka John W. Taylor

PRESENTATION TO WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS of the *Russell Loines Memorial Fund Award of $1,000* for Poetry, by — MARIANNE CRAIG MOORE

Acceptance by Dr. Williams

PRESENTATION TO CHARLES AUSTIN BEARD, of the *Gold Medal of the Institute* for History and Biography, by — VAN WYCK BROOKS

Acceptance by Mr. Beard

PRESENTATION TO DONAL HORD, of the *Award of Merit Medal of the Academy* for Sculpture, by — PAUL MANSHIP

Acceptance by Mr. Hord

PRESENTATION TO BRUCE ROGERS, of the *Gold Medal of the Academy* for Distinction in the Designing of Books, by — CHAUNCEY BREWSTER TINKER

Acceptance by Mr. Rogers

PRESENTATION TO JUDITH ANDERSON, of the *Academy's Medal for Good Speech*, on the Stage, by — DEEMS TAYLOR

Acceptance by Miss Anderson

ADDRESS by — THORNTON WILDER

This is the 27th address on the Evangeline Wilbour Blashfield Foundation

FIFTEEN MINUTE INTERMISSION

THE NATIONAL ALUMNI ORCHESTRA

LEON BARZIN
Conductor

Presenting works by Recipients of Grants in Music

1. PASSACAGLIA FOR STRINGS — LOU HARRISON

2. THE HOLLOW MEN FOR TRUMPET AND STRING ORCHESTRA — VINCENT PERSICHETTI

3. HYMN AND FUGUING TUNE #2 FOR STRING ORCHESTRA — HENRY D. COWELL

HUGH PORTER, *Organist* — AUSTIN STRONG, *Master of Ceremonies*

Note: At the close of the Ceremonial the ushers will direct you to the Terrace where refreshments will be served. Please keep your ticket for admission to the Exhibition in the Art Gallery.

THE ARTS AND LETTERS GRANTS

1948

LITERATURE

TO BERTOLT BRECHT, now living in California, preeminent from his early youth in both the dramatic and the lyric poetry of his native Germany, in recognition of the international value and import of his work. In his name we also thank other European authors who have come here as exiles and remained to contribute to our culture.

TO DUDLEY FITTS, born in Massachusetts, in recognition of his gifts as a poet for the few, as well as a translator of large scope and rare resources.

TO HARRY LEVIN, born in Minnesota, in recognition of his fine critical method and his poetic insight into works of the imagination, especially those of James Joyce and Stendhal.

TO JAMES F. POWERS, born in Illinois, in recognition of the admirable style and intelligence of his stories, and especially of his delicate understanding of the processes of thought and feeling involved in the everyday life of the priesthood.

TO GENEVIEVE TAGGARD, born in the State of Washington, in recognition of the art with which she combines in her poetry a delicate metaphysical quality with an aroused social consciousness.

TO ALLEN TATE, born in Kentucky, in recognition of the poetry and criticism for which he is justly eminent both here and abroad; and particularly in recognition of his recent volume "Poems: 1922-1947."

ART

TO LOUIS BOSA, born in Italy, in recognition of his unusual gift for painting, his rich sense of color and the wit and movement of his forms.

TO STEPHEN CSOKA, born in Hungary, in recognition of his mastery in the art of lithography and etching, his rare talent in painting, imbued with warm human understanding.

TO PHILIP GUSTON, born in Canada, in recognition of distinguished painting, sensitive in form and color, powerful in design. His work is a contribution of a high order.

TO ROBERT H. COOK, Jr., born in Massachusetts, in recognition of unusual and skillful sculptural composition. His vital groups and figures reflect a keen humor and fertile imagination.

TO ORONZIO MALDARELLI, born in Italy, a master of his craft, in recognition of his original sculpture which re-animates the rhythms of nature with distinguished simplicity and balance of form.

TO JOHN W. TAYLOR, born in Maryland, in recognition of beautiful painting, a loving appreciation of nature expressed in subtle nuances of form and color.

MUSIC

TO HENRY D. COWELL, born in California, in recognition of his originality and daring, which combined with great wisdom and skill as an artist, have resulted in a substantial contribution to American music.

TO LOU HARRISON, born in California, in recognition of his works both instrumental and vocal which show a natural lyricism, imagination and delicacy in the use of the more radical techniques of composition.

TO VINCENT PERSICHETTI, born in Pennsylvania, in recognition of his brilliant technique and general competence in all forms of musical composition.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

1898-1948

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32-21-61
[NAT. INST OF ARTS AND LETTERS]

The American Academy of Arts and Letters

and

The National Institute of Arts and Letters

request the honor of your presence

at their

Annual Ceremonial

in the Academy Auditorium

632 West 156th Street, New York City

on Friday afternoon, May 21, 1948

at two forty-five o'clock

and

Exhibition of

Works by newly elected members,

Recipients of Academy and Institute Honors

and Pictures purchased from the Childe Hassam Fund

in the Art Gallery

at five o'clock

Please reply to
the Assistant to the President
633 West 155th Street, New York City

Refreshments
will be served on the
Terrace at five o'clock

(Program on page three inside)

Directors of The American Academy of Arts and Letters

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Paul Manship

Chancellor and Treasurer
James Truslow Adams

Secretary
Van Wyck Brooks

William Adams Delano
Barry Faulkner
Archibald MacLeish
Eugene Speicher
Deems Taylor
Chauncey Brewster Tinker

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Douglas Moore

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Isabel Bishop
Henry Seidel Canby
Gilmore D. Clarke
Cecil Howard
Christopher LaFarge

Secretary
William Rose Benét

Treasurer
Philip James

CEREMONIAL PROGRAM

Excerpt from "Manila Te Deum" (Composed in 1898)	Walter Damrosch
Address by the President of the Academy	Paul Manship
Address by the President of the Institute	Douglas Moore
Induction of new Institute Members by the Secretary of the Institute	William Rose Benét
Induction of new Academy Members by the Secretary of the Academy	Van Wyck Brooks
Presentation of "Arts and Letters Grants" to fifteen non-members, by	Van Wyck Brooks Philip James Leon Kroll
Presentation to WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS of the Russell H. Loines Memorial Fund Award of $1,000 for Poetry, by	Marianne Craig Moore
Presentation to CHARLES AUSTIN BEARD of the Gold Medal of the Institute for History and Biography, by	Henry Seidel Canby
Presentation to DONAL HORD of the Award of Merit Medal of the Academy for Sculpture, by	Paul Manship
Presentation to BRUCE ROGERS of the Gold Medal of the Academy for Distinction in the Designing of Books, by	Chauncey Brewster Tinker
Presentation to JUDITH ANDERSON of the Academy's Medal for Good Speech on the Stage, by	Deems Taylor
Address by	Thornton Wilder

Intermission

Orchestral Concert of Compositions by Recipients of Grants in Music
Played by THE NATIONAL ORCHESTRAL ASSOCIATION
under the directorship of LEON BARZIN

Hugh Porter - Organist

Master of Ceremonies - Austin Strong

NEW YORK, N.Y. NOV 12 730PM 1918

BRONX STA

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,

20 West 40th Street,

New York 18, N. Y.

(1948)

file →

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 West 155th Street, New York 32, N. Y.

This is a reminder that you are expected at the Dinner Meeting to be held on

Tuesday evening, November 16th at 7 o'clock
at the Knickerbocker Club,
2 East 62nd Street, New York City

If for any reason you find you cannot be present, please telephone Audubon 3-1260, or telegraph collect to 633 West 155th Street, New York City.

31-5-69

FELICIA GEFFEN,
Assistant Secratary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

November 20, 1948

To the Members of the
Department of Literature:

According to the By-laws, ARTICLE VI, Section 3, the Departmental Committee for Literature has discussed the candidates proposed for membership, (the names of whom appear on the enclosed ballot), and wishes to recommend especially

Malcolm Cowley
John Gould Fletcher
Francis Hackett
Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd
Christopher Isherwood
Alfred Kreymborg
Harry Levin
Allen Tate

it being understood, however, that this is merely a suggestion on the part of the Committee.

Sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

William Rose Benét
Secretary

23-28-2

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

December 22, 1948

To the Members of the Institute:

The Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Institute will be held on Friday evening, January 21, 1949 at seven o'clock at the

Knickerbocker Club,
2 East 62nd Street,
New York City.

I am enclosing the nominations for officers for the ensuing year which have been made by the General Nominating Committee, and which will be voted upon at the meeting.

The result of the election of new members will be announced. At a joint meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the Council of the Institute, a plan was unanimously approved whereby all medals and honors would be presented by the Academy, and all money prizes by the Institute.

The reason for the change is to eliminate the confusion in the public's mind caused by the present overlapping of the various awards given by both organizations. In order to carry out this new plan, two amendments to the By-laws were unanimously approved at the meeting of the Institute held December 13th, and are hereby submitted to you on the attached sheet for your approval.

The amendment on the Gold Medal changes the name from "The Gold Medal of the Institute" to "The Gold Medal," keeps the same Institute procedure for the awarding of the medal, but requires its presentation by the Academy instead of by the Institute. It also increases the number of Gold Medals from one to two a year so that the ten arts listed are honored every five years instead of every ten years.

The second amendment on the "Order of Merit" changes the name to "Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts" in order to differentiate it from the "Award of Merit Medal" given by the Academy.

Final action on these amendments will take place at the next meeting of the Institute on January 21st.

Kindly answer on the enclosed card, as soon as possible, whether or not we may expect you.

23-28-7

Sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

William Rose Benét
Secretary

[Enc.]

OFFICERS PROPOSED FOR 1949

President

DOUGLAS MOORE

Vice-Presidents

JOHN TAYLOR ARMS

ISABEL BISHOP

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY

CECIL HOWARD

CHRISTOPHER LaFARGE

VIRGIL THOMSON

Secretary

WILLIAM ROSE BENET

Treasurer

PHILIP JAMES

23-28-8

[Enc.]

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE XI - Section 1.

A medal to be known as the Gold Medal may be awarded under the following conditions:

Two awards may be made each year for distinguished achievement in arts or letters. Any citizen of the United States is eligible for this award. Presentation will be made in the name of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

Section 3.

Nominations for The Gold Medals shall be invited annually from all members of the department in which they are to be awarded, at least five months prior to the Annual Meeting. Nomination blanks shall be forwarded to all such members containing space for a candidate's qualifications and a description of his or her most important work. Each nomination must be seconded by two members from the same department.

Section 3. Second Paragraph.

For each medal the Council and the nine members of the appropriate departmental committee shall act as a Committee of Award. (The rest of Section 3 the same as in Yearbook, page 49.)

Section 4.

The two awards may be made annually in the following order:

Painting - Essays and Criticism	1950
Soulpture - Music	1951
Fiction - History and Biography	1952
Poetry - Architecture	1953
Drama - Graphic Arts	1954

and thereafter in rotation.

ARTICLE XII

"Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts."

The Institute may from time to time present an "Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts" to a citizen of the United States who is not a member of the Institute, but who has done exceptionally distinguished work in connection with the arts, the award to consist of a grant together with a citation, the amount to be determined by the Council.

23-28-9

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

December 29, 1948

To the Members of the Institute:

According to the By-laws, ARTICLE VI Section 5, the names of the sixteen candidates up for election who have qualified in their respective departments, are submitted herewith for approval or rejection by written ballot.

Vote only for those candidates upon whom you feel qualified to pass judgment. A negative vote should not be based upon unfamiliarity with the work of the artist concerned.

Kindly mark and forward your ballot in the enclosed envelope by return mail, as no ballot will be counted unless received before the Annual Meeting on January 21st, 1949.

Sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

William Rose Benét
Secretary

23-26-4

[Enc.]

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

CANDIDATES FOR MEMBERSHIP WHO HAVE QUALIFIED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE DEPARTMENTS

1949

Alphabetically Arranged

ART

PETER BLUME
Born, Russia, 1906

Principal Works: South of Scranton; Light of the World; Landscape with Poppies; Parade; Excavation; Mural: U. S. P. O., Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania. Represented in the Museum of Modern Art, Whitney Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Newark, N. J. Museum.
Awards: Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, 1932 and 1936; First prize $1,500, Carnegie Art International Exhibition, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1934; Second Purchase Award at Artists for Victory Exhibition, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1942, for his "South of Scranton"; "Arts and Letters Grant," of $1,000 from the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1947.

23-28-5

GERTRUDE KATHERINE LATHROP
Born, Albany, N. Y., 1896

Principal Works: Represented in Memorial Grove, Albany, N. Y. by Albany World War Memmorial; Children's rooms, Albany Public Library; Houston Public Library; Richardson Hall, N. Y. State College for Teachers, Albany; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.; Brookgreen Gardens, Brookgreen, N. C.
Designed commemorative half dollars for Albany, N. Y., 1936, and for New Rochelle, N. Y., 1937, medal for the Society of Medalists, 1938.
Awards: Honorable Mention, Art Institute of Chicago, 1924; Helen Foster Barnett prize, National Academy of Design, 1928; Honorable Mention, National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, 1930, Anna Hyatt Huntington prize of same, 1933; Honorable Mention, Art Institute of Chicago, 1931; Julia A. Shaw memorial prize, National Academy of Design, 1931; Ellen P. Speyer Memorial prize of same, 1936; Frederic Crowninshield prize, Stockridge Art Exposition, 1937; Anna Hyatt Huntington prize, National Association of Women Artists, 1943; "Arts and Letters Grant" of $1,000 from the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1943; Lindsey Morris memorial prize, National Sculpture Society, 1944.

BRUCE MOORE
Born, Bern, Kan., 1905

Principal Works: Represented in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Penn.; Whitney Museum, New York, N. Y.; Wichita Art Museum, Wichita, Kansas; Huntington Collection of American Sculpture, Brookgreen Gardens, S. C.; Wichita High School, East Wichita, Kansas; American Academy in Rome. Works in plaster, stone, bronze, clay, terra cotta; does portrait busts, figures, animals, medals, drawing. Studio assistant to James Earle Fraser; taught modeling and history of sculpture, University of Wichita, 1927-28; teacher of cast drawing, N. Y. School of Applied Design for Women, 1941-1942; Director, Rinehart School of Sculpture, Maryland Institute, Baltimore, 1942-43.
Awards: William E. Cresson European Traveling Scholarship, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1925, 1926; George D. Widener Memorial Gold Medal, 1929; Ellen P. Speyer Prize, National Academy of Design, 1935 and Helen Foster Barnett Prize, 1937; First Prize Meriden, Conn. Arts and Crafts Association, 1940, 1942; "Arts and Letters Grant" of $1,000 from the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1943; Guggenheim Fellowship, 1929-30, 1930-31; M. R. Cromwell Scholarship, 1937-40.

GEORGIA O'KEEFFE
Born, Sun Prairie, Wis., 1887

Principal Works: Represented in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum of Modern Art, Whitney Museum, New York City; Art Institute of Chicago; Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, D. C.; Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich.; Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Mass.; Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; Gallery University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Md.; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Penn.; Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, Ind. Retrospective exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, 1946. Annual one-man exhibitions since 1921 at An American Place, New York City. Honorary Dr. of Fine Arts, William and Mary College, 1938; Honorary Litt.D., University of Wisconsin, 1942.
Began as illustrator for advertising companies, 1909; Supervisor of Art, Public Schools, Amarillo, Texas, 1912-14; Instructor of Art, University of Virginia, summers, 1913-16; Head of Art Department, West Texas State Normal College, Canyon, Texas, 1916-18.
Awards: Chase Scholarship, Art Students' League; Chosen one of 12 most outstanding women of past 50 years by New York World's Fair, N. Y.

ZOLTAN SEPESHY
Born, Kassa, Hungary, 1898

Principal Works: Represented in Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan; Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio; Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y.; Swope Art Gallery, Terre Haute, Ind.; Wichita Art Museum, Wichita, Kansas; San Diego Fine Arts Society, San Diego, Cal.; City Art Museum, St. Louis, Mo.; Butler Art Institute, Youngstown, Ohio; Milwaukee Art Institute, Milwaukee, Wis.; Grand Rapids Art Gallery, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Flint Institute of Arts, Flint, Mich.; University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.; Encyclopaedia Collection; International Business Machines Travelling Collection; Cranbrook Academy of Arts, Cranbrook, Michigan; McGregor Public Library, Highland Park, Michigan; General Motors Building, Detroit, Mich.; Fordson High School, Dearborn, Mich.; United States Post Office, Lincoln Park, Mich.; Rackham Foundation, Detroit, Mich.; Author-illustrator, "Tempers," 1946. Illustrator, Fortune Magazine. Resident Instructor Painting and Drawing, Cranbrook Academy of Art, Cranbrook, Mich.
Awards: Prizes, Detroit Institute of Art, 1925, 1930, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1945; The Patteran, 1939; International Business Machines, 1940; Pepsi-Cola Company, 1945; "Arts and Letters Grant" of $1,000 from the American Academy of Arts and Letters and The National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1946; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1946; First Prize of $1,000, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 1947.

RALPH THOMAS WALKER
Born, Waterbury, Conn., 1889

Principal Works: Architect with the firm of Voohees, Walker, Foley & Smith for New York, N. Y. Telephone Building; Irving Trust Company Building; Western Union Telegraph Building; Brooklyn Edison Office Building; Telephone buildings in New York, New Jersey, Washington, D. C. and vicinity; Travelers Insurance Building, Hartford, Conn.; several buildings, New York World's Fair; Bell Telephone Laboratory, Murray Hill, N. J.; won in competition, Roger Williams Memorial, Providence, R. I. and George Eastman Memorial, Rochester, N. Y.; Prudential Building, Newark, N. J.; Government Projects for Army Defense bases in Caribbean at Trinidad, St. Lucia, Antigua, British Guiana; Town for Nicaro Nickel Company, Cuba; Buildings for U. S. Navy in Brooklyn and Scotia, N. Y.; Standard Oil Company laboratories, N. J.; Louisiana, Maryland; Firestone Tire & Rubber Company laboratories, Akron, Ohio; Ford Research and Engineering Center, Dearborn, Mich.; duPont Experimental Station Expan-

(*Continued on Page 2*)

sion, Wilmington, Del.; Associate Architects United Nations Headquarters, New York City. Served as 2d Lt. Engineers, camouflage section, U. S. Army, World War I; Consultant to Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in 1942; Invited by the British Minister, Mr. Brendan Bracken, to visit England in 1943 to observe postwar planning; Trustee Lavanburg Foundation; Vice-President Northern Westchester Hospital; President, Chappaqua Library, Chappaqua, N. Y.; Chairman, Board of Appeals, 1935-40 and member Planning Commission, 1946-48, Town of New Castle. Appointed member Architectural Commission of Chicago World's Fair Exposition, 1933. Fellow American Institute of Architects; Chairman, Commission on International Congress of Architects, American Institute of Architects; Delegate of Department of State of U. S. A., The American Institute of Architects and American Institute of Planners, the VI Pan-American Congress of Architects, Lima, Peru, Oct. 1947; Representative American Institute of Architects at Reunion Internationale Des Architects in Paris, January, 1948; Delegate of the American Institute of Architects to First Congress of the International Union of Architects, Lausanne, Switzerland, June-July 1948; Past President New York Chapter, American Institute of Architects; Member Architectural League of New York (past President), Beaux Arts Inst. of Design (member of the Board of Trustees 1933-41), Municipal Art Society (past President), American Institute of Planners, National Sculpture Society—Associate-Elect, National Academy of Design, 1948, Citizens Housing and Planning Council of N. Y. (board of Directors); member Mayor's Committee on City Planning, 1933; Multiple Dwelling Law & Real Property Inventory, N. Y. C., 1933-37; consultant to New York City Housing Authority, 1933; consultant to N. Y. State Department of Housing, 1943.

Awards: Gold Medal Architectural League of New York, 1927; on Honor Roll, The Nation, 1927; Honor Roll Citation of The American Artists Professional League, 1947.

WILLIAM ZORACH

Born, Eurburg, Lithuania, 1887

Principal Works: Represented in Brooklyn Museum; Whitney Museum of American Art, Museum of Modern Art and Metropolitan Museum, New York; Newark (New Jersey) Museum; Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, D. C.; Los Angeles Museum; Radio City Music Hall, New York Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Mass.; Cleveland Museum; also in many private collections. Sculptor for new Post Office and Justice buildings, Washington, D. C. Contributor of articles in American Magazine of Art and other publications; "History of Sculpture from Ancient to Modern Times," Collier's National Encyclopedia. Awards: Logan medal and $1,500. prize for sculpture, Chicago Art Institute, 1931; Logan medal and $500. prize for water color, International Water Color Exhibition at Art Institute of Chicago 1932.

LITERATURE

MALCOLM COWLEY

Born, Belsano, Penn., 1898

Principal Works: Blue Juniata (poems), 1929; The Lost Generation, 1931; Exile's Return, 1934; The Dry Season (poems), 1941. Translator (from the French): Variety, by Paul Valéry, 1926; The Sacred Hill, Maurice Barres, 1929; Imaginery Interviews, André Gide, 1944, etc. Editor: Adventures of an African Slaver, by Captain Canot, 1927; After the Genteel Tradition, 1937; Books That Changed Our Minds, 1939; The Portable Hemingway, 1944; The Portable Faulkner, 1946. Edited (with Hannah Josephson) Aragon, Poet of the French Resistance, 1945; Aragon, Poet of Resurgent France, 1947.

Free lance writer and translator, 1925-1929; associate editor The New Republic, 1929-44. Contributor to magazines.

Awards: "Arts and Letters Grant" of $1,000 from American Academy of Arts and Letters and National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1946.

JOHN GOULD FLETCHER

Born, Little Rock, Ark., 1886

Principal Works: Fire and Wine, 1913; Irradiations—Sand and Spray, 1915; Goblins and Pagodas, 1916; Japanese Prints, 1918; The Tree of Life, 1918; Breakers and Granite, 1921; Paul Gauguin, His Life and Art, 1921; Preludes and Symphonies, 1922; Parables, 1925; Branches of Adam, 1926; John Smith—Also Pocahontas, 1928; The Black Rock, 1928; The Two Frontiers, 1930; XXIV Elegies, 1935; The Epic of Arkansas, 1936; Life is My Song (autobiography), 1937; Selected Poems, 1938; South Star, 1941; The Burning Mountain, 1946; Arkansas (prose history), 1947. Translator: The Dance Over Fire and Water (by Elie Faure), 1926; The Reveries of a Solitary (by J. J. Rousseau), 1927.

Awards: Pulitzer Prize for Poetry, 1939.

FRANCIS HACKETT

Born, Kilkenny, Ireland, 1883

Principal Works: Ireland, A Study in Nationalism, 1918; Horizons, 1918; The Invisible Censor, 1920; The Story of the Irish Nation, 1922; That Nice Young Couple (novel), 1924; Henry the Eighth—A Personal History, 1929; Francis the First, 1934; The Green Lion (novel), 1936; Queen Anne Boleyn (novel) 1938; I Chose Denmark, 1940; What "Mein Kampf" Means to America, 1941; The Senator's Last Night (novel), 1943; On Judging Books in General and in Particular, 1947. Editorial writer, Chicago Evening Post, 1906-1909; editor Friday Literary Review (same paper), 1909-1911; associate editor of New Republic, 1914-1922. Book critic, New York Times, 1944-1945.

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2nd

Born, New York, N. Y., 1895

Principal Works: Wrote in collaboration book and lyrics of many musical plays, including, Wildflower, 1923; Rose Marie, 1924; Sunny, 1925; The Desert Song, 1926; Show Boat (no collaborator but adapted from Edna Ferber's novel), 1927; New Moon, 1928; Sweet Adeline, 1929; Music in the Air, 1932; May Wine, 1935; Oklahoma, 1943; Carmen Jones, 1943; Carousel, 1945; adapted Show Boat for motion pictures and collaborated on lyrics for motion pictures, Reckless, 1935; Rose Marie, 1936; Swing High, Swing Low, 1937; High, Wide and Handsome, 1937; I'll Take Romance, 1937; The Great Waltz, 1939; The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle, 1939; screen play and lyrics of State Fair. Wrote lyrics for many songs the best known being, "Ol' Man River", "Lover Come Back to Me", "When I Grow too Old to Dream", "All the Things You Are", "The Last Time I Saw Paris", "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'", "People Will Say We're in Love", "The Surrey with the Fringe on Top", "If I Loved You", "June is Bustin' Out All Over", and in collaboration "The Indian Love Call", "Who", "One Alone."

CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD

Born, Disley, Cheshire, England, 1904

Principal Works: All the Conspirators (novel) 1928; The Memorial (novel), 1932; The Dog Beneath the Skin: or, Where is Francis? (play, with W. H. Auden), 1935; Mr. Norris Changes Trains (American Title: The Last of Mr. Norris) (novel), 1935; Sally Bowles, 1937; Ascent of F. 6 (play, with W. H. Auden), 1937; On the Frontier (play, with W. H. Auden), 1938; Lions and Shadows (autobiography), 1938; Journey to a War (with W. H. Auden), 1939; Goodbye to Berlin, 1939; Prater Violet, 1945; Translations: Intimate Journals by Charles Pierre Boudelaire, 1947. Mr. Isherwood did Film-Script work for Gaumont-British. He went to China with W. H. Auden to write a book in collaboration on the China war, January-June, 1938. Has been employed as a dialogue-writer by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

ALFRED KREYMBORG

Born, New York, N. Y., 1883

Principal Works: Love and Life and Other Studies, 1910; Apostrophes, 1912; Erna Vitek, 1914; Mushrooms (a book of free verse), 1916; Others, An Anthology of New Verse, 1916; Plays for Merry Andrews, 1920; Rocking Chairs, and Other Comedies, 1925; Troubadour: An Autobiography, 1925; Scarlet and Mellow, 1926; There's a Moon Tonight, 1926; Puppet Plays, 1926; Funnybone Alley, 1927; I'm No Hero, 1933; How Do You Do, Sir?, 1934; History of American Poetry, 1934; America, America, 1934; Planets, 1938; Two New Yorkers, 1938; Four Apes, And Other Fables of our Day, 1939; Poetic drama—an anthology of plays in verse from the ancient Greeks to the modern American, 1941; Selected Poems, 1912-44, 1945; Man and Shadow, 1946. Editor: Anthology of American Poetry, Lyric America, 1630-1930. Lecturer on modern poetry and drama.

HARRY LEVIN

Born, Minneapolis, Minn., 1913

Principal Works: The Broken Column; A Study in Romantic Hellenism, 1931; Monograph on Flaubert; Stendhal, 1945; Balzac, 1948; Critical Analysis of James Joyce, 1947. Associate Professor of English at Harvard. Editor of Ben Johnson: Selected Works, 1938; Earl of Rochester: A Satire against Mankind, and other Poems, 1942.

Awards: Henry Russell Shaw Travelling Fellow in Europe, 1933-34; John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship, 1943-44—renewed for four months, 1944. "Arts and Letters Grant" of $1,000, from the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1948.

ALLEN TATE

Born, Clarke County, Ky., 1899

Principal Works: Stonewall Jackson—The Good Soldier, 1928; Mr. Pope and Other Poems, 1928; Jefferson Davis—His Rise and Fall, 1929; The Critique of Humanism (with others), 1930; I'll Take My Stand—The South and the Agrarian Tradition (with others), 1930; Three Poems, 1930; Poems, 1928-31, 1932; Robert E. Lee, 1932; The Fathers, 1938; The Mediterranean and Other Poems, 1936; Reactionary Essays, 1936; Selected Poems, 1937; Reason in Madness (essays), 1941; Invitation to Learning (with Cairns and M. Van Doren), 1941; The Winter Sea (poems), 1944; Poems, 1920-45, 1946. Joint editor (with Herbert Agar of symposium "Who Owns America", 1936); (with J. P. Bishop) of anthology "American Harvest," 1942; Princeton Verse Between Two Wars, 1942; The Language of Poetry, 1942; The Vigil of Venus, 1943; Poems, 1922-47, 1947; represented in numerous anthologies. Edited: Southern Vanguard; the John Peale Bishop Memorial volume, 1947.

Advisory editor Kenyon Review, 1938-42. Regular member of the Columbia Broadcasting System program "Invitation to Learning," 1940-41.

Fellow Guggenheim Foundation, 1928-30; lecturer English literature Southwestern (Memphis), 1934-36; Professor English Woman's College, University of North Carolina, 1938-39; resident fellow in writing, creative arts program, Princeton, 1939-42; incumbent, chair of poetry, Library of Congress, 1943-44; editor of The Sewanee Review and Professor of English, University of the South, 1944. On the Limits of Poetry, 1948.

Awards: Caroline Sinkler prize by Poetry Society of South Carolina, 1928, 1932; Midland Author's prize (Chicago), 1933. "Arts and Letters Grant" of $1,000 from American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1948.

MUSIC

IGOR STRAVINSKY

Born, near St. Petersburg, Russia, 1882

Principal Works: Orchestral: Symphony, 1907; Feu d'Artifice; L'Oiseau de Feu, 1910; Petrouchka, 1911; LeSacre du Printemps, 1917; Le Chant du Rossignol, 1917; Renard: Les Noces: Histoire du Soldat: Concerto for Piano and Orchestra; Capriccio, 1929; Circus Polka (composed for a young elephant), 1942; Norwegian Moods — four episodes, 1942; Ode — in three parts, 1943; Scherzo a la Russe, 1943; Scenes de Ballet, 1944; Symphony in Three Movements, 1945. Choral: Oedipus Rex; Symphonie de Psaumes, 1930. Chamber Orchestra: Danses Concertantes, 1942. Other works: Tango for Piano or Two Pianos, 1940; Sonata for Two Pianos, 1944; Elégie for Violin or Viola Solo, 1944, etc., etc.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

Subsequent to the Council Meeting referred to in the enclosed letter, Mr. Gilmore D. Clarke, the only member of the Council who disapproved of the original resolution, has directed and authorized that we attach herewith the names of those members of the Institute who also voted "no."

Douglas Moore, President
William Rose Benét, Secretary

23-26-17

[Enc.]

Members who Disapproved of the Institute Resolution of December 30, 1947.

Beebe, William

Betts, Louis

Brown, Arthur Jr.

Clarke, Gilmore D.

Connolly, James B.

Cross, John W.

Crothers, Rachel

DeLue, Donald

Dickinson, Sidney E.

Erskine, John

Hanson, Howard

Hill, Edward B.

Hopper, Edward

Huntington, Anna Hyatt

Jennewein, C. Paul

Nichols, Hobart

Patigian, Haig

Putnam, Brenda

Redfield, Edward W.

Savage, Eugene

Sedgwick, Henry D.

Shepley, Henry R.

Simon, Louis A.

Smith, David Stanley

Smith, James Kellum

Speicher, Eugene

Stevenson, Burton E.

Strong, Austin

Warren, Charles

Wengenroth, Stow

23-28-20

Files

National Maritime Union of America

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

346 West 17th Street, New York 11, N.Y.

Affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

22-40-27

February 10, 1948

Mr. W.E.B. Dubois
National Association for
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Dubois:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter sent to all NMU Port Agents, describing a matter of vital concern to the maritime industry and one which I feel merits your interest and action.

As you know, the SS BOOKER T. WASHINGTON is more than just another ship in the American Merchant Marine. The members of the National Maritime Union, as well as of other unions in the industry, fought for many years to smash the barriers of discrimination which prevented Negroes and other minority groups from assuming their proper place on an equality with white workers in the industry.

The National Maritime Union is proud of its role in helping to win a ship for Captain Mulzac in 1942, thus breaking the barrier which kept Negroes from the bridge. The NMU, and I am sure the other maritime unions will take the same view, look upon the unwarranted removal of the BOOKER T. WASHINGTON from active service as part of the attack now prevalent against Negroes and other minority groups in this industry. The seamen do not intend to sit idly by and permit the important gains in the improvement of race relations to be destroyed and the industry returned to the pre-war situation in which Negroes were the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

I am writing to ask that you use your good offices to help restore the BOOKER T. WASHINGTON to the high seas under the command of Captain Mulzac. It is entirely within the province of the U.S. Maritime Commission to keep the BOOKER T. WASHINGTON in active service if it so desires. The Chairman of the Maritime Commission is Admiral W.W. Smith, Washington, D.C.

I want to stress again that this is not only a matter of justice for Captain Mulzac for his outstanding services throughout the war and in the cause of democracy. It is a matter which, as I indicated at the outset, directly affects the entire question of discrimination in an important

Mr. W.E.B. Dubois February 10, 1948

22-40-28

industry such as marine. When the BOOKER T. WASHINGTON was launched under Captain Mulzac's command, it reflected new hopes for thousands of Negroes who had been denied the right to work and express their talents in any skilled fields. Your personal intercession will be an important contribution toward helping to realize those hopes. With your invaluable assistance we feel confident that the BOOKER T. WASHINGTON will soon be back where she belongs - on the high seas, advancing the cause of true American democracy.

Fraternally yours,

F.C. Smith

Ferdinand C. Smith
National Secretary

uopwa 16-12
sy

Encl.

TEMPORARY INITIATING COMMITTEE

NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON
FOR PASSAGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

COPY

Civil Rights

57 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.
Sacramento 2-8807
May 10, 1948

23-22-32

Dear Dr. DuBois:

There is immediate danger that Congress will adjourn without enacting Anti-Poll Tax, FEPC, and Anti-Lynching bills, and without taking other action against the rising terrorism and Jim Crowism in military and civilian life.

It is imperative that Congress act to halt the repression which is increasing nationally, behind the cloak of war hysteria, against minorities, labor, free elections, and against all who speak for equality, peace, and democracy.

Leaders in both major parties have made pledges on Negro rights and civil liberties at this session of Congress. The approaching primaries and elections afford an extraordinary opportunity to smash the threatened filibuster and secure fulfillment of the pledges.

Quick and effective demonstration of the Negro people's demand for such Congressional action is essential. Will you join in sponsoring and helping organize a mass united, non-partisan delegation of Negroes and other progressives on a national scale to Washington on Wednesday, June 2nd, in order to contact Congressmen, Senators, the President, and major party leaders on the above issues?

We earnestly desire your suggestions as well as endorsement of this plan. Arrangements for the delegation are now under way and details will be forwarded. Time is decisive in this matter. Please respond today by telegram addressed to Paul Robeson, 57 West 125th Street.

Very sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson
Dr. W. E. B.DuBois
Reverend John H. Johnson
Roscoe Dunjee
Mrs. Estelle Massey Osborne

Pass the Anti-Poll tax, Anti-Lynching, and FEPC bills before Congress adjourns!
Smash the Filibuster! Demand Cloture! Safeguard Civil Rights NOW!

TEMPORARY INITIATING COMMITTEE
****
NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON
FOR PASSAGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

57 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.
May 13, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Robeson has asked me to let you know that a press conference has been arranged for Saturday, May 15th, at noon, at 23 West 26th Street, the Library, in order to announce and explain the objectives of the united non-partisan delegation to Washington to secure immediate enactment of civil rights legislation.

Mr. Robeson would be very happy if you could join him and participate in the press conference.

We have received enthusiastic responses from many of those who were asked to join in sponsoring the delegation. A full list of sponsors will be sent you next week.

Very truly yours,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton
for Paul Robeson

TEMPORARY INITIATING COMMITTEE
****
NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON
FOR PASSAGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

57 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.
May 14, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Robeson has asked me to let you know that a press conference has been arranged for Saturday, May 15th, at noon, at 23 West 26th Street, the Library, to which you are invited and

Dr. W. A. Hunton
257 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

explain the objectives of the united non-partisan delegation to Washington to secure immediate enactment of civil rights legislation.

Dear Al: Dr. DuBois received your note concerning the meeting on May 15, but unfortunately, he will be unable to attend. He will be in Washington, D. C., to receive an award from the American Veterans Committee as "A.V.C. Man of the Year 1948," in conjunction with the AVC dedication ceremony of its new building. He sends his regrets.

Mr. Robeson would be very happy if you could join him and participate in the press conference.

We have received enthusiastic responses from many of those who were asked to join in sponsoring the delegation. A full list of sponsors will be sent you next week.

Hope you are well and that things are shaping up all right for you.

Sincerely,

Very truly yours,

W. A. Hunton
for Paul Robeson

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

[Nat'l Non-Partisan Delegation]

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 15, 1948

TEMPORARY INITIATING COMMITTEE
NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON
FOR PASSAGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION
57 West 125th Street
Sacramento 2-8807
New York, N.Y.

23-22-30

New York--The question of free and democratic elections confronts America itself today and Congress must answer this question at its present session by passing anti-poll tax legislation enabling millions of disfranchised Negro as well as white American citizens to cast their votes in this year of decision, 1948, Paul Robeson stated today in announcing plans for a nation-wide, non-partisan mass delegation to Washington on June 2nd to demand immediate passage of anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, and Fair Employment Practice bills.

Robeson warned that repressive action against Negroes and other minorities in America, against labor, and against free speech and free elections was increasing rapidly on a national scale and was fostered and condoned on the basis of wa r hysteria. He cited the Mundt-Nixon Un-American Activities Bill as an example of such repressive action and said that this bill if passed could be used to outlaw Negro resistance against discrimination and White Supremacy rule.

He described the coming delegation to Washington as a reflection and demonstration of the demand of Negro Americans, which he said was more insistent and impatient today than ever before, that the Administration and Congress act at once to guarantee and protect their full economic, political and social rights as American citizens.

Converging in Washington from all parts of the country on June 2nd, the members of the delegation, expected to number several hundred, it was reported, will seek to interview Congressmen and Senators, major party leaders, and the President, and will demand that no filibuster or other delaying tactic be permitted to stand in the way of passage of the three civil rights bill previously mentioned, before Congress adjourns in June.

Associated with Paul Robeson in initiating plans for the delegation were Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, director of special research for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Reverend John H. Johnson, New York civic leader and pastor of St. Martin's Episcopal Church; Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and Mrs. Estelle Massey Osborne of the National Council of Negro Women.

Prominent Negro labor, educational, church, and civic leaders and white progressives in a score of cities across the country were reported as having joined in endorsing the delegation and pledging cooperation.

Among the co-sponsors are Dr. Benjamin E. Mays and Dr. Ira De A. Reid of Atlanta, Ga.; John D. Marshall, President of the Southern Association of Colored Railway Trainmen, Savannah, Ga.; Louis E. Burnham, Executive Secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Conference, Birmingham, Alabama; Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Columbia, S. Carolina; Professor Luther P. Jackson, Virginia State College, Peters-

23-22-31

burgh, Va.; and Raymond R. Tillman, New Orleans, La.

Also Atty. Earl B. Dickerson, Dr. Metz Lochard, Ulysses S. Keys, William L. Patterson, Nelson M. Willison , and Frank Marshall Davis of Chicago; Reverend Charles D. Hill, Coleman Young, C. LeBron Simmons and Edward Tolan of Detroit; John D. Clark, St. Louis, Mo.; Willard B. Ransom, Indianapolis, Ind.

Also Reverend Wm. H. Jernajin, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Thomas Richardson, Winston C. Edwards of the United Negro and Allied Veterans, and Martin Popper of of the National Lawyers Guild, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Goldie Watson of Philadelphia; and Reverend H. Boochor Jackson and Ernest Thompson of Newark, N.J.

Also Dr. Robert A. Simmons, Eastern New England Conference for Equal Opportunities, Boston; Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, Reverend Thomas Harton, and Doxey A. Wilkerson, Brooklyn; Ferdinand C. Smith, National Maritime Union; Councilman Benj. J. Davis, Jr.; and Marcel Scherer, Secretary, Fair Practices Committee, District 4, United Electrical Workers Union.

(The above is only a partial list of co-sponsors.)

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January 19, 1948

Miss Shirley Graham
173-19 113th Avenue
St. Albans
Long Island, New York

Dear Shirley Graham:

Thank you for submitting the DuBois four-act play BLACK MAN for consideration by members of the National Theatre Conference. However, we cannot recommend this play for production on N.T.C. stages.

As an overall consideration, the weakness in the play, it seems to the reader, is a confusion of intention. There are two ideas running through the phantasy: that of slavery and white supremacy, and the destructive force of human nature. That there is a plausible correlation between the two is acceptable, but as it is worked out here it is beyond understanding. The remainder of the criticisms stem from the above. The play lacks persuasive power because it is too far away from the world. Often the reader feels the playwright's sincerity runs over into an emotionalism that is overdrawn in the context of the play. Stating the major criticism again, the author has attempted too great a symbolism and much too large a subject for a single play.

We should be glad to hear the author's reactions to the comments on his play.

Sincerely,

HFD

Hallie Flanagan Davis,
New Playwrights Project

HFD:LK

23-39-51

January 19, 1948

Mr. Julius A. Thomas
Industrial Secretary
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Tom: The enclosed is the letter I was telling you about Saturday evening. Dr. DuBois wanted it passed along to you, since he felt you would know how to make best use of it. We hope you can find some Negroes interested in going into this air conditioning work.

Mabel and I are elated over your book and it should fill a long needed requirement for personnel people in handling and integrating colored employees. If we can help at all, you have only to let us know. With lots of luck, until later

Cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

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Please reply
on enclosed card

(No solicitation of funds)

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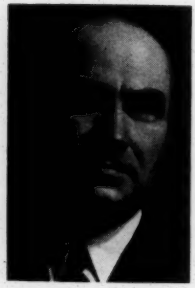

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on

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DR. C. S. JOHNSON
President,
Fisk University

on

"The Urban League—
Then and Now"

ELMO ROPER
Public Opinion
Analyst

on

"The High Cost of
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Dinner Chairman

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DR. WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK,
President, Urban League of Greater New York

Brief reports by:

LESTER B. GRANGER,
Executive Secretary, National Urban League

EDWARD S. LEWIS,
Executive Director, Urban League of Greater New York

JUNE MCMECHEN, Soprano

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250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAY
Thirteenth
1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Hugh:

You certainly asked for a plenty of information in your letter of May 12, and I must admit, at the very outset, that our department does not have it. I have no research person in the department, and I have not been able to keep up-to-date on some of the questions you raise.

To get a good picture of the employment situation, there are three sources of fairly accurate information: (1) The New Jersey State Commission Against Discrimination, of which Harold Lett is the assistant director. He has been collecting material on Negro employment ever since its program was started. I have not seen any releases or reports on this information. (2) The New Jersey Urban League, of which Roy E. Norris is the Industrial Secretary, has some general information. (3) The New Jersey State Employment Service is trying to break down its regular reports in the North Jersey area, with the view of getting reliable facts about Negro employment. Several studies have been made of the North Jersey area by the research department. Banner has those studies in his files. For the most part they are sociological and one would have to pull out certain pertinent facts to get the kind of picture he wants. I am sure Banner would make the study available at your request.

Regarding voting and public offices held, I think the New Jersey Urban League would get this information for you, or tell you where it can be obtained. New Jersey is a hot political State, especially North Jersey, and I remember seeing an article in one of the Negro papers some time ago regarding the Negro as a political entity in that area. Harold Lett was close to the political scene when he was the Urban League executive, and I suspect he has this information.

Contributions to the National Urban League are deductible for income tax purposes

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I may go to Newark tomorrow (Friday) for some conferences on the employment situation, and I will find out how much material there is on the general situation. I'll get whatever I can and will tell you how other information can be obtained.

Will see you over the weekend.

Sincerely yours,

Julius A. Thomas, Director
Department of Industrial Relations

JAT:ht

23-23-22

April 5, 1948

Mr. Julius Thomas
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Tom:

I tried to reach you last week by phone but you were either busy or out. I am enclosing a copy of a letter which we have received and I would appreciate it if you would write Mr. Odali and give him whatever help you can. I am assuming that you will know more about this than we.

Thanks so much for doing this. I'll be seeing you later on in the week. Hello to Connie.

Cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

September 13, 1948

Mr. Julius A. Thomas, Director
Department of Industrial Relations
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Tom:

I am writing you in behalf of Dr. Hilda Weiss, whom I have known for some years. Dr. Weiss is a person of immense background in industrial relations, having had experience in both Europe and America. At present she is teaching at Brooklyn College, having been on the staff there since 1946. However, she is desirous of securing additional employment and I have suggested that she have an interview with you, since you are probably the most informed individual I know who might be able to help her in her quest.

Of course, I do not know what the situation is at SCAD, but since you are acquainted with Mr. Elmer Carter, perhaps you might know of something with that Commission into which she could fit. Or else, in regard to your own work there might be something she could do, especially in regard to personnel problems.

I have asked Dr. Weiss to call you for an appointment sometime this week, possibly Wednesday. I would appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to talk with her and assist her in any way that you can. She is more than deserving and will be an asset wherever she is employed. When she calls, ask her to bring along a copy of her vita; this will save much of your valuable time and acquaint you in detail with her qualifications.

With thanks for your kindness in this request and extending appreciation for whatever you may do for Dr. Weiss, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:

cc: Dr. Hilda Weiss

May 12, 1948

Industrial Secretary
Newark Urban League
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Sir:

We are in need of some material on New Jersey concerning the recent picture of the Negro in the state as regards housing, employment, civil rights, and education. Would you please be good enough to let us have whatever information you have in this regard. We shall be much obliged for your courtesy in this request.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

23-23-20

[NAT. URBAN LEAGUE-NJ.]

The NEW JERSEY URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.

A SOCIAL WORK AGENCY FOR INTER-RACIAL COOPERATION

TELEPHONE: MARKET 2-5331

58 WEST MARKET STREET • NEWARK 3, N. J.

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.

Contributions deductible
for income tax purposes

A Member Agency of the
WELFARE FEDERATION
OF NEWARK
financed through the
COMMUNITY CHEST FUND

May 17, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Public Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Hugh:

Your letter addressed to the Industrial Secretary of the New Jersey Urban League has come to my attention. May 15th is the effective date of my resignation, and so I am unable to develop the material you asked about.

I am referring your letter to Mr. George Robinson, Executive Secretary. You may check with him later, if necessary.

Yours Sincerely,

Roy E. Norris ph

Roy E. Norris
Industrial Relations Secretary

REN:ph

[NATIONAL WALLACE FOR PRES]

HENRY A. WALLACE
Hotel McAlpin, New York
Room 401

January 28, 1948

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY A.M., JANUARY 29, 1948

Henry A. Wallace announced today the formation of a National Wallace for President Committee, under the chairmanship of Elmer A. Benson of Appleton, Minnesota.

Mr. Benson, a farmer and businessman and former Minnesota governor and U.S. Senator, is one of the leaders of the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party in Minnesota.

Mr. Wallace also announced that he had selected C. B. Baldwin, executive vice-chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America, to be his campaign manager. Mr. Baldwin served as Mr. Wallace's personal assistant for two years before becoming Administrator of Farm Security Administration in the Department of Agriculture. He resigned as Economic Director for Italy to become assistant chairman of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee under Sidney Hillman in 1944. Mr. Baldwin later became executive vice-chairman of the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

Serving as co-chairman of the National Wallace for President Committee will be Rexford Guy Tugwell of Chicago, Jo Davidson of Lahaska, Bucks County, Pa., and Paul Robeson of Enfield, Conn. Treasurer of the Committee is Angus Cameron of Lexington, Massachusetts.

Mr. Tugwell, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, was for many years one of the chief advisors to President Roosevelt. Former Undersecretary of Agriculture, Mr. Tugwell was appointed Governor of Puerto Rico in 1941.

Mr. Davidson, the sculptor, is honorary chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America, and was chairman of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Mr. Robeson is the actor and concert singer. Mr. Cameron is editor-in-chief of Little, Brown & Co., book publishers.

Headquarters for the Committee will be established shortly. Full membership of the Committee, which is now in formation, will be announced later.

# # # # # #

uopwa #16

NATIONAL *Wallace for President* COMMITTEE

39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. • MU 3-5580

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

Co-Chairmen
MRS. ANITA MC CORMICK BLAINE
JO DAVIDSON
PAUL ROBESON
REXFORD G. TUGWELL

Treasurer
ANGUS CAMERON

Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

March 9, 1948

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The officers of the National Wallace for President Committee have called the first meeting of the Committee for April 10-11 in Chicago. The sessions will be held at the Hotel Sheraton beginning at 10:30 A.M., April 10. We expect the sessions to be completed by 5:00 P.M., April 11.

The purposes of the meeting are the following:

1. To complete the organization of the National Committee.

2. To hear progress reports from representatives of State Wallace for President Committees and new State Parties, and to perfect plans for the campaign.

3. To approve and issue a call for the founding convention of a new National Party. The officers of the Committee will recommend that this convention be held on July 3, 4 and 5.

4. To discuss the arrangements for the convention and to designate the members of the convention committee.

A proposed agenda for the April 10-11 meeting will be sent to you later.

Will you fill out the enclosed card and return it to us as promptly as possible, indicating whether or not you will attend the meeting. We would appreciate it if you can make your own arrangements for housing accommodations, but will be happy to assist you if you desire. If you want our help, will you please so indicate on the enclosed card.

All of us have been greatly encouraged by the developments of the past weeks. We are sure that we do not need to emphasize the importance of your presence at the Chicago meeting, and we urge you to make every effort to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer A. Benson
Chairman

C. B. Baldwin
Campaign Manager

uopwa #16-33

[NATIONAL WALLACE FOR PRES. COMMITTEE]

NATIONAL *Wallace for President* COMMITTEE

39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. • MU 3-5580

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

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MRS. ANITA MC CORMICK BLAINE
JO DAVIDSON
PAUL ROBESON
REXFORD G. TUGWELL

Treasurer
ANGUS CAMERON

Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

March 10, 1948

Dear

We think you must have been as heartened as all of us by Henry Wallace's announcement of his independent candidacy for President. Everywhere, since his historic decision, there are signs of new hope for peace, fresh confidence in the future. More and more people are speaking out boldly for a real peace policy: the peace of a full life, the security of full production. They are standing up to fight for freedom of speech, to end racial discrimination, for lower prices and free labor unions, for jobs and for homes in which we can decently live.

We are forming the State committee because everywhere in the State the groups of Wallace supporters that are springing up are seeking contact with others like themselves in the rural districts, the up-state wards and the metropolitan areas. There is ample evidence that many hundreds of thousands are ready to organize behind Mr. Wallace's candidacy because they know that this time their vote will go to a genuine liberal candidate pledged to a program for peace and abundance.

If this statewide support is to produce all that it is capable of, it needs statewide coordination. A representative committee embracing leaders of the American Labor Party and the New York State Progressive Citizens of America, together with leaders of trade unions, farm, professional, nationality and minority, women's, youth, veteran, business and consumer groups, would seem to be the best way to achieve this unity.

We have therefore undertaken to issue this call to a meeting to organize a New York State Wallace for President Committee.

We are confident that you will recognize the urgent need for this step and join with us. A meeting will be held:

Saturday, April 3rd, 1948,
12:30 - 5:30 p.m.
at the
Manhattan Center
34th Street at 8th Avenue, New York City

Please reply on the enclosed postcard, indicating your consent to serve on the committee and your assurance of attendance at the organizing meeting.

We look forward to the pleasure of greeting you there.

Sincerely yours,

O. John Rogge,
(on behalf of the initiating sponsors)

NOTE: This letter will be sent on New York Wallace for President - Organizing Committee stationery.

330 - 32 - 37

NATIONAL **Wallace for President** COMMITTEE

39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. • MU 3-5580

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

Co-Chairmen
MRS. ANITA MC CORMICK BLAINE
JO DAVIDSON
PAUL ROBESON
REXFORD G. TUGWELL

Treasurer
ANGUS CAMERON

Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

23-32-17

Rec'd by Smythe
March 18, 1948

March 10, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosed letter is the draft of the invitation we plan to send to over a thousand community and organizational leaders throughout the state, urging them to attend the April 3rd conference for the formation of the New York State Wallace for President Committee.

Since you are one of the initiating sponsors whose name will be signed to the letter, we are submitting this draft for your approval. If you have any suggestions, please forward them to us immediately by phone or wire. We are anxious for the final form to be mailed out quickly to allow plenty of time for organizing the conference itself. If we do not hear from you by Saturday, we shall assume that the draft has your approval.

Thanks very much.

Cordially yours,

O. John Rogge

O. John Rogge, Chairman
Organizing Committee

enc.
uopwa 16

[WHT. WALLACE FOR PRES COMM.]

National Wallace for President Committee
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

March 16, 1948

WALLACE CAMPAIGN MATERIALS AVAILABLE
(Bulletin #5 - Supersedes all previous memos)

230-32-43

Pamphlets

1. "Stand Up and Be Counted". Reprint of New Republic editorial giving reasons for his candidacy. 16 pp. 6x9. Illustrated with Lynd Ward drawing. $20/M. Ready.

2. "Ten Extra Years". Reprint of Wallace address before Negro fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha. 12 pp. 5½x8½. Cover photograph. $20/M. Ready.

3. "Increase Wages Out of Profits". Text of Wallace address before PCA convention. Especially useful for labor distribution. 16 pp. 5½x8½. $14/M. Ready.

4. "The Wallace Plan vs. the Marshall Plan". Text of Mr. Wallace's testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. 32 pp. $30/M. Ready.

Leaflets

1. "The Times Has Come". Text of broadcast announcing candidacy. 8 pp. 3-3/4 x 8-3/4. $9/M. Ready.

2. "Wallace's Pledge". Wallace's challenge to other candidates to repudiate the support of white supremacy advocates, Taft-Hartleyites, etc. 4x5½. 4 pp. Two colors. $7/M. Ready.

3. "I TAKE MY STAND WITH HENRY WALLACE". Text of Senator Glen Taylor's broadcast announcing his support of Wallace. 8 pp. 3-3/4 x 8-3/4. $9/M. Ready.

4. REPRINT OF HENRY WALLACE'S EDITORIAL ON PALESTINE. One side, black and white, photostatic. 8½ x 12. Limited quantity. $7.50/M. Ready.

Tabloid

1. Tabloid, "Wallace Shows It Can Be Done". A 4 pp. illustrated tabloid newspaper for distribution in Negro areas, reporting Wallace's trip throughout the South, his attacks on discrimination, etc. $7.50/M. Ready.

Films

1. "Wallace Speaks". 6 min. 16 mm sound film presenting Henry Wallace giving condensation of his candidacy announcement speech and the "Wallace Plan". $11.50 in lots of 10 or more prints, $17.50 each. Available from Brandon Films. 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y. Ready.

2. "Time To Act". 10 min. 16 mm sound film, showing shots of Chicago Wallace rally, American scenes illustrating the Economic Bill of Rights, etc., and with political action wind-up. $19.50. Ready.

3. Trailers - 4 one-to-two minute 16 mm sound movie trailers: Henry Wallace speaking on civil rights for Negroes and minorities; Wallace with a message to labor; Wallace telling what people can do to help the campaign; and Wallace speaking on price control. They can be tapped on to any standard movies on these subjects. $17.50 for the four, or $11.60 for the four when ordered in sets of 10. Order from Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19. Ready.

Posters

1. "IF YOU HATE WAR....WORK WITH WALLACE", Three-color poster, 22x33. Three for $1.00 or $17.50 per 100, postpaid, from TWO-DANS, 461-4th Ave., Room 807, New York 16, N.Y. Cash with order. Ready.

2. Display photograph of Wallace, 40x50. For meetings and rallies. Price $1.50 includes wrapping and shipping. Order from TWO-DANS, 461-4th Ave., Room 807, New York 16, N.Y. Cash with order. Ready.

(more)

Photographs

1. Photographs of Wallace. 8x10 glossy prints of Wallace in 2 poses, for reproduction use. Price 15¢ each. Ready.

2. PHOTOGRAPHS OF TAYLOR. 8x10 glossy prints of Senator Taylor in three poses, for reproduction use. Price 15¢ each. Ready.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. BUTTONS - "WORK WITH WALLACE". 1". White on blue. 1¢. Ready.

2. Buttons - "Wallace '48". Temporarily out of stock, but ready again on April 1. Reprint will be white on dark blue. 7/8". 1¢ each.

3. BUTTON - "WALLACE AND TAYLOR". Especially for mountain states use. White on blue. 1". 1¢. Ready April 1.

4. Lapel Pins. Dignified "WALLACE" in gold lettering on blue background, rectangular in shape, for businessmen, etc. 6¢ each. Ready.

5. Platters of Wallace's announcement speech. 33 1/3 and in 78 r.p.m. Indicate which you want. $4. Ready.

6. Platters of Senator Taylor's broadcast announcing his support of Wallace. 33 1/3 and 78 r.p.m. Indicate which you want, $4. Ready.

7. Windshield stickers. 3-color stickers, size 3⅛x5. Gummed for posting on windshield with lettering "WORK WITH WALLACE". 70¢/100. Ready.

Terms: 30 days net. Accounts running over $200 in arrears must pay cash in advance. All items are sold at cost.

uopwa #16

Wallace

[Natl Wallace ... Comm.]

March 22, 1948

Mr. W. C. B. Baldwin
Wallace for President Committee
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I have your letter to Dr. DuBois concerning the meeting of the Wallace Committee in Chicago on April 10-11. Unfortunately, Dr. DuBois has been away from New York since February 24, and he is not due to return East until after the middle of April. On the dates of the Chicago meeting he will be lecturing in the South and consequently, he will be unable to attend the Chicago meeting.

However, the Doctor shall be informed of your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Nat'l Wallace ... Comm.]

March 22, 1948

Mr. O. John Rogge
Henry A. Wallace Headquarters
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Rogge:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois in re the April 3 conference for the formation of a New York State Wallace For President Committee, was sent to his home address, rather than to his office. I have just received it today.

Dr. DuBois has been out of the city on an extended lecture tour [redacted] the West Coast and is not due to return to New York until the middle of April. Therefore, he will be unable to attend the meeting of April 3. However, your letter has been forwarded to him.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Natl Wallace ... Comm.]

March 22, 1948

Director of Publicity
Henry A. Wallace Headquarters
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Sir:

Would you please be good enough to send this office a copy of the speech delivered over the radio by Mr. Henry A. Wallace on March 18?

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Nat'l Wallace... Comm.]

March 23, 1948

Public Relations Director
Wallace Headquarters
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Sir:

We have just received a letter from Henry F. Pommer, of Ithaca New York, a copy of which is enclosed. We are passing it along to you for action, and have written Mr. Pommer that you would be glad to attend to his request.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

Wallace

[National Wallace ... Com.]

March 31, 1948

Director of Information
Henry Wallace Headquarters
39 Park Av nue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

This office would like to receive a copy of all speeches made by Mr. Wallace since March 1.

Will you be good enough to place us on your permanent list for speeches by Mr. Wallace as well as other material relating to his activities.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Wallace Comm.]

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NY MURRAY HILL 6-

23C-32-39

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Treasurer
ANGUS CAMERON

Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

April 6, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Friend:

As you requested, we are enclosing the attached material.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma Oster

TO:d
uopwa/16-2

Thelma Oster
Correspondence Chief

23C-32-40

National WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT Committee

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NY MURRAY HILL 6-5300

3132

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PAUL ROBESON
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Treasurer
ANGUS CAMERON

Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

April 6, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

An important meeting of Negro state delegate leaders to the National Wallace for President Committee conference will be held in Paul Robeson's suite at the Hotel Sheraton Saturday, April 10, from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m. Mr. Robeson will be present at the meeting.

The purpose of this meeting is to deal with the special organizational problems facing Negro Third Party forces at the grass-roots level in the states.

The true significance of the Third Party is contained in its character as a rapidly developing people's movement, in the best democratic tradition of America. It is this special character that differentiates it so completely from the old line parties.

The necessity to insure the strengthening at the grass-roots level of this people's character of the Third Party in its relationship to the Negro people gives this meeting its special significance.

I look forward to your being present.

Cordially yours,

George B. Murphy, Jr.

George B. Murphy, Jr.
Assistant Campaign Manager

GBM:McK
uopwa-16

[Nat'l Wallace... Comm.]

April 12, 1948

Mr. George B. Murphy, Jr.
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Murphy:

Your letter of April 6 arrived during the absence of Dr. Du Bois from New York, and it has just come to my attention. Dr. Du Bois is not due to return to the city until April 15, consequently this will account for his absence from the meeting on April 10.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Nat'l Wallace for President Committee]

22-37

The pleasure of your company
is requested at a

Dinner

in honor of

Henry A. Wallace

and

Glen H. Taylor

The People's Candidates
for President and Vice President

at the
Hotel Commodore
Monday Evening, April 19, 1948
at seven o'clock

R. S. V. P.
Rexford G. Tugwell
Dinner Chairman

Subscription
One Hundred Dollars
Dress Optional

There will be no solicitation of funds on this occasion

NATIONAL WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

Chairman

ELMER A. BENSON

Co-Chairmen

MRS. ANITA MCCORMICK BLAINE

JO DAVIDSON

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD

PAUL ROBESON

REXFORD G. TUGWELL

Treasurer

ANGUS CAMERON

Campaign Manager

C. B. BALDWIN

[National Wallace Com.]

Wallace

23-32-27

April 28, 1948

Miss Theodora Peck
Wallace Headquarters
39 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Peck:

On account of the action of the Board of Directors of the NAACP, salaried officials connected with this organization have their political activities restricted. We are asked not to take part in organized political work, that is, in political rallies or in the organized support of particular candidates. This, of course, does not mean that we may not have our political opinions and express them, but it must be in general and not in political rallies.

I am sorry about this ruling, but so long as I am connected with this Association, I shall obey it. If there could be a general meeting or a forum anywhere in which I could take part, I should be very glad to and to express my political opinions, but I could not take part in a specific rally for any candidate.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:s

[NAT. WALLACE FOR PRES. COMM. ??]

~~2898.72~~
~~150~~
~~3048.72~~

May 4, 1948

23-32-11

Appreciate your offer but regret inability to stay over for the proposed reception I shall vote for Hon. Wallace

Yours Wallace

Nathan Sohn
Cleveland

Bill Wallace Folder [C. B Baldwin]

W. E. B. DuBOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

July 15, 1948

22-40-77

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

As I have written you before, I am unable to take any active part in partisan politics during this campaign. This is because of the vote of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, passed in 1944. This vote forbids salaried officers of the Association taking active part in political campaigns. ~~I think this action was unwise and~~ Had I known of this action before rejoining the Association in 1944, I would ~~not~~ have ~~agreed to it. As it is I must obey or resign.~~ Under ~~the circumstances I am unwilling~~ to seem in any way to oppose the aim of the Association to be non-partisan; but I am certain that this action does not accomplish this, and in fact intense partisan activity on the part of persons closely connected with ~~employees and directors~~ of the Association is today putting us very distinctly in politics.

Intended to make a clear understanding I agree with the

Nevertheless, my duty is clear to me. I will obey the letter of the Board's vote, and for that reason, will not attend the Philadelphia meeting or act on any of its committees.

On the other hand I will retain my right to vote, of which no organization can legally deprive me, and whenever I consider it necessary I will publicly announce my choice of Henry Wallace for president and the reasons therefore. In any such announcement, I will be careful to say that this is my personal opinion and in no way expresses or seeks to express the policy of the N.A.A.C.P. or of any of its members.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

NATIONAL WALLACE FOR PRES., INC.

WALLACE CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

July 23, 1948 Bulletin

32:25:81

THIS IS THE LATEST, all-inclusive compilation of Wallace campaign materials available. Unless otherwise indicated, send order to:

ESTELLE ELLIS -
NATIONAL WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Terms: 30 days net. Accounts of State Wallace Committees or New Party running over $200 in arrears must pay cash in advance. All items sold at cost, shipping charges included.

Note to local committees now receiving this bulletin: Terms for local groups are *cash only.* If you need literature and must have credit, then order through your State Wallace Committee or New Party. Orders from local groups not accompanied by check or money order will be sent C.O.D. Checks or money orders should be made out to National Wallace for President Committee.

(*Capitalization of Title Denotes New Material*)

NEWSPAPERS

1. "THE CITIZEN"—June-July issue of Nat'l Wallace Committee tabloid paper. 12 pp. packed with news of New Party Founding Convention plans, stories on "The Great Peace Scare," "Record of the 80th Congress," "First Year of the Taft-Hartley Law," "Georgia's New Party," and the sensationally funny 2 p. cartoon by Mel Bernstein showing the 2 old party conventions running simultaneously in Phila's Convention Hall. $10/M. Very useful for your canvassing, mailing to contacts, at rallies, etc. (Place your order for regular monthly bundle!)

2. "THESE 15 MILLION." First issue of a new 4-page tabloid paper, published by the Nat'l Wallace Committee to tell the story of America's 15 million Negroes. Contains resolution on Negro rights, stories from the south, Wallace's record on the fight against jim crow, roundup from the Negro press, profiles of New Party candidates, etc. Invaluable aid for canvassing, meetings, mailings, especially in areas with large number Negro voters. Should be used as campaign material by all Negro candidates. $7.50/M. (Why not put in a monthly order?)

3 25.82

MANUALS

1. "SO YOU'RE WEARING A WALLACE BUTTON." A new 32-page handbook for shop and office workers designed to encourage Wallace-Taylor supporters to organize Wallace committees in their place of work. Written and illustrated in same style as popular "Knock On Any Door" manual. Full of hints on how to campaign, raise funds, run meetings, etc. Sponsored by Nat'l Labor Committee for W&T. 8½x3¾. Blue on white. $4/C.

2. "New Party Mimeograph Sketchbook." A 36-page book which enables any local group to produce effective leaflets and bulletins. It contains over 200 drawings which can be traced and adapted to make Wallace-Taylor leaflets on almost all issues. 85¢ each, or 6 for $5.

3. "Knock On Any Door." A 24-page manual for canvassers, to inspire confidence and give practical tips. Begins with a personal "Message to Canvassers"

signed by Henry Wallace. Lots of humorous cartoons; brief, simple text. Worth placing in every Wallace-New Party canvasser's hand. 8½x3¾. Blue on white. $3/C.

4. "Facts to Fight With." A comprehensive, 72-page basic manual for campaign workers. A must for all speakers and canvassers. Covers Truman-Taft One Party record and program; Wallace and Taylor records and views; questions and answers on the New Party, etc., 10¢ each, or $10/C.

5. "Manual of Practical Political Action." Offers practical details of techniques needed for effective campaigning by your canvassing, publicity, finance, literature, research divisions. Material written by political experts. Invaluable for local Wallace committees. Lavishly illustrated. 8x12. 176 pp. 80 illustrations. $3 per copy. Order from (make checks to) Progressive Citizens of America, 39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

PAMPHLETS

1. "THE STORY OF GLEN TAYLOR." The companion-piece to The Story of Henry Wallace, issued last month. This is a 16-page, popular, portrait of Sen. Taylor, including his remarkable progressive record as a fighter in the Senate. Illustrated. 6x9. $19/M.

2. "WOMEN: FIRST CLASS CITIZEN." An address to the women of America by Henry Wallace. This is a new, 8-page, 5½x8½ pamphlet, blue and black, containing the New Party program for helping women achieve full economic, legal, political and social equality with men. Wallace outlines the facts about women's second-class status today, and proposes a full legislative program to realize women's tremendous potential for leadership and action in the nation's fight for peace and abundance. Sponsored by Women for Wallace. Illustrated. $9.20/M.

3. "The Story of Henry Wallace." A 16-page popular story of Wallace's life, his farming, scientific, business, government background, his record and achievements, his personality, how he came to lead the New Party. Very readable, illustrated. 6x9. $19/M.

4. "Stand Up and Be Counted." Reprint of New Republic editorial giving reasons for his candidacy. 16 pp. 6x9. Illustrated with Lynd Ward drawing. $20/M.

5. "Ten Extra Years." Reprint of Wallace address before Negro fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha. 12 pp. 5½x8½. Cover photograph. $20/M.

6. "Increase Wages Out of Profits." Text of Wallace address before PCA convention. Especially useful for labor distribution. 16 pp. 5½x8½. $14/M.

7. "European Recovery Program." The ABC of how the Marshall Plan carries out the reactionary policy of the Truman Doctrine. A digest of Sen. Taylor's speech in the Senate March 9-10, told in the parable of Farmer Ernie and his flooded-out neighbors, including text of Wallace Plan substitute. 8 pp. $10/M.

32.25.83

LEAFLETS

A new series of two-color leaflets on prices, housing, veterans, youth . . . just out!

1. "CALL A COP!" The new 4-page, PRICE leaflet that proves how Truman worked hand in glove with the Republicans to knife price controls and rob you of 49¢ out of every dollar you spend for food and clothing. Presents the Wallace-New Party program for price rollback and controls, prosperity for the people instead of a few. Illustrated, 5½x5½. Red and black. $3.45/M.

2. "THIS GUY'S SITTING PRETTY." The new 4-page HOUSING leaflet attacking the old-party-do-nothing program for housing, and outlining the New Party's practical, low-cost plan for housing *now*. Illustrated, 5½x5½. Red and black. $3.45/M.

3. "THIS VETERAN'S DOING ALL RIGHT." The new 4-page VETERANS leaflet showing how the brass hats and silk hats have sewn up the old parties so that the vets aren't getting anything they need—housing, lower prices, peace, expanded VA program, increased GI Bill subsistence, equal rights, etc. Sponsored by Veterans for Wallace. Illustrated, 6½x5½. Red and black. $3.45/M.

4. "HENRY WALLACE IS JUST AS BAD AS FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT." A new 4-page leaflet, contrasts the big businessman who is sore at Wallace with the young American who doesn't have a yacht to his name. Neat job of showing why Wallace—as was F.D.R.—is redbaited and why youth nevertheless knows Wallace is their kind of guy—as was F.D.R. Sponsored by Youth for Wallace. Illustrated, 5½x5½. Red and black. $3.45/M.

5. "A TOUGH WORLD IF." A new 4-page leaflet, 5½x4½, red and black. Illustrated. Shows graphically how tough life would be if the old parties continue to have their way with prices, profits, wages and war preparations. Contrasts New Party program, appeals for Dollars for Democracy. Sponsored by National Labor Committee for Wallace and Taylor. $6.25/M.

6. "The Man Behind the Gun." Angled at women's concern for their menfolk going to war again. Presents Wallace's peace program. 4½x5½. Blue and black. $5.50/M.

7. "Tanks or Tractors?" Women and peace. Photos. 6¾x4½. Blue and black. $5.50/M.

8. "Once Was Enough." What wartime America was like for women. Why women need Wallace's peace program. 8¾x5½. Blue and black. $5.50/M.

9. "I've Got the Jitters." How one woman feels about war, inflation, no housing—and Wallace's program. Photos. 7¾x5½. Blue and black. $5.50/M.

10. "What Every Woman Knows." Exposes prejudiced misconceptions about woman in politics. Photos. 7¾x5½. Blue and black. $5.50/M.

11. "The Children's Bill of Rights." Wallace's unprecedented proposal for legislation to guarantee children their right to health, education, recreation, etc. Photos. 6x4½. Blue and black. $5.50/M.

12. "Women Who Work For Wages." A card, 4x7, with Wallace's program —including a bill of rights—for working women. Blue and black. $4.50/M.

13. "Remember When Peace Was Declared . . . ?" A basic leaflet, giving the

arguments against the old parties and for the Wallace program, written in popular style. For general distribution to those who want to know the whys? and whats? of the new party. Illustrated with photographs. Two colors. 24 pp. 6x4. $19/M.

14. "The People March." A leaflet expressing the spirit and flavor of the new party. Two colors. 4 pp. 5½x5¼. $6/M.

15. "Jim Crow Must Go." For distribution in Negro areas. Quotes from Wallace's Tulsa speech and Wallace platform against discrimination. Photo illustration. 4 pp. 5½x4¼. $3.90/M.

32.25.84

16. "What Do You Want?" A basic leaflet for workers and union members. Labor's arguments for supporting Wallace. Illustrated with photographs. 4 fold. 6½x4½. Two colors. $10/M.

17. "What Roosevelt Thought of Wallace." Roosevelt's quotes praising Wallace with photograph of Wallace and F.D.R. Maroon on white. 1 p. 1 side. 5½x8½. $3.50/M.

18. "Steps to Peace." The Wallace Mutual Broadcast speech of March 19th, answering Truman's "Communism" charge and outlining the Wallace proposals for establishing peace. 8 pp. 8½x3¾. $9.50/M.

19. "The Old Parties *Talk* Civil Rights." Offset reproduction of N. Y. Times story and Congressional Record showing how the old parties ganged up to defeat Marcantonio's civil rights proposals. 8½x11½. 1 side. Black on yellow stock. $5.20/M.

20. "What Does 1948 Add Up To?" A simple programmatic leaflet briefly contrasting the Wall Street Way vs. the Wallace Way and what they add up to. 4 pp. 5½x5¼. $3.90/M.

21. "The Time Has Come." Text of broadcast announcing candidacy. 8 pp. 3¾x8¾. $9/M.

22. "Wallace's Pledge." Wallace's challenge to other candidates to repudiate the support of white supremacy advocates, Taft-Hartleyites, etc. 4x5½. 4 pp. Two colors. $7/M.

FILMS

1. "THE LETTER HEARD 'ROUND THE WORLD." This new 22-minute, 16mm sound film is the fast-paced, exciting story of May 11—the day Henry Wallace wrote his now-famous Open Letter to Premier Stalin. The movie begins with panoramic and close shots of New York, its people and neighborhoods. Then headlines tell how Washington turned down the Soviet Union's bid for peace talks. You'll see Wallace writing his letter to Stalin, you'll see New Yorkers coming to Madison Square Garden by subway and bus, the ovations for the New Party candidates, and then listen, while the camera roams inside and outside the Garden, to Wallace delivering high-points of his Garden speech. The film closes with Wallace repeating his "Let us create a better America" statement. $29.50 a print, or $3 rental. Order from Hollywood Motion Picture Productions, 4660 Ocean Ave., Jersey City, N. J.; Contemporary Films, 80 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.; Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, N. Y. C.; Film Program Services, 1173 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C.; or Union Films, 111 W. 88th St., N. Y. C.

2. "THE INVESTIGATORS." A new musical satire on the Un-American Committee. It's 11 minutes, 16 mm. sound film. Excellent catchy tunes, clever lyrics and pointed wisecracks. Ends with call for election of progressive candidates. Produced by Union Films. $22.50 a print, or $3.50 rental. Available from 4 distributors listed in (1) above.

3. "Freedom Rally." This new 17 minute, 16 mm. sound film will be one of the most valuable for campaign. It is especially useful in all areas where fight against Jim Crow is hottest, but is important everywhere. It's the dramatic record of Wallace's reception by the people of Harlem. Against the background of the many thousands who overflowed Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom and jammed the streets outside to listen, the voice of Henry Wallace tells the tragedy of Jim Crow. His appeal to join him in the New Party finds expression in the voice of Paul Robeson who brings the film to a climax singing "We'll All Join Gideon's Army." This is the film counterpart of Wallace's "Ten Extra Years" pamphlet, called "the clearest and strongest statement on Civil Rights for Negroes since Lincoln's second inaugural." $22.50 a print, or $3 rental only. Available from 4 distributors listed in (1) above.

4. "Wallace At York." A 10 minute, 16 mm. sound film. Wallace comes to York, Pa., to address the organizing convention of the new Progressive Party. Beginning with informal shots of Wallace and the convention delegates aboard the train the camera follows them through the streets of York in a parade led by a brass band. Then Wallace talks about the steel trust, and animation is used to expose monopoly's price-fixing agreements to triple profits, while steelworkers' wages lag far behind. Film ends with the delegates joining Kenneth Spencer in singing the new Wallace version of "Battle Hymn of the Republic." $19.50 a print, or $2.50 rental. Available from 4 distributors listed in (1) above.

5. "Wallace Speaks." A 6 minute, 16 mm. sound film presenting Henry Wallace giving condensation of his candidacy announcement speech and the "Wallace Plan." $11.50 in lots of 10 or more prints, $17.50 each. Available from Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

6. Trailers. 4 one-to-two minute 16 mm. sound movie trailers; Henry Wallace speaking on civil rights for Negroes and minorities; Wallace with a message to labor; Wallace telling people what they can do to help the campaign; and Wallace speaking on price control. They can be tapped on to any standard movies on these subjects. $17.50 for the four, or $11.60 for the four when ordered in sets of 10. Order from Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19.

. . . and a new sound film strip

7. "THE ELEPHANT WHO NEVER REMEMBERED AND THE DONKEY WHO FORGOT." A wonderfully funny and effective sound film strip told in cartoons, words and music. It lampoons the bipartisan deals of the Republocrats via their elephant and donkey. Slams home the need for a New Party and Wallace to give the people a genuine choice in program, and does it simply, neatly and with lots of laughs. To be shown on a 16 mm film projector. $15 a print, $2 rental. Available from 4 distributors listed in (1) above.

8. "On the Dotted Line . . . How They Did It In California." A brief, pointed instruction film, based on California's experiences in conducting their successful petition campaign to get the New Party on the ballot. The do's and dont's of a petition drive, told in slide-film cartoons, to be accompanied by commentary read from a mimeo'd sheet. Useful for training petition

coordinators or captains in states trying to get on ballot. Purchase price $3.00 per print.

9. "New Party Schnitzelbank." A brief entertaining song film strip in cartoon style, along with a mimeo'd lyric lead sheet. Good for New Party parties, to open meetings with singing, etc. $3 a print; 10 prints at ⅓ discount. $1 rental. Order from John Weatherwax, Bryant Foundation, 737 No. Edgemont Ave., Los Angeles 27, Cal. Inquire where you can rent projector in your own area.

RECORDINGS

1. RECORDINGS OF WALLACE AD-LIBBING INTERVIEWS WITH VOTERS ON KEY ISSUES. Three 16", 33⅓ rpm platters of Wallace talking to veterans, housewives, workers, farmers, small businessmen, *for re-broadcast use only.* Two platters contain eight 4-minute open-end interviews, for which you buy 5 minutes airtime to allow you a 1 minute plug for local committee. Third recording contains two 13½ minute, open-end interviews, for 15 minutes airtime including local plug. Wonderful for building local series of radio shows at very low cost. Price each recording: $10. Order from Carol Levine, Pax Productions, 177 Post Street, San Francisco 8, Calif. *Must* include payment with order.

2. FUND-RAISING RECORDING OF WALLACE AND TAYLOR WITH WILLIAM GAILMOR. A 10", 78 rpm platter, produced to help you raise money. Wallace and Taylor each take 1 side, talking on New Party program for peace, abundance, civil rights. Gailmor winds up each side with fund-raising pitch. For use on any phonograph, at home parties, small meetings and small rallies. One playing will pay cost of record many times over. Price: 60¢.

3. Recording of Wallace's Open Letter to Stalin. A 16", 33⅓ rpm platter recorded by Wallace *for re-broadcast purposes.* It runs 12 minutes, 28 seconds, allowing 2 minutes for announcer to plug your local organization. Airtime must be bought to put this on local station. On reverse side is informal discussion with Wallace, Taylor and William Gailmor on "Discrimination"—political and racial. This program is 11 minutes, 31 seconds long. $8 for 2-sided platter.

4. Recording of Three 5-Minute Talks by Wallace on (1) "War or Peace"; (2) "Communism"; (3) "Inflation." A 16", 33⅓ rpm platter perfect for 5-minute spots on your local stations, with time allowed for plugging local sponsorship. Explains Wallace's position on 3 vital issues. On reverse side is informal discussion with Wallace, Taylor and Gailmor on "Militarism and the UN." This runs 11 minutes, 16 seconds. $8 for 2-sided platter.

5. Platters of Wallace's radio network speeches. 33⅓ or 78 rpm's. Indicate which you want. $4 per speech.

6. Platters of Senator Taylor's broadcast announcing his support of Wallace. 33⅓ or 78 rpm's. Indicate which you want. $4.

PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Photographs — Blowup Size — of Wallace and Taylor together. Shot of two candidates in 60 x 40" size, on rollboard, needing no further mounting. *Can also be cut in two* to make separate photos of each man, 30 x 40". For use at meetings, rallies, etc. 60¢ a piece.

2. Display photo of Wallace. 40 x 50". For meetings and rallies. Price $1.50 includes wrapping and shipping.

3. Photos of Taylor. 8 x 10 glossy prints of Senator Taylor in one pose, for reproduction use. 15¢ each.

4. Photos of Wallace. 8 x 10 glossy prints of Wallace in two poses, for reproduction use. 15¢ each.

BUTTONS

1. Button—"Youth for Wallace." 1". White on blue. 1¢.

2. Button—"Veterans for Wallace." 1⅛". White on blue. 1¢.

3. Button—"Students for Wallace." 1". White on blue. 1¢.

4. Button—"Labor—Wallace—1948." 1". White on blue. 1¢.

5. Button—"Work With Wallace." 1". White on blue. 1¢.

6. Button—"Wallace '48." White on *dark* blue. 7/8". 1¢ each.

7. Button—"Wallace and Taylor." Especially for mountain states use. Blue on white. 1". 1¢.

8. Button—"Women for Wallace." 3/4". Blue and red on gold. 1¢.

9. Lapel Pins. Dignified "Wallace" in gold lettering on blue background, rectangular in shape, for businessmen, etc. 6¢ each.

POSTERS

1. Poster—Beautiful full-color Wallace-Taylor poster, 17 x 22", designed by Ben Shahn. Can be mounted for storewindow display, for union halls, meetings, rallies, headquarters, etc. 10¢.

2. Poster—"If You Hate War . . . Work With Wallace." Three-color poster 22 x 33". Three for $1.00 or 25 for $5.00.

GIANT DISPLAY SHEET

1. Large sheet contains 7 different streamers or banners in red, white and blue for display use at rallies, meetings, parades, with sound trucks, etc. Printed on rollboard, heavy enough for use without mounting. Simply cut out where indicated. Wallace-Taylor and Peace slogans. $1.50 for full sheet of 7 items.

FACT SHEETS

on Thomas Dewey
Labor
Housing
Inflation
Health
Social Security
Federal Taxes
Civil Rights

A new series of simple, authoritative mimeographed fact sheets on campaign issues and the candidates. Told in question-and-answer sequence. Invaluable background for preparing leaflets, news releases, speeches, articles, etc. (Several more in preparation) 5¢ each.

CANNED SPEECHES

on Why Third Party
Housing
Marshall Plan vs. Wallace Plan
Labor

A series of 15-20 minute mimeographed talks on key issues. Useful for debates, forums, etc. 5¢ each.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. "Songs for Wallace." A 12-page, printed songbook, containing words and music of 25 songs useful in the campaign. Original tunes and parodies by E. Y. Harburg, Woody Guthrie, Milton Ager, Earl Robinson, Paul Robeson and many others. Includes: Friendly Henry Wallace, Spring Song, The Wallace Shout, Great Day, Listen Mr. Rankin, Hallelujah I'm Travellin', Skip to the Polls, A Visit With Harry. 8½ x 11. 15¢ each.

2. Postcard. A postcard with picture of Wallace and Taylor and quote from Wallace. Provides effective means to spread Wallace and Taylor gospel via mail while at same time serves for ordinary correspondence. 60¢/C.

3. Ads for Wallace—An ingenious advertising method to promote Wallace's candidacy every day in your local newspaper—*at little cost!* Presents complete advertising campaign, costs, several samples of ad copy. How your own group can reach on-the-fence voters for just a few cents per member. 10¢.

4. Films for Wallace—Descriptive catalogue of 25—16mm sound films useful at club meetings or public rallies. Several are built around Wallace,

all are related to issues of campaign. Catalogue tells you length, price, where to order, how to use, etc. 10¢.

5. Language Group Pledge Cards—3 x 5″ pledge card forms, with Wallace's picture and his invitation to join the New Party through your own language group. Printed for Armenian, Nisei, Lithuanian, Greek, Italian, Irish, Croatian, Finnish, Slovenian, Russian, Hungarian, Polish, German, Spanish-American language groups. $5.50/M. Order from Arthur Kahn, Nationalities Division, National Wallace for President Committee, 39 Park Ave., N. Y. 16, N. Y.

6. Language Group Proclamations—Printed leaflets bearing Wallace's picture, a message of greeting from him to the language group, and a proclamation in support of Wallace from the group's campaign committee. Most in nationality's language and English. Prices: Spanish Amigos de Wallace $5.50/M; Polish, Hungarian, Slovenian, Croatian, Italian, Greek, Lithuanian $10.50/M; German, Russian, Rumanian, Finnish, Irish $11.50/M. Order from Arthur Kahn, Nationalities Division, National Wallace for President Committee, 39 Park Ave., N. Y. 16, N. Y.

NATIONAL WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
Elmer A. Benson, *Chairman* • Clark Foreman, *Treasurer*
39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

[National Wallace... Comm.]

File
Wallace

August 16, 1948

Miss Dorothy Rodman
Research Division
Wallace Headquarters
59 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Rodman:

The following should be of some help to you in your quest for educational data.

Enclosed is a reprint of an article from the SOUTHWEST REVIEW, Spring, 1948.

NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1947, pp. 54-108

THE ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (consult issues of the Negro. See index of ANNALS. The Negro Public Schools, by C.S. Johnson, Louisiana Educational Survey, 1942. Special Problems of Negro Education, by Doxey Wilkerson, 1938. Statistics of Education of Negroes, U. S. Office of Education, write to Dr. Ambrose Caliver for this information.

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, by Gunnar Myrdal, 1944

NATIONAL SURVEY OF HIGHER EDUCATION, by Martin D. Jenkins, The Journal of Negro Education, 1942. Hearings before the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 80th Congress, February 24, 1947..

WORLD WAR TWO AND HIGHER NEGRO EDUCATION. Journal of Negro Education, July, 1942

CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION, U.S. Summary, Part I, 1943; U.S. Bureau of the Census

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE NEGRO ADOLESCENT AND HIS EDUCATION, The Journal of Negro Education, July, 1940, Volume 9.

16th CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES, Volume on Population, Statistics on Education.

STATISTICS OF STATE SCHOOL SYSTEMS, (Annual reports available through 1947). U. S. Office of Education

See issues of QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG NEGROES, published by Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina

Write to American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington6, D. C. Get all the available material they have and for as late as they have it. They have a host of material of use to you. Reports, leaflets, bibliographies, etc.

National Education Association, Research Division, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Ask for material in the Federal Aid series, especially Nos. 4 (March, 1948

"Inequality of Eductional Opppetunity in the U.S. as revealed by Selective Service Rejections for Educational Deficiency in World War II." No. 5, "Results of Inequality of Educational Opportunity in the U.S. as reflected in Selective Service Policies during World War II." No. 6, "Inequality of educational opportunity in the U.S. as revealed by army general classification test scores in World War II." No. 9, "Inequality of educational opportunity in the U.S. as revealed by the armed services' search for leadership."

Write to Carnegie Corporation (address in phone book), New York City; ask for the report of the study of education in elementary and secondary schools made by W. A. Robinson (made of the schools in the South only. The year was about 1944-45.)

Write to the American Teachers Association, Dr. William H. Gray, Florida A. & M. College, Tallahassee, Florida. Ask him to forward your letter to the proper authorities if he is no longer the official to handle such data, or such requests as you make.

Write to Ambrose Caliver, U. S. Office of Education. Tell him you want all the available latest material on Negroes and education -- pamphlets, reports, and direction to other sources for material.

Write to Mr. Marion Thompson Wright, Professor of Education, Howard University, Washington, D. C. Also, consult his book THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES IN NEW JERSEY, Columbia University Press, 1941. He has just published some recent material that should be of help to you.

Check the annual educational report numbers of THE CRISIS, they began in 1914 issuing and educational number. The index of annual volumes will give you the exact month.

Write to The Director, Community Studies, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York City, N. Y. Ask him for materials collected on education in cities studies. Also, write to Dr. Warren Banner, Director of Research, same organization, and ask for material he has for the period you want.

Write to Mr. John M. Gandy, 3624½ S. Lake Park Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; ask him to direct you to sources for educational material you need on conditions in the North, asking for names of individuals who can help, as well as bibliographical data.

Write to Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland. Ask him for any material he has available, a copy of the Charlotte, N. C., study, 1948 (May), and direction to other source materials. He is an educational specialist.

For the South, in particular, write to the various Negro colleges of consequence, to the directors of departments of education. See the U. S. Office of Education Educational Directory for addresses - write to at last one school in each state.

Write to the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, New Orleans, La., Mr. James Dombrowski, he is director.

Write to Mr. George S. Mitchell, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. They have a world of material you can use.

Write to Southern Negro Youth Congress, 524 Masonic Temple Building, Birmingham, Ala. At this same address write the American Teachers Association (do not use the name of Gray and the Florida address mentioned above) Ask for all materials available.

As other things come up I may think of some more sources, but meanwhile I hope you will find these of some help.

In connection with the speaking schedule, I submit the following as possible persons to contact to give the picture you want on the matter you mentioned.

August 29, Norfolk, Va. See P. B. Young, Editor, Journal and Guide paper

August 30, Winston Salem, N. C. Perhaps some one from the Tobacco Workers Union would be the best person to consult or could direct you to someone who could help.

August 31, Atlanta, Ga. Attorney A. T. Walden, 275 Auburn Avenue.

September 1, Birmingham, Ala. Perhaps Attorney Arthur Shores could help you out. 312 17th Street, (ask that your communication be directed to Mr. Shores).

September 2, Jackson, Miss., Perhaps Mr. Greene, editor of THE JACKSON ADVOCATE could help you.

September 3, Little Rock, Ark. A Mr. Flowers of the city is reported to be a rather liberal person, but we do not know anyone offhand.

September 4, Nashville, Tenn. Perhaps Alexander Looby, Attorney, Citizens Savings Bank & Trust Company, might be able to help.

Hoping some of this may prove fruitful, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Enclosure

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NEW AFRICA

Wallace speaking schedule... Southern cities....

Sunday, August 29.....	Norfolk, Va. Durham, N.C.	P.B. Young, Journal & Guide
Mon, 8/30	Greensboro, N.C. Winston Salem, N.C.-	
Tuesday 8/31	Atlanta, Ga.	— A.T. Walden 275 Auburn Ave.
Wed. Sept. 1	Birmingham, Ala. Tuscaloosa, Ala	— Amney with Shores, Kemp —
Thurs, Sept 2.....	Jackson, Miss. New Orleans, La.	— Grosses Jackson Advocate
Fri. Sept 3	Little Rock, Ark. Memphis, Tenn.	— Flowers of NAACP
Sat. Sept 4	Nashville, Tenn.- Knoxville, Tenn.	Looby

Tues. Sept 28.....	Dallas	
Wed. " 29.....	Houston	
Thurs. " 30.....	El Paso	

~~Mm - 1 = Wickerson~~
~~3 = DuBois~~

National WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT Committee

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NY MURRAY HILL 6-5300

23-32-4

November 20,1948

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Co-Chairmen
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Treasurer
ANGUS CAMERON

Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

Dr. W.E.B.Dubois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York,N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

During the week following Thanksgiving, we shall be working on plans for several projects which we shall need to have the consultation and advice from leaders like yourself.

With this in mind, I shall appreciate a call from you on Monday or Tuesday of the week following the Thanksgiving holidays, telling me when it will be convenient to consult with you.

Meantime, let me wish you a pleasant holiday.

Cordially yours,
George B. Murphy Jr.
George B.Murphy Jr.
Asst.to the Natl.Secretary,
Progressive Party.

P.S. I inclose a copy of the report from the Sub-Committee on the Negro vote, which I believe will interest you.

[National Youth Assembly]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

C61CC 2W NL PD

NEWYORK NY JAN 22 1948

lecture

DR W E B DUBOIS NAACP

20 WEST 40 ST NYK

3000 DELEGATES EXPECTED AT NATIONAL YOUTH ASSEMBLY AGAINST UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING WASHINGTON DC FEBRUARY 15 AND 16. WOULD LIKE YOU TO JOIN PROMINENT SPEAKERS AT EVENING MEETING SUNDAY FEBRUARY 15TH. OVER 200 YOUTH LEADERS SPONSOR ASSEMBLY SO FAR. PLEASE WIRE ACCEPTANCE 38 WORTH STREET NEW YORK CITY. LETTER FOLLOWS

REV JOHN DARR CHAIRMAN

607P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[National Youth Assembly ...]

NATIONAL YOUTH ASSEMBLY AGAINST UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

38 WORTH STREET

NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

REV. JOHN DARR, JR., CHAIRMAN
ELSIE WILLCOX, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

WORTH 2-3677

January 22, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

23-38-53

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Confirming our night letter of January 22, we are enclosing a copy of the Call to the National Youth Assembly against UMT. We regard this Assembly as of utmost importance in our common efforts to defeat UMT.

We would be highly honored to have you as a leading speaker at the evening session of the Assembly, Sunday, February 15. Other distinguished speakers asked to share the platform with you are Mr. Albert Einstein, Mr. James Patton, Mr. Harlow Shapley and Mr. O. John Rogge.

We sincerely hope you will accept this invitation and honor us with your presence.

Very sincerely yours,

John Darr

Rev. John Darr, Chairman

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JNE 2

~~New York, N. Y.~~ January 23, 1948

COLLECT TELEGRAM

Rev. John Darr, ~~[illegible]~~
38 Worth Street
New York, New York

SORRY CANNOT BE WITH YOU. SPEAKING IN BOSTON FEBRUARY 15.

W. E. B. DuBois

22-32

[Negro, The]

File Keep Photo

August 10, 1948

22-32

Mr. F. W. Bond
The Negro
4405 Enright Avenue
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Mr. Bond:

Thank you for your letter of August 6, to Dr. DuBois, which has just arrived. Unfortunately, the Doctor is out of the city and will not return until the first of next week, but your letter shall be brought to his attention at that time.

In this connection, to facilitate matters, I think it advisable to send Dr. DuBois a copy of your publication. Also, will you please state clearly just what you propose to do with the photograph, and whether you intend to write the story that is to accompany it. It was impossible to deduce your purpose from your communication.

With thanks for your courtesy and interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
For Dr. DuBois

LM:

Negro Digest Publishing Company

Publishers of Negro Digest and Ebony Magazines

23-39-127

5125 S. CALUMET AVE.
CHICAGO 15, ILL.
February 5, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. DuBois:

Enclosed with this letter is a prospectus for NEGRO DIGEST's "Future Of Negro Youth" Series which we cordially invite you to join as a contributor.

This project is being sponsored by us in an effort to survey the job future for the Negro of high school and college age today in view of the experiences of outstanding Negroes who have succeeded in their respective fields. We are sparing no effort to include all fields of endeavor.

We feel certain you will agree that the Negro youth of today should seriously consider a career in creative writing and would benefit greatly by your first-hand advice based on your own experience in this field.

Won't you inform us at once that you, too, will contribute an article for our series?

Your article should be of approximately 1500 words. To serve the best purpose of the project as a whole it could:

a. give a brief account of your background and youth;
b. give a short resume of your education, how it was financed;
c. list the qualifications a candidate for your field should possess;
d. and end with your views on the future for Negro youth in this field.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience confirming your willingness to make this contribution to NEGRO DIGEST's "Future Of Negro Youth" Series?

Since this project will be a handbook of the job future as well as of essential, promising job fields not usually considered by young men and women of college age, your contribution will be of inestimable value to young Negroes for many years to come.

With thanks for your interest and cooperation,

Sincerely yours,

J. Unis Pressley

J. Unis Pressley
Public Relations Director

P. S. We would also like very much to have any suggestions you wish to offer, especially with regard to subjects or contributors not included in our list.

NEGRO DIGEST "FUTURE OF NEGRO YOUTH" SERIES SEPTEMBER, 1948-JUNE, 1949

PROSPECTUS

Keynoter: Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University

Object: To survey in interesting article form the job and career future for qualified Negroes in all fields of endeavor.

Each article to be written by a recognized expert in each field, giving the author's own experiences and observations along with his view of opportunities this field offers Negro youth and the best way to achieve success in this field.

Presentation: Signed articles in NEGRO DIGEST beginning with the October, 1948 issue (published in September) and appearing each month thereafter through the July, 1949 issue (published in June) and thereby corresponding with the academic year, 1948-49.

Designed to aid high school and college students in choosing their careers (in addition to presenting fields of endeavor not previously considered by them) along with a balance sheet of the opportunities these fields offer Negroes. These articles will also act as aids to vocational advisors in colleges and high schools.

Sponsors: The high schools and colleges of America, Negro and white, will be invited to participate, using the articles which appear in the series as required outside reading for classroom discussion.

In conjunction with the regular articles and features in each monthly issue of NEGRO DIGEST, the survey articles will represent a timely, factual, up-to-date study of Negro affairs and future outlook. Copies of each issue of NEGRO DIGEST will be made available for classroom use at the cost price of sixteen cents (16¢) to students in all classes in participating schools and colleges, a free desk copy supplied for instructor's use in all classes subscribing for five or more copies each month.

CONTRIBUTIONS ALREADY PROMISED

Actuarial Science ASA T. SPAULDING, Chemistry LLOYD HALL, Dermatology DR. RALPH SCULL, Culinary Arts FREDA DeKNIGHT, Education R. B. ATWOOD, Kentucky State College, HORACE MANN BOND, Lincoln University, FELTON G. CLARK, Southern University, ROBERT P. DANIEL, Shaw University, W. MILAN DAVIS, Okolona Industrial School, J. F. DRAKE, State Agricultural & Mechanical Institute, WILLIAM A. FOUNTAIN, JR., Morris Brown College, W. H. GRAY, JR., Florida Agricultural & Mechanical College, G. L. HARRISON, Langston University, JOHN W. HAYWOOD, Gammon Theological Seminary, WILLIAM E. HENRY, Maryland State Teachers' College, BENJAMIN E. MAYS, Morehouse College, L. M. McCOY, Rust College, WILLIAM H. PIPES, Alcorn Agricultural & Mechanical College, P. C. WASHINGTON, Jarvis Christian College, C. H. WESLEY, College of Education & Industrial Arts, Law CHARLES H. HOUSTON, Personnel Management & Selection GEORGE McCRAY, J. BERNARD BRADSHAW, Psychology ALBERT S. BECKHAM, Radio JEROME MORGAN, Skilled Trades CLIFFORD CAMPBELL.

PARTIAL LIST OF SUBJECTS, JOB FIELDS TO BE STUDIED,
AND CONTRIBUTORS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE

ACCOUNTING — Charles A. Beckett, J. B. Blayton, Theodore Jones, G. Stevens Marchman. ACTUARIAL SCIENCE — Asa T. Spaulding. ADVERTISING — William G.Black, Joe LaCour. AERONAUTICS — Col. B. O. Davis, Jr. ANTHROPOLOGY — Dr. Allison Davis. ARCHITECTURE — Paul Williams. ART — E. Simms Campbell. BACTERIOLOGY — Dr. Hildrus Poindexter. BANKING — J. E.Walker, Emanuel C. Wright. BEAUTY CULTURE — Marjorie Joyner, Sarah Spencer. BIOLOGY — Edward M.A. Chandler. BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION — E. R. Clemons, Cortez Peters. CHEMISTRY — Lloyd Hall, Percy Julian. CINEMA — Lena Horne, Canada Lee. CIRCULATION TECHNIQUES — C. M. Ellis. CREATIVE WRITING — W.E.B. DuBois, Frank Yerby. CULINARY ARTS — Freda DeKnight. DANCE — Kathrine Dunham. DERMATOLOGY — Dr. T. K. Lawless, Dr. Ralph Scull, Dr. Harold Thatcher. DIPLOMACY — Ralph Bunche. GOVERNMENT — William H. Hastie, William Pickens. HISTORY — Dr. Carter G. Woodson. HOSPITAL MANAGEMENT — Charles Burbridge, Clyde Reynolds. INSURANCE — T. K. Gibson, Sr., Norman O. Houston, C.C. Spaulding. JOURNALISM — Bill Nunn, P. L. Prattis, George S. Schuyler, P. B. Young. LABOR — A. P. Randolph, Willard S. Townsend, Robert C. Weaver. LAW — T. K. Gibson, Jr., Charles H. Houston, William R. Ming, Jr., Euclid L. Taylor. LAW ENFORCEMENT — J. Edgar Hoover. LIBRARY SCIENCE — Arna Bontemps, Mrs. Maurice Gleason, Vivian Harsh, Lawrence D. Reddick. MATHEMATICS — J. Ernest Wilkins, Jr. MEDICINE — Dr. W. Montague Cobb. MENTAL HYGIENE — Dr. Ruth Howard. MILLINERY — Mildred Blount. MORTUARY SCIENCE — Robert Cole. MUSIC — William Grant Still. NURSING — Estell Riddle, Mable K. Staupers. PEDIATRICS — Dr. Ronald Jefferson. PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT & SELECTION — J. Bernard Bradshaw, Mame Higgins, George McCray. POLITICS — William Dawson, Oscar DePriest, C. C. Wimbush. PSYCHIATRY — Dr. Walter Adams, Charles Prudhome. PSYCHOLOGY — Dr. Albert S. Beckham. PUBLIC RELATIONS — Perry Lieber, Mae Kidd Street. PUBLISHING — Carl Murphy, Frank Young. RADIO — Jack L. Cooper, Richard Durham, Robert Lucas, Jerome Morgan. SALESMANSHIP — James A. Jackson, C. Udell Turpin. SCULPTURE — Richmond Barthe. SKILLED TRADES — Clifford Campbell. SOCIAL WORK — Lester B. Granger. SOCIOLOGY — E. Franklin Frazier, Walter White. STATISTICS — Joseph R. Houchins, Joseph A. Pierce. SURGERY — Dr. U. G. Dailey, Dr. Charles Drew, Dr. Roscoe Giles. THEOLOGY — William Faulkner, Bishop J. A. Gregg, Benjamin E. Mays. THERAPY — Magnolia Bates, Thelma Brown, Ruby Peffner. TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT — Stanley Berge.

All articles which appear in the "FUTURE OF NEGRO YOUTH" SERIES will be made available in reprints to all groups and organizations (upon request) for the cost of postage and handling.

Upon completion of the series in NEGRO DIGEST, the articles will be published in permanent book form, one each of which will be presented free to the library of each participating high school and college and each signed contributor.

End Result: To give high school and college students (both white and Negro) a factual survey of the job and career opportunities available to them, plus the additional information of the experiences of those Negroes who have attained outstanding success in each field. And to provide the library of each of the nation's high schools and colleges with a bound volume of this information for its permanent collection.

OTHER CONTRIBUTORS INVITED TO JOIN

Dwight D. Eisenhower, Marshall Field, Henry Ford II, Lester B. Granger, Paul Hoffman, Charles Luckman, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Mary M. Bethune.

- and -

PRESIDENTS OF ALL NEGRO COLLEGES

PLEASE

YOUR "FUTURE OF NEGRO YOUTH" CONTRIBUTION

An Article Of About 1500 Words...

Covering these points

1. A brief account of your background and youth.
2. A short resume of your education and how it was financed.
3. A list of the qualifications a candidate for your field should possess.
4. A list of your views on how these qualities can best be used for success, and what the future offers Negro youth in this field.

OBJECT: To present a handbook of the job future for Negro youth and essential, promising job fields not usually considered by young men and women.

YOUR CONTRIBUTION WILL BE OF INESTIMABLE VALUE TO YOUNG NEGROES FOR MANY YEARS TO COME.

PLEASE...

230-39

NEGRO DIGEST "FUTURE OF NEGRO YOUTH" SERIES SEPTEMBER, 1948-JUNE, 1949

PROSPECTUS

Object: To survey in interesting article form the job and career future for qualified Negroes in all fields of endeavor.

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Keynoter: Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University

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- and -

PRESIDENTS OF ALL NEGRO COLLEGES

Negro Digest Publishing Company

Publishers of Negro Digest and Ebony Magazines

5125 S. CALUMET AVE.
CHICAGO 15, ILL.

write it
autobiography
Thanks for such work

February 17, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

23-39-128

My dear Doctor DuBois:

As yet we have not received a reply to my letter of two weeks ago inviting you to contribute an article on creative writing to NEGRO DIGEST's "Future Of Negro Youth" series.

I fully realize that the press of regular duties have first and constant call on your valuable time. However, in view of the comparative brevity of the article we request of you, we feel certain that you will help us out in this very worthy project.

It is extremely gratifying to us to receive the favorable comment of those contributors who have already accepted. And I am enclosing a revised prospectus which includes the names of those contributors. All are agreed that the work can be a monumental project. You may be sure that we are more than ever determined to make of it the really worthwhile work that it can be.

Perhaps you have put off sending your acceptance to us in the belief that our request comes so far in advance of September, 1948. If this is so, please allow me to explain that the deadline imposed by the necessity of compiling, printing, editing and scheduling make it desirable for us to have each article well in advance of publication.

Won't you, therefore, let us know at your earliest possible convenience that you will contribute an article to our series? Yours is a very small (only about 1500 words) part, but an oh-so-very-important one.

With sincerest appreciation,

Cordially yours,

J. Unis Pressley

J. Unis Pressley
Public Relations Director

JUP/lh

February 25, 1948

Mr. J. Unis Pressley
NEGRO DIGEST
5125 S. Calumet Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Pressley:

Dr. Du Bois has seen your letter of February 17. As you know, he is on an extended lecture tour to the West Coast and will not return to New York for several weeks. He will be glad to do the article you mentioned for "The Future of Negro Youth." However, I should like to know what fee is to be paid for this article, since I would like to convey this information to him.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Z3c - 39

March 22, 1948

Mr. J. U. Pressley
NEGRO DIGEST
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Pressley:

On February 25 I wrote you in regard to request to Dr. DuBois to do an article, "The Future of Negro Youth" series. As yet I have not heard from you and I would appreciate a reply, so that I may convey the information to Dr. DuBois upon his return to New York in April.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Nehru]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

Letter
N. 453P
LC=Deferred
NLT=Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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NHE57 INDGOVT INTL=CD NEWDELHI VIA RCA 48 FEB 21 1545 :==

IMMDTE CEDRIC DOVER=

:FISK UNIVERSITY (

DLR LEAVE ON TABLE

1042 17TH AVE NORTH)=

I have answered this
D

PRIMIN 854 ON OCCASION OF EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY OF DR DU BOIS I AM HAPPY TO SEND HIM THROUGH YOU OUR BEST WISHES FOR MANY HAPPY RETURNS INDIA REMEMBERS WITH GRATITUDE HIS SYMPATHY DURING HER STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM=

:JAWAHARLAL PRIME MINISTER INDIA FOREIGN.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

NETHERLANDS DELEGATION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
ROOM 301, 10 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: CIRCLE 6-5889

No. 168. January 28, 1948.

23-46-10

Dear Sir,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 22, 1948 and enclosed booklet, entitled "An Appeal to the World".

Although this publication has had my full attention I must disappoint you on the subject of having it printed in Dutch. Owing to the shortage of paper in Europe and in my country in particular I regret that I am unable to forward your request to my Government.

Yours sincerely,

Jonkheer J.W.M.Snouck Hurgronje
Premanent Representative of the
Netherlands to the United Nations.

Mr. W.E.Burghart Du Bois
Director of Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

The New American Library
OF WORLD LITERATURE, INC.

245 FIFTH AVENUE ★ NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK ★ MURRAY HILL 4-2540

Publishers of PENGUIN SIGNET BOOKS and PELICAN MENTOR BOOKS

May 3, 1948

James W. Johnson

Dear Dr. Du Bois;

23-19

The publishers of Penguin Signet and Pelican Mentor Books request the pleasure of your company at a cocktail party to launch the publication of a popular reprint of James Weldon Johnson's "The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man."

The Time: Monday, May 10th, 5:30 to 7:30 p.m.

The Place: Our offices - 245 Fifth Ave. (at 28th St.)

We all very much hope that you can be present on this occasion which, in addition to celebrating a great book, is designed to bring together the people who are interested in furthering the flow of good literature into Negro communities, which are often poorly serviced by publishers, if at all.

In this connection we know you will be interested in meeting Miss Ellen Tarry, who has been appointed a special consultant on this task, and other members of our staff. Mrs. James Weldon Johnson and others who have been closely identified with Mr. Johnson's life and work will be present.

We are certain you will be happy to join with us on this social occasion, which will bring together members of the literary profession and others keenly interested in the advancement of American education and culture in every community in the country.

Sincerely yours,

Victor Weybright

Victor Weybright, Chairman

Kurt Enoch

Kurt Enoch, President

R.S.V.P.

Regret in cloverbo

May 6, 1948

Mr. Victor Weybright
The New American Library
245 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Weybright:

Dr. DuBois has asked me to extend his thanks to you for the invitation to attend the cocktail party launching the publication in popular form of James Weldon Johnson's Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man. Unfortunately, the Doctor will be unable to attend the affair, since on May 10 he will be lecturing in Cleveland, Ohio.

With sincere regrets on behalf of Dr. DuBois, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

[New Jersey, State of]

May 12, 1948

Department of Documents
State Capitol Building
Trenton, New Jersey

Dear Sir:

This office would appreciate your sending at your earliest convenience a copy of the newly adopted State Constitution of New Jersey.

Please accept our thanks for your courtesy in this request.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For the Department

HHS:s

22-39

June 30, 1948

The Editor
The New Leader
7 East 15th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Sir: Dr. DuBois would like to know whether you would be interested in considering for publication the enclosed article concerning the United Nations Charter.

We shall be pleased to hear from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure

The New Leader

Seven East Fifteenth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

SPring 7-8260-1-2

S. M. LEVITAS
Executive Editor

July 19, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York City

Dear Mr. Smythe:

I am indeed very sorry to return Dr. Dubois' article to you as we cannot make use of it.

Sincerely yours,

S. M. Levitas
Executive Editor

sml/me
encl
oeiu:153

[New Republic]

January 26, 1948

22-28

Mrs. Viola Scott
Secretary to Mr. Wallace
The New Republic
40 East 49th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Scott:

Thank you for sending Dr. DuBois a copy of Mr. Wallace's speech made before the annual convention of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Tulsa, Oklahoma, December, 1947. He appreciates your thoughtfulness and will find the material of use in his work, I am sure.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

New School

YMCA
YWCA
Libraries
Organization
Bibliog. & list
Schedule – the week
NAACP
Urban leagues
Photo.
Radio ?
ΣΠΦ

22-37-61

[New School...]

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

March 5, 1948

Dear Hugh,

This is going to be a really wonderful program, do you think you could post it at your headquarters.

Best regards,

Jane

Jane

23C-45

Smythe

re Calypso blank.

March 9, 1948

Mrs. Jane McMenamin
THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th Street
New York, New York

Dear Jane:

Received the Calypso blank. Program looks interesting. Mrs. Murphy posted it immediately. Will see you this weekend.

As ever,

Hugh

HWS:LM

New School

April 26, 1948

22-32-39

Mr. Homer C. Wadsworth
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wadsworth:

I have been thinking over the talk which we had concerning the course on THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE. I should be willing to conduct such a course once a week, and to undertake myself six of the fifteen lectures on the following conditions.

I should like to have a minimum of $50.00 a lecture. This I should ask in my own case, and in the case of persons coming from outside of New York City. There are a few persons in the city who might be willing to take the work for $35.00. Even this, I should not like to ask.

I do not think that this need cost the school any extra money, if some real work in publicity is done. There are a number of well known persons within reach of New York City who would attract audiences. I think of Charles H. Thompson, Dean, Graduate School, Howard University; Abraham Harris, Professor of economics at the University of Chicago; E. Franklin Frazier, President of the American Sociological Society; Shirley Graham, biographer of Frederick Douglas; John Hope Franklin, a recent writer on Negro history and Professor of history at Howard University; and Allison Davis, Professor at the University of Chicago. There are a number of others. I think that those in Chicago would probably be in New York and available sometime during the year, and others could afford to come from Washington.

I should like to have the work of arranging and keeping track of the course, outside of the help you could at the school, to be in the hands of my assistant, Hugh H. Smythe, M. A. in sociology, Atlanta University, and Ph. D. in social anthropology, Northwestern University. He could, also, deliver one or two of the lectures.

As to the time of week and the hour of the course, I have no particular choice. I should want, of course, to make out a syllabus at the earliest possible time to be used for publicity.

If the conditions which I have mentioned are agreeable, I should be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

April 28, 1948

Dear Faculty Member:

The Library is asking your cooperation in facilitating the purchase of required reading for the Fall 1948 courses.

Would you please indicate on the attached sheet, typewritten if possible, 2 books for required reading and 2 alternates should those be out of print?

If an additional bibliography of supplementary reading is desired, please use the second sheet. These will be mimeographed for distribution to the students.

All these processes take considerable time; therefore, the Library would appreciate your help in returning these lists as soon as possible, but no later than ~~July 15~~.

Sincerely yours,

Librarian

22-37

[New School...]

May 5, 1948

Mr. Homer C. Wadsworth
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Wadsworth:

I propose a course on the Negro in American History for The New School, during the scholastic year 1948-1949, somewhat as follows:

Lecture No. 1 - Survey - W. E. B. DuBois

Lecture No. 2 - Europe and Africa:1600-1800 - W.E.B.DuBois

Lecture No. 3 - The New World: 1400-1700 - Irene Diggs

Miss Diggs is Associate Professor of sociology at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland. She took her Ph.D. at the University of Havana, Cuba, and has studied in South America under the U. S. Department of State's auspices.

Lecture No. 4 - The Revolution: 1770-1815 - Eric Williams

Mr. Williams is Professor of Social Sciences in the Department of Political Science, Howard University. He took his D.Phil. at Oxford University, England, has written several books and is the author of articles in various periodicals.

Lecture No. 5 - The Cotton Kingdom:1815-1860 - J. H. Franklin

Mr. John Hope Franklin is Professor of History at Howard University. He took his Ph.D. at Harvard University. He is the author of several books and has written widely for publications in his field.

Lecture No. 6 - The Civil War - W.E.B. DuBois

Lecture No. 7 - Reconstruction - W.E.B. DuBois

Lecture No. 8 - Social Development - E. Franklin Frazier

Mr. Frazier is Chairman and Professor in the Department of Sociology, Howard University. He is currently President of the American Sociological Society. He took his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Lecture No.9 - Frederick Douglas and his Times - Shirley Graham

Miss Graham is the author of a biography of Frederick Douglas and several other biographies.

Lecture No.10 - Economic Adjustment - Abram L. Harris

Mr. Harris is an Associate Professor in the Department of Economics of the University of Chicago. He took his Ph.D. at Columbia University. He has authored several books and has published widely in periodicals in his field.

In case Mr. Harris is unable to accept, then I propose to suggest Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene, Professor of History, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri. He took his Ph.D. at Columbia University, has authored several books and articles.

Lecture No. 11 - Booker T. Washington and His Times - C.H.Thompson

Mr. Charles H. Thompson is Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Education at Howard University. Also, he edits the Journal of Negro Education. He took his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago, is a writer and lecturer of wide reputation.

Lecture No. 12 - The First World War - Rayford W. Logan

Mr. Logan is Professor of History and Chairman of the Department, Howard University. He took his Ph.D. at Harvard University. He was a Captain in the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, is the author of several books and has published widely in publications here and abroad.

Lecture No. 13 - The Second World War - Hugh H. Smythe

Mr. Smythe is Research Assistant in the Department of Special Research of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He took his Ph.D. in anthropology from Northwestern University. He has published articles in publications both here and abroad, and has had educational work experience in five universities and colleges. He is a veteran of World War II.

Lecture No. 14 - The Negro in American Literature - W.E.B. DuBois

Lecture No. 15 - Summary - W. E. B. DuBois

My ability, of course, to carry out this program will depend upon whether or not I can get all of the persons mentioned to cooperate and at the proper time. I am writing to ask them, and hope to hear from them within a week.

I shall be glad to have your judgment and any suggestions.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:s

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

SCHOOL OF POLITICS

22-32-51

May 7, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

May I thank you for your good letter of May 5, together with the proposed schedule of your course on the Negro in America.

The schedule you give is excellent, and the experts you propose to use are all first rate people. We should be deeply honored to have your course listed in our curriculum this year, and shall be especially pleased if you are successful in enlisting such a distinguished company of scholars to participate in the course. I shall look forward to hearing from you in the near future as to the results of your letters to them.

A.B

At the moment our chief need is a very brief outline of your course for use in our catalogue. I would appreciate it very much if you would send this to me in the course of the next few days.

With best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Homer C. Wadsworth

Homer C. Wadsworth
Acting Dean

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Athletes Myself

May 14, 1948

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Homer C. Wadsworth
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wadsworth:

23-24-57

In compliance with the request made by Miss Silverman by phone today, I am enclosing the statement on the course THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY, which was drawn up by Dr. DuBois. He has asked me to inform you that you are at liberty to cut the material to suit your purposes, if this statement is too long.

Bibliographical material on Dr. DuBois is enclosed. Miss Silverman mentioned that she had data on the propsective lecturers but that the Doctor had failed to enclose a statement about himself. You might find it helpful to consult WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA or any one of the several well known biographical volumes for a concise statement on Dr. DuBois, but the enclosed material is complete and up to date.

In regard to the guest lecturers, Dr. DuBois has had acceptances from Irene Diggs, Lorenzo J. Greene, E. Franklin Frazier, John Hope Franklin, Shirley Graham, Charles H. Thompson, Rayford W. Logan, and Hugh H. Smythe.

If there is any further information you need, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosures

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

July 13, 1948

Dear Hugh,

Last year for the Reddick course, "World View of the Negro Question", we had 5,000 folders printed and these were distributed as follows:

Southern Conference for Human Welfare	2,300
Sent Directly to Dr. Reddick for his own mailing	1,500
Walter White at NAACP	200
	4,000

The balance were used for New School promotion. I think we might be able to advertise in the Crisis and perhaps they would do a short story on WEBDuB as it was his original idea to have the course and it took him 10 years to get the School to do it. Will you consider how we can reach a new public - the people who need to learn about this both white and (brown). This is a possibility that a folder will be printed again using the Dover course with DuBois. Don't you think Julius Thomas would give us a mailing list? Even if we can't get a folder we can send the NS catalogue or Preliminary List with the course marked. Could you come down to the School and talk it over with Mrs. Urban and myself (the heat has got me - I can't type anymore).

Enclosed also other folder.

Best regards,

July 15, 1948

22-32-1-8

Miss Jane McMenamin
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Janet

Thanks for your note of the 13th. In addition to the three sources you listed I am going to suggest a few more that should prove to be profitable sources for disseminating information about the course to be given by Dr. DuBois.

National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, New York
Sigma Boule, Mr. Herbert T. Miller, 558 Decatur Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
American Association of University Women
B'nai Brith, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York
Common Council for American Unity, Margaret Anderson, 20 W. 40th, N.Y., N.Y.
Congress on Radial Equality
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Federal Council of Churches
American Missionary Association
American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
National Educational Association
Benjamin Fine, Education Editor, New York Times , New York, N. Y.
Education Editor, Herald Tribune, New York, New York
General Education Board, Radio City, New York
Carnegie Corporation, Radio City, New York
American Jewish Committee
Bureau of Intercultural Education
Workship for Cultural Democracy
School and Society

(Where addresses are not given you can find them in the phone directory)

Aside from these, it might be a good idea to contact the central bodies of the leading churches, aside from the Federal Council of Churches listed above. Try the political clubs, especially the women's divisions of the Republican and Democratic Clubs---will distributed information. The central YMCA's and YWCA's, including all the five boroughs.

It might be worthwhile to consider the local colleges and universities as sources to distribute l aflets, or at least let them know of it so notice of the course can be posted on bulletin boards or announcement made of it in classes.

Since special courses run for public school teachers, and there is a central office for them, it might be wise to see that notice of the course reaches them. The Board of Education has a central office dealing with teachers and could be used as a means for doing this.

Again, the local labor unions, library publications (local) and organizations, and local housing development publications. Such as the weekly newssheet published by Riverton, known as the Riverton-Lincoln Gazette. Most of the public housing and private developments put out some local paper and it might be a good idea to advertise in them.

I hope you will find these avenues helpful. Should some other ideas develop meanwhile, I shall let you know about them.

With regards,

Hugh H. Smythe

P.S. You might find it advisable to contact directly some of the large churches in Harlem, such as St. Marks, Abyssinia Baptist Church, The Presbyterian at 141st St., and St. Nicholas Avenue, and others. In such churches somebody could read out the announcement and be in a position to explain the nature of the course and also enroll members for the course or for specific lectures.

Then too, there are a number of organizations in Harlem and other sections of New York that you ought to reach. The New York Urban League can supply you with a list of such organizations, I believe.

Special: Thanks for the leaflet on that Clove farm. However, it appears to be a Jim Crow outfit, for I noticed there were only Negroes on the leaflet. As you ought to know, Negroes are not looking for a segregated place to enjoy themselves, but for a democratic spot where all American people are free to come and enjoy themselves.

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

SCHOOL OF POLITICS

July 26, 1948

22-32-23

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This will officially confirm our conversations both with yourself and with Dr. Smythe regarding the lecture series to be given under your chairmanship here at the New School during the forthcoming Fall term, 1948. May I add that we consider it a special privilege to present you and your distinguished list of speakers from the New School platform.

We have scheduled your course for fifteen weeks, under the topic, THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY, to be given on Mondays, from 8:30-10:10 p.m., beginning September 27, 1948.

As indicated to you verbally, our financial arrangement will be a guarantee of $50 per lecture for the entire series.

The State of New York requires every public and private school instructor to sign an oath of allegiance at each institution where he teaches. Will you be good enough to sign the enclosed copy of the oath and return it to me for my signature. Will you also please return the enclosed withholding slip which must be filed with our bookkeeping department for tax deduction purposes.

Returned completed Aug 5, 1948

It is my great pleasure to advise you that Dr. John H. Ferguson, Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Pennsylvania State College, will join the staff of the New School on September 1, 1948, as Dean of the School of Politics. I am sure that you will enjoy immensely your future contacts with him; he is a wonderful person, a fine scholar and an able administrator.

With best wishes for a very pleasant summer.

Cordially yours,

Homer C. Wadsworth

Homer C. Wadsworth
Acting Dean

HCW:is
Encls.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

[New School]

August 9, 1948

22-37-59

Dear Doctor:

Miss Dilema, of the New School's Public Relations office, called and would like to come and talk with you the first part of next week. It is in regard to the course. She said she would like to have the appointment for Monday, if possible, since the matter she wishes to discuss means that all possible delay must be avoided. We are to call her and confirm the appointment date and time you give her.

Aug 16 @ 2) H.H.S.

August 16, 1948

Miss Agnes De Lima
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Miss De Lima:

Here is the photograph of Dr. DuBois. The other material will reach you sometime this week.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Enclosure

Submitted by:
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

August 17, 1948

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Lecturers in the course: The Negro in American History - The New School

ELLEN IRENE DIGGS

~~Associate~~ Professor of Sociology, Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland. Student of Latin American culture.

St. CLAIR DRAKE

Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, Roosevelt College; author of Black Metropolis.

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

Professor of History, Howard University; author of From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Pres, Amer. Soc. Society;

Professor and Chairman, Department of Sociology, Howard University; author of The Negro Family in the United States.

SHIRLEY GRAHAM

Writer, lecturer; author of There Was Once a Slave: A Biography of Frederick Douglass.

LORENZO J. GREENE

Professor of History, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri; author of The Negro in Colonial New England.

LUTHER P. JACKSON

Professor and Chairman, Department of History, Virginia State College; author of Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia: 1830 - 1860.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

Professor and Chairman, Department of History, Howard University; author of The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti: 1776 - 1891.

CHARLES H. THOMPSON

Dean, The Graduate School, and Professor of Education, Howard University; editor of The Journal of Negro Education.

W. E. B. DuBOIS

Director of the course. Director, Department of Special Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; author of The World and Africa (Note: see attached biographical sheet for Dr. DuBois and you may add whatever you think pertinent for him)

August 18, 1948

Miss Agnes De Lima
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss De Lima:

Enclosed is the material you asked for concerning the course Dr. DuBois is giving this Fall. The publicity list is only suggestive, but it should prove worth while to see that publicity material is sent to these addresses. You can use your own judgment here.

I hope that the biographical sketches are as you wanted them. I used the Reddick leaflet as a guide in drawing them up. The dates for these lecturers are not final, and they have all been contacted in order to confirm the arrangement. If we hear from them in time we shall be sure and let you have the exact information about the time each is to appear in the series.

Here are three more pictures of Dr. DuBois. If there is anything else you feel that we can do, please feel free to write us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosures

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

August 19, 1948

22-32-74

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Thank you for all the material you sent me. Enclosed is copy for the folder using this material plus the course description in the catalogue. I think we can follow the nice format of Dr. Reddick's folder. I hope you have a copy of this, as our supply is exhausted save for a file copy to lend to the printer.

On the back we will run notices of related courses including the outlines of Dr. Dover's and Mr. Maslow's courses. We usually do this and it helps students wishing to take more than one course in the field.

Won't you ask Dr. DuBois to look over this copy, and let me have his and your suggestions as soon as you can. I want to get it all printed by the middle of next week if possible. For addressing it and getting it around always takes longer than we want it to. So if possible, call me tomorrow- Friday- and if the changes are not too extensive you can give them to me by telephone and I can make them on my copy and send it to the printer.

Cordially,

Agnes deLima

Agnes deLima
Publicity director

How many shall we print? (2000)? 5000?

Ref. 8-23-48
changes noted on
phone 8-23-48
by Smythe

Mrs. Frazier -> Organizations, New York (Colored)

POSSIBLE ORGANIZATIONS TO BE SENT PUBLICITY ON COURSE

FOR THE NEW SCHOOL -------- FALL--1948

New York Colored Mission
7 E. 130th Street
New York, New York

Permanent Committee for Better Schools in Harlem
340 Manhattan Avenue, City

Harlem People's Art Committee
103 West 141 Street, city

Colored Nurses Assn.
Citizens Committee
130 West 130th Street, City

Dining Car Employees Union, Local 370
200 West 135th Street, City

Flatbush Boys Club and
Community Center, Inc.
2245 Bedford Ave., Brooklyn

Hopewell Society of Brooklyn
218 Gates Avenue

Aldorado
212 West 132 Street, City

Amapa Musical-Dramatic
227 West 141 Street, City

Arrow Bridge
101 West 143rd Street, City

Beutician Social Club No. 1
244 West 122 Street, City

B-G Boys Social and Athletic Club
408 West 150th Street, City

Blue Birds
316 West 119th Street, City

Nannie Burroughs Philanthropic Club
248 Seventh Avenue, City

Business and Prof. Women's Club
247 Lenox Avenue, City

Chicago Club
1871 7th Avenue, City

Harlem Community Art Center
290 Lenox Avenue
New York, New York

Assn. for the Study of Negro Life and History
103 West 141st street, city

Progressive Women's Council
Grampion Hotel (St. Nicholas Ave)

Federation of Colored Women's Clubs
118 West 130th Street, City

Baptist Home of Brooklyn
665 Green Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Brooklyn Urban League
105 Fleet Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Aeolian Girls
105 Edgecombe Avenue, City

Alethean Girls
237 West 129th Street, City

Aristocratic Girls Social Club
109 West 137th Street, City

Bowana Bridge Club
44 Bradhurst Ave, City

Benedict College Club
137 West 142 Street, City

Bide-a-Wee Bridge Club
304 West 151 Street, City

Bordentown Club
156 West 130 Street, City

Business Women's Club #45
2411 7th Avenue, City

Chesterfield Civic and Social Club
242 West 130th Street, City

N. Y. Chapter College Women's Assn.
39 Remington Place
New Rochelle, New York

POSSIBLE ORGANIZATIONS TO BE SENT PUBLICITY ON COURSE

FOR THE NEW SCHOOL --------- FALL--1948

New York Colored Mission
7 E. 130th Street
New York, New York

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~~408 West 150th Street~~, City

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~~316 West 119th Street~~, City

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247 Lenox Avenue, City

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105 Fleet Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

~~Aeolian Girls~~
~~105 Edgecombe Avenue~~, City

~~Alethean Girls~~
~~237 West 129th Street~~, City

~~Aristocratic Girls Social Club~~
~~109 West 137th Street~~, City

~~Bowana Bridge Club~~
~~44 Bradhurst Ave~~, City

Benedict College Club
137 West 142 Street, City

Bide-a-Wee Bridge Club
304 West 151 Street, City

Bordentown Club
156 West 130 Street, City

Business Women's Club 45
2411 7th Avenue, City

Chesterfield Civic and Social Club
242 West 130th Street, City

N. Y. Chapter College Women's Assn.
39 Remington Place
New Rochelle, New York

St. Aloysius Rectory 219 West 132nd Street

St. Ambrose P. E. Church 9 West 130th Street

St. Marks' Catholic, 65 West 138th Street

St. Andrews Liberal Episcopal 235 West 116th Street

St. Andrews Episcopal Church 2067 Fifth Avenue

St. Cyprian's Church 77 West 63rd Street

St. James Presbyterian 409 West 141 Street

St. Luke's Episcopal Convent Avenue at 141st Street

St. Luke's Chapel 28 Edgecombe Avenue

St Mark's Methodist Church 49 Edgecombe Avenue

St Martin's P. E. Church 230 Lenox Avenue

St Matthew's Lutheran Church 419 West 145th Street

St. Phillip's Episcopal Church 215 West 133 street

ST. Stephen's P. E. Church 122 West 69th Street

St. Thomas, the Apostle 262 West 118th Street

Union Baptist Church, 240 West 145th Street

Union Congregational Church 60 West 132 Street

NEWSPAPERS

Ethiopian World, 290 Lenox Avenue

New York Amsterdam News, 2340 8th Avenue

New York Age, 230 West 135th Street

Pittsburgh Courier, 2091 7th Avenue

~~xxxix~~ Associated Publishers Inc. 562 Fifth Avenue

Calvin's Newspaper Service 360 West 125th Street

SCHOOLS

Braithwaite, Business 2376 Seventh Avenue

Combination Business, 139 West 125th Street

N. Y. Academy of Business
447 Lenox Avenue

Cosmopolitan Club
1845 7th Avenue, City

Douglas Society of City College
253 West 139th Street, City

Excelsior Literary Club
Urban League
204 West 117th Street, City

Harlem Parents' Assn.
211 West 111 Street, City

Junior Hostesses
Y.W.C.A.
180 West 135th Street, City

Lincoln U. Club
YWCA, 180 West 135th Street, City

Critics Club
488 St Nicholas Avenue, City

Ed. Waters College Club
409 Edgecombe Avenue, City

Hampton Club
175 West 137th Street, City

James Weldon Johnson Lite Guild
488 St. Nicholas Avenue, City

Lincoln Nurses Alumnae Assn.
323 West 139th Street, City

MANHATTAN CHURCHES

Abyssinia Baptist, 132 West 138th Street

All Saints Catholic Church--47 East 129th Street

Baptist Educational Center--420 West 145th Street
Bethel A.M.E. 52 West 132ned Street

Bethel Baptist, 2163 8th Avenue

Beloved Baptist, 302 West 120th Street

Church of the Crucifixion 469 West 149th Street

Convent Baptist Convent Avenue 145th Street

Metropolitan Baptist, 151 West 128th Street

Mother A.M.E. Zion 151 West 136th Street

Mt. Calvary Methodist 116 Edgecomb Avenue

Mt. Moriah Baptist, 2050 5th Avenue

Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church--Mt. Morris Park at 122nd Street

Mt. Olive Baptist Church ~~2100~~ 201 Lenox Ave.

Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal 77 St. Nicholas Avenue

Randal Memorial Presbyterian 59 West 137th Street

Refuge Temple, 125th Street & 7th Avenue

Salem Methodist Church 209 West 129th Street

Seventh Day Adventist Temple 562 West 150th Street

BRONX CHURCHES

Caldwell A.M.E. Zion Church--Cor. Christopher and Stebbins

ForestCommunity, Forest Avenue & E. 166th Street

Light House Tablernacle--1402 Prospect Avenue

Nazarite Church in Christ, Apostolic--1161 Boston Rd.

New Mt. Celia Baptist 1081 Boston Rd.

John Wesley Methodist Church--814 Hewitt Place

St. Augustines Presbyterian 165th & Prospect Avenue

St. Anthony's 166& Prospect Ave.

Thessalonia Baptist Church 785 Home Street

Trinity Methodist Church--166th St. and Washington Ave.

Victory Baptist Church, 863 E. 162nd Street.

YONKERS, NEW YORK

Bethel Baptist Church, 1 Fisher Avenue

Calvery Baptist Church, 120 Brookfield

Bethany A.M.E. Church 2 Maple Street

Mt. Carmel Baptist, 84 School Street

Messiah Baptist Church, Ashburton Place

NEW ROCHELLE, NEW YORK

Bethesda Baptist Church, 71 Winyah Ave.

Gospel Tabernacle, 99 Winyah Ave.

Mt. Carmel Methodist, Mt Grove Ave.

Seventh Day Adventist, 128 Wingate Ave.

Shiloh Baptist, 103 Winthrope Ave.

St. Catherine A.M.E. 19 Winyah Ave.

St. Simons P. E. At Morris Street

Union Baptist Church, Union Ave.

WHITE PLAINS

Mt. Hope A.M.E. Zion Church, 159 Brookfield St

White Plains, Continued

Second Methodist Church, Mott Street

Union Baptist Church, Warren Ave. & Manhattan Park

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Bethel Tabernacle, 90 Schenectady Ave.

Christ Church, Episcopal 362 Clinton St.

Church of the Redeemer, Methodist, 535 Herkimer Street

Concord Baptist Church, Marcy & Putnam

First A.M.E. Zion Church, Tompkins and McDonough Streets

Siloam Presbyterian Church, Jefferson & Marcy

St. Auzustine's Episcopal, Lafayette and Marcy

St. Peter Claver Catholic Church, Jefferson & Claver Place

STATEN ISLAND, NEW YORK

P.V. Seventh Day Adventist Mission, 730 Henderson Ave.

Shiloh A.M.E.Church, Henderson Ave., Nr. Broadway

St. Philips Baptist Church, Faber Street, Port Richmond

JAMAICA

Bethel Gospel Tabernacle, 110-15 New York Boulevard

Cedar Manor Church of God in Christ, 110-57 New York Boulevard

Morning Star Baptist Church, 162-11 South Road

Southside Mission, 107-04 New York Boulevard

St. Benedict The Moor Catholic Mission, 108-48 New York Boulevard

CORONA

Antioch New Baptist Church, 109-12 Northern Boulevard

Corona Congregational Church, 3319 102nd Street

Zeta Boule, Mr. Herbert T. Miller, 558 Decatur Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Harlem YMCA, Mr. Thomas, Executive Secretary, 180 West 135th St., New York Cit

Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA, 177 West 137th Street, New York, New York

National Urban League, Mr. Lester Granger, Secretary, 1133 B'way, New York, N. Y

National Association of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Mrs. Sadye J. Williams, President- - 235 Gates Avenue, Brooklyn, New York

Nat'l Assn. Colored Graduate Nurses, 1790 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Gertrude Robinson, Basileus, Phi Delta Kappa Sorority, 596 Edgecombe, City

Community Branch YWCA, 514 Jackson Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey

Washington Street Branch YMCA, 41 Washington Street, Montclair, New Jersey

Court Street Branch YMCA, 153 Court Street, Newark, New Jersey

Carlton Ave. Branch YMCA, Mr. Herbert T. Miller , Sec. 405 Carlton Ave, Brooklyn

House of Friendliness (YWCA), 43 Belmont Ave., Jersey City, New Jersey

Sojourner Truth (YWCA) , 52 Jones Street, Newark, N. J.

Oakwood Branch YWCA, 66 Oakwood Ave., Orange, N. J.

New York Urban League, 202 W. 136th Street, New York, N. Y.

Brooklyn Urban League, 105 Fleet Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

White Plains Urban League, 240 Grove Street, White Plains, N. Y.

Mr. Mathieu Boutte, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, 2301 7th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Mr. Julius A. Thomas, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, 45 East 135 St. New York, N. Y.

The Librarian, 135th Street Public Library, Lenox and 135 St, New York, N. Y.

(In this connection a list of libraries in the Harlem area, and those near the various institutions of higher learning in the city, should be consulted and sent material)

Radio station WHOM(Willie Bryant Hour, maybe), or WMCA or WNYC might carry announcements.

22-37

Tentative lecture program--The New School, Fall Term, 1948, W.E.B. Du Bois, Chr.

September

X	27	DuBois	A Survey of the Negro in American History

October

X	4	DuBois	The Negro in Europe and Africa: 1600-1800
X	11	Diggs	The Negro and the Colonization of Latin America

Miss Diggs is Professor of sociology at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland. She took her Ph.D. at the University of Havana, Cuba, and has studied in South America under the U. S. Department of State's auspices.

X	18	DuBois	Slavery in the U. S. A., 1619--1860
X	25	Frazier	The Social Development of the Negro in the United States.

Mr. Frazier is Chairman and Professor in the Department of Sociology, Howard University. He is currently President of the American Sociological Society. He took his Ph. D. from the University of Chicago.

November

X	1	Franklin	The Development of the Cotton Kingdom, 1815-1860

Mr. John Hope Franklin is Professor of History at Howard University. He to k his Ph. D. at Harvard University. He is the author of several books and has written widely for publications in his field.

X	8	DuBois	The Negro and the Civil War, 1860-77
X	15	Logan	The Negro During the Period of the Road to Reunion

Mr. Logan is Professor of History and Chairman of the Department, Howard University. He took his Ph.D. at Harvard University. He was a Captain in the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, is the author of several books and has published widely in publications here and abroad.

X	22	Jackson	Negro Officeholders during Reconstruction with Special Reference to Virginia

Mr. Luther P. Jackson, is professor of history, Virginia State Col ege and author of several studies of the Negro in Virginia.

X	29	Thompson	Booker T. Washington and His Times

Mr. Charles H. Thompson is Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Education at Howard University. Also, he edits the Journal of Negro Education. He took his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago, is a writer and lecturer of wide reputation.

December

	6	~~Greene~~ DuBois	~~The Free Negro and His Development~~ The Negro in the U.S.A. Since Booker T. Washington

Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene, is professor of history at Lincoln University, Mo. and author of several books.

December

13 Graham Frederick Douglass and His Times

Miss Graham is the author of a biography of Frederick Douglass and several other biographies.

20 ~~Drake~~ DuBois The Negro in Cities

Mr. St. Claire Drake is professor of anthropology at Roosevelt College, Chicago, and co-author of "Black Metropolis."

January

3 DuBois The Negro in American Literature

10 Dubois Summary

22-37

Office Copy:

Sent to all lecturers
September 3, 1948,
together with a copy
of publicity folder
of the course

22-32-25

W. E. B. DuBois, Chairman

The Negro In American History

The New School

Fall Term, 1948

The class meets on Mondays, 8:30-10:10 P.M. The time is to be apportioned so that there will be a period for discussion following the lecture.

Upon arrival at The New School, you will be directed to the room in which the class is assigned to meet.

NEW YORK, N.Y. SEP 7 8:30PM 1918

HIRE THE [illegible] ED
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THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. Smythe
N.A.A.C.P.
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New York 18

[New School for Social Research]

Dear Dr Runyke

200 of the folders are going to you. Please put them to good use thru your mailing list. Can you use more?

Cordially

Agnes de Lima
New School

7 Sept.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES **Leo M. Cherne**

8 sessions, every third Thursday, beg. Oct. 21, 8:15-9:55 P.M. ($10)

THE CHANGING WORLD: A WORLD VIEW OF THE PRESENT CRISIS OF CULTURES **Ralph E. Turner**

15 weeks, Fall and Spring, Tuesdays, beg. Sept. 28 and Feb. 8, 6:20-8:00 P.M. ($17.50)

AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY **Felicia Johnson Deyrup**

15 weeks, Fall and Spring, Wednesdays, beg. Oct. 6 and Feb. 16, 6:20-8:00 P.M. ($17.50)

AMERICAN CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT **Henry Bamford Parkes**

15 weeks, Fall and Spring, Mondays, beg. Sept. 27 and Feb. 7, 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($17.50)

THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY **Saul K. Padover**

15 weeks, Wednesdays, beg. Sept. 29, 6:20-8:00 P.M. ($17.50)

AMERICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT **John H. Ferguson**

15 weeks. Fall, Thursdays, beg. Sept. 30, 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($17.50)

AMERICAN FEDERALISM: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS **John H. Ferguson**

15 weeks. Spring, Thursdays, beg. Feb. 10, 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($17.50)

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE: COUNTRY AND CITY **Kenneth Skelton**

15 weeks. Spring, Fridays, beg. Feb. 11, 6:20-8:00 P.M. ($17.50)

MODERN AMERICAN CULTURE AND PERSONALITY **Henry Elkin**

15 weeks. Spring, Thursdays, beg. Feb. 10, 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($17.50)

THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT **Adrienne Koch**

15 weeks. Fall and Spring, Tuesdays, beg. Sept. 28 and Feb. 8. Two sections, A. 10:30 A.M.-12:10 P.M.; B. 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($17.50)

[NEW SCHOOL, 1948]

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY

A FIFTEEN WEEK COURSE
BEGINNING SEPT. 27. $17.50
MONDAYS, 8:30-10:10 P.M.
SINGLE ADMISSION $1.80

32-39-6

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Chairman

No problem presents a greater challenge to our American democracy than our attitude, theories, and practices in the field of race relations and treatment of minority groups. This course follows the main events of American history with special emphasis upon the influence which persons of Negro descent have had upon the thoughts and activities of this country and sheds new light on how our present attitudes and practices have developed.

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66 WEST TWELFTH STREET • NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
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THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY

W. E. B. DuBois
and guest lecturers

The course begins with a survey and a general consideration of America's relations with Europe and Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries. This is followed by a study of the New World between 1400 and 1700 and the American Revolutionary War with England; a treatment of the economic, social and political development of the United States; the influence of slave labor and the Cotton Kingdom and the Civil War. Reconstruction is viewed as the struggle between democracy and Big Business in a South dominated by land monopoly and caste. There follows an inquiry into the part played by Negroes in the social and economic development of the nation during the 19th century, including the lives of men like Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington and the Negro as writer and subject in American literature. The development of capitalism and imperialism in the 20th century, covering both World Wars and the depression, is considered from the point of view of Negro workers and thinkers.

Bibliographical notes and references are furnished and special fields of investigation and further study indicated.

W. E. B. DuBOIS, Ph.D., Harvard. Director, Department of Special Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Formerly, director and professor, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University; editor the Crisis; director of publications, NAACP. Special consultant, San Francisco Conference, 1945, representing NAACP. Editor, Encyclopedia of the Negro, 1933-1945. Member, National Institute of Arts and Letters; columnist, editorial writer. Author, Black Reconstruction; The World and Africa; Color and Democracy; Souls of Black Folk; others; over 1000 articles.

GUEST LECTURERS

ELLEN IRENE DIGGS, Professor of Sociology, Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland. Student of Latin American culture.

ST. CLAIRE DRAKE, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology. Roosevelt College; author of Black Metropolis.

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, Professor of History, Howard University; author of From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, Professor and Chairman, Department of Sociology, Howard University; President of the American Sociological Society; author of The Negro Family in the United States.

SHIRLEY GRAHAM, Writer, lecturer; author of There Was Once a Slave: A Biography of Frederick Douglass.

LORENZO J. GREENE, Professor of History, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri; author of The Negro in Colonial New England.

LUTHER P. JACKSON, Professor and Chairman, Department of History, Virginia State College; author, Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia: 1830-1860.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, Professor and Chairman, Department of History, Howard University; author, The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti: 1776-1891.

CHARLES H. THOMPSON, Dean, The Graduate School, and Professor of Education, Howard University; editor, The Journal of Negro Education.

RELATED COURSES

RACE AND RACIALISM **Cedric Dover**

15 weeks. Fridays, 8:30-10:10 P.M. $17.50.

Beginning September 10. A world survey of the problem of "race and color," with emphasis on tension areas, set against a background of biological, psychological and socio-economic perspectives on "race" and racialism.

RACE AND RELIGION IN AMERICAN LAW **Will Maslow**

15 weeks. Tuesdays, 6:20-8:00 P.M. $17.50.

Beginning September 28. This course deals with the legal and administrative aspects of the problems confronting minority groups in America. The role of the state and federal governments, the influence of civic agencies and pressure groups, the possibilities of legislative relief and the problems of law enforcement are considered. The emphasis is on the social rather than the technical aspects of the law.

Sept. 28 Introduction: Racism in American life

Oct. 5 Discrimination against Orientals: a timorous Supreme Court

Oct. 12 Negro disenfranchment: the basic evil

Oct. 19 Security of the person: mob rule and fair trial

Oct. 26 Segregation: the separate but equal fallacy

Nov. 2 The Federal Civil Rights Law: the shield and the sword

Nov. 9 The war time FEPC: a study in frustration

Nov. 16 State FEPC Commissions: law as education

Nov. 23 Discrimination in education: the failure of voluntary action

Nov. 30 Discrimination in housing: the bounds in state action

Dec. 7 State Civil Rights Acts: the problem of enforcement

Dec. 14 Group defamation: how free can speech be?

Dec. 21 Religious liberty and the separation of Church and State: a continuing dilemma

Jan. 4 The private Attorney General: NAACP and CLSA

Jan. 11 The road ahead: implementing the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights

ALSO THE FOLLOWING COURSES — for details consult the New School catalogue.

AMERICA AS A CIVILIZATION **Max Lerner**

8 sessions, every second Thursday, beg. Oct. 14, 8:15-9:55 P.M. ($10)

THE DEMOCRATIC DISCIPLINES **Eduard C. Lindeman**

7 weeks, Wednesdays, beg. Nov. 10, 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($8.75)

New School

BOOKS ADDED TO THE NEW SCHOOL LIBRARY OCTOBER 1948

B C	**Cellini, Benvenuto**	**Memoirs.**
A	**Anderson, Sherwood**	**Sherwood Anderson reader.**
C	**Clemens, Samuel Longhorne**	**Collected works. Collier.**
C	Coignard, John	Spectacle of a man. Jefferson house. GIFT.
H	Hardy, Thomas	Mayor of Casterbridge. n.d.
L	Lewis, Sinclair	Arrowsmith. 1925.
N	Neider, Charles, ed.	Short novels of the masters. 1948.
W	Wilde, Oscar	Picture of Dorian Gray. 1926.
070.4 G243 h	Garst, Robert E. & Bernstein, Theodore M.	Columbia Univ. Press. 2nd ed. c1940. Headlines and deadlines.
109 W76h2	Windelband, W.	History of philosophy. 1901.
150 G649d	Goodenough, Florence L.	Developmental psychology. 1945.
150 J62h	Joad, C. E. M.	How our minds work.
150 M137e	McDougall, William	Energies of men. 1932. GIFT.
150.13 T46h	Thomason, Calvin	Human relations on action. 1948. GIFT.
179 L425a	Lawton, George	Aging successfully. Colum 1946.
191 J	James, William	The Philosophy of William James.
220.9 B29a	Barton, George A.	Archaeology and the Bible.
221 B57L	Bewer, Julius A.	Literature of the Old Testament. 1933.
307.2 Y75s	Young, Pauline V.	Scientific social surveys and research. 1939.
323.1 D58r	Dingwall, Eric J.	Racial pride and prejudice. 1946.

22-33

BOOKS ADDED TO THE NEW SCHOOL LIBRARY OCTOBER 1948

331 P485s — Peterson, Florence — Survey of labor economics. 1947.

331.1 W629h — Whyte, William Foote — Human relations in the restaurant industry. 1948. GIFT.

332.6 M66s — Mindell, Joseph — Stock market. 1948.

340.1 S565L — Siches, Luis Recasens, et al. — Latin-American legal philosophy. 1946.

342.931 L767p — Lipson, Leslie — The Politics of equality. 1948. GIFT.

353 F35a — Ferguson, John H; McHenry, Dean — American system of government. 1947.

353.9 G779a — Graves, W. Brooks — American state government. 1946.

22-37

364 B619k — Birnbaum, Karl — Kriminal-Psychopathologie und Psychobiologische Verbrecherkunde. 1931. GIFT.

445 F84f — Fraser, Ian Forbes — French reviewed. 1941. GIFT.

469 I12b — Ibarra, Francisco — Brazilian Portuguese self-taught. 1943.

509 S617s — Singer, Charles — Short history of science to the 19th century. 1941.

541.2 E34a — Eidinoff, Maxwell L. — Atomics for the millions. 1947.

589.95 F92f — Frobisher, Martin — Fundamentals of bacteriology. 1940.

611 F928a — Frohse, Franz — Atlas of human anatomy. 1942.

616.8 D898m — Dunbar, Flanders — Mind and body: psychosomatic medicine. 1947.

616.8 L92p — Lowry, Lawson G. — Psychiatry for social workers. 1946.

655.2 A425n — Allen, John E. — Newspaper designing. 1947.

658 B56i — Bethel, Lawrence L. — Industrial organization and management. 1945. GIFT.

658.3 J91p — Jucius, Michael J. — Personnel management. 1947. GIFT.

BOOKS ADDED TO THE NEW SCHOOL LIBRARY OCTOBER 1948

780.9 B34t	Bauer, Marion	Twentieth century music. 1947.
781.3 S365t	Schoenberg, Arnold	Theory of harmony. 1948.
801 H996a	Hyman, Stanley Edgar	The Armed vision. 1948.
821 H79p	Hopkins, Gerard M.	Poems. 1948.
824 P295m	Pater, Walter	Marius the epicurean.
875 C568s	Cicero	De senectute, de amicitia, divinatione.
913.37 M82r	Moore, Frank G.	Roman's world. 1936.
973.917 C	Crane, Milton, ed.	The Roosevelt era. 1947. GIFT.
CT120 W65	World biography, 1948. A-K.	1948.
DK445 F47	Finland year book, 1947.	1948. GIFT.
ML 128. I65 B3	Barlow, Harold	Dictionary of musical themes. 1948.
Z665 R53	Rider, Fremont	Scholar and the future of the research library.

22-37

October 4, 1948

Miss Jane McDwyer
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss McDwyer:

I am mailing to you, under separate cover, the large photograph of Dr. DuBois which you asked to use for your window. Will you be good enough to return this photograph to Dr. Du Bois when it has served its purpose.

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. DuBois

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

MEMORANDUM

TO: New School professors including Graduate Faculty people teaching courses for credit.

DATE: 10/7/48

FROM: Deans Mayer and Ferguson

A question has arisen concerning the objective measurements that should be used by professors before giving course grades to credit students and veterans. It is important that measurements should be made. As a means of encouraging students to master the subject, and also to avoid the employment of ghost writers or the submission of papers prepared in other schools or courses, it will usually be desirable to use more than one type of measurement. For most courses, therefore, we suggest that each member of the faculty require both a term report and one or more examinations, written or oral. When classes are small enough for professors to become familiar with every student or when courses are of such a specialized nature that they do not lend themselves easily to both a report and examinations, exceptions may be desirable. Exceptions should be made, however, only after consultation with the Dean of your school. We further suggest that requirements for the course be announced not later than the second or third session.

22-33

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SCHOOL OF POLITICS

22-37-53

October 15, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will be pleased to know that arrangements have been made for holding an informal tea after Dr. Frazier's lecture on October 25. Our public relations department is now preparing invitations. If you have people to suggest who would like to attend the lecture, please let us know.

Cordially,

John H. Ferguson

John H. Ferguson
Dean

JHF:hk

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dr Smythe

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

22-32-54

October 18, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I hope one of these evenings to come and vist your class. Meanwhile, here is the invitation to the reception for Dr. Frazier. Would you please extend it to your class and if there is anyone from the outside you think should be invited I'd appreciate hearing from you. We have selected a group of about 25 people. I hope they all come. Best regards,

Jane

Jane MacDwyer

CALENDAR OF OPEN COU

The following courses are open for single lectures, titles of which are given where possible. Unless otherwise stated the fees for single lectures are $1.80.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 18

10:30 Kullmann
Introduction to Philosophy
Eastern philosophy

2:00 Molzahn
Form and Color Composition ($4.50)

2:30 Zipper
A Survey of the Opera

4:00 Lewis
Dynamics of Normal Personality

Rosowsky
Harmony and Counterpart ($5.00) *

Tartak
Tolstoy and Dostoievski
Sevastopol period

5:45 Yunkers
Woodcuts (Advanced) ($3.00)

6:00 Munson
Professional Writing
Reader-writer contract

6:20 Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2.00)

J. Meyer, Wunderlich
Labor Economics and Sociology

Rosenberg
Social Disorganization

Vladeck
Labor and the Law
Injunctions II

8:15 Knopf
Understanding Human Nature
The constitution and character formation

8:30 Bozeman
Contemporary International Politics

Bryant
Present Day English

DuBois
Negro in American History (See Guest Speakers)

Hirsch
Current Economic Events

Leslau
Semitic Linguistics

Levy
Settling Labor Disputes
Devising self-government

Marrow
Human Relations in Industry ($1.75)

Minkoff
Modern Yiddish Literature

O'Neill, Jr.
Sources of Reason and Unreason
Enlightened thought: Les Philosophes

Pares
Contemporary Russia
Great Reforms of Alexander II

Parkes
American Cultural Development

Patai
Peoples and Cultures of the Near East

Walsh
Modern Man and Economic Ideas

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19

9:00 Lipton
Sculpture: Modeling in Clay ($5.00)

10:30 Koch
The American Experiment

R. Mirsky
Music by Parents and Children

1:00 Deinhard
Understanding Works of Art

4:00 Brandeis
Fiction and Poetry ($2.70)

6:20 Bretnall
Abnormal Psychology

Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Basic) ($3.00)

E. James
Latin American Civilization

Fritz Kaufmann, Orlinsky
History of the Jewish People
Kingdom and Exile

6:20 Lenrow
Masterpieces of World Literature
Tristan and Iseult; Gawain and the Green Knight

Maslow
Race and Religion in American Law
Security of the person

O'Neill, Jr.
Homer and the Historians
Homeric poetics and dramatics

Oppenheimer
Achievements of Experimental Science

Turner
The Changing World
Structure and dynamics of urban cultures

8:00 Yunkers
Woodcuts (Beg.) ($3.00)

8:15 Rosenthal
Creative Work and Play for Children

8:30 Dubos
Pasteur and Microbiological Sciences

Ferand
Ear Training

Fine
Principles of Publicity ($2.40) (See Guest Speakers)

Friis
Scandinavia: between East and West (See Guest Speakers)

8:30 Hamburg
Federal Taxation ($3.00) (See Guest Speakers)

J. Meyer
Current Labor Events

Rosenberg
Basic Sociology

Sherwin
News Editing ($2.40)

Tartak
Russian Literary Criticism
Early romantic literary criticism

White
Political Parties

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 20

1:30 Marein
Visual Communication Techniques ($4.50)

2:00 MacArthur
History and Comparison of Religions

4:00 Rosowsky
Music of the Bible

6:00 von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

6:10 Murphy
Evolution of Modern Psychology

6:20 Joughin
Literary Criticism

Malaquais
French Literature

Padover
Roots of American Democracy
The Constitution and the new republic

Watson
Dynamics of Social Change

7:00 Pizarro
Cervantes: Don Quixote (in Spanish)

von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

8:00 Jelinek
Graphic Arts ($3.00)

8:20 Ferand
Introduction to Music
Melody and scales

8:30 Abelson
Psychological Methods of Studying People

Deyrup
American Economic History
Colonial commerce, business, finance

Freid
Soviet-American Relations
American-Russian relations to 1917

Huth
International Broadcasting (See Guest Speakers)

Kazin
Whitman and Melville
Song of Myself

Lichtheim
The Ancient East

Nomad
Contemporary World Politics

Stern
Anthropology

Sternberg
America and Russia
The military strength of the U.S. and USSR.

Zeisel
Market and Opinion Research ($2.40)

Zucker
Styles through the Ages
Babylonian and Assyrian art

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21

10:30 Liss
Child Growth

Untermeyer
American Poetry (1912-1946)
Amy Lowell

1:30 Levi
Painting, Drawing ($6.20)

4:20 Troy
Four Philosophical Poets
John Donne

5:10 Joughin
The Research Paper
Principles of documentation

5:30 May
Investment Today ($2.40)
Stock market attitudes

6:00 Schanker
Woodblocks in Color ($4.80)

*** Closed after this week.**

U R S E S

le.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21 (Continued)

6:20 **Auden**
Meaning and Technique in Poetry
Brecht
European Governments
Ebon
Contemporary Communism
Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Advanced) ($3.00)
Friis
Industrial Peace: Scandinavian Experience
Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2.00)
Slochower
Culture Epochs
The Greek myth
8:15 **Cherne**
Economic and Social Developments in U. S.
8:30 **Elkin**
Social Psychology of Sexual Differentiation
Ferguson
American National Government
8:30 **Goudsmit**
Atomic Physics
Lenrow
20th Century Novel in America
Theodore Dreiser
Masselman
Economic Potential
Perlmann
Middle East Today
Ross
Dominant Ideals of Western Civilization
Hebraism and Hellenism
Schapiro
Modern Painting
German expressionists
Staudinger, Melamid
Economic Geography
(See Guest Speakers)
Steinberg
Public Relations ($2.40)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22

11:20 **Cowell**
Modern Music
2:00 **Wdowinski**
Make-up of Personality
Yunkers
Oil Painting, Drawing Composition ($4.50)
4:00 **Cowell**
Music Theory (Int.)
4:20 **Glicksberg**
Writer's Laboratory ($3.00)
6:00 **Schanker**
Abstract Drawing and Painting ($3.00)
Yunkers
Lithography ($3.00)
6:20 **Abrams et al**
Housing and Planning
Andrade
South American Government and Politics
Borne
Contemporary Art
(See Note)
Cowell
Music Theory (Elem.)
Hermes
English for Daily Use ($3.00)
Klein
Science and Philosophy
Manson
Collective Bargaining Techniques I
Scott
Russia as a World Power
6:20 **Tagliacozza**
From Laissez-Faire to Economic Liberalism
7:15 **Szent Gyorgyi**
General Biology
The pattern of life
8:15 **Schanker**
Abstract Drawing and Painting ($3.00)
8:30 **Cassirer**
Television News ($2.40)
Cowell
Music of the World's Peoples
Dover
Race and Racialism
Fischoff
Sociology of Literature
S. James
Publicity Writing ($2.40)
Kullmann
Hebrew Culture
Egyptian and Babylonian influence
Platt
Practical Publicity ($2.40)
Read
Modern European Civilization
Roy
Indian Philosophy
L. J. Stone
Child Psychology
Troy
Modern Fiction
Dostoievski: Crime and Punishment
Tyrwhitt
Town and Country Planning
American regional plan
Wdowinski
Make-up of Personality

SATURDAY CALENDAR continued on page 6

[NEW SCHOOL...] (1)

Dr. W E B DuBois
Dept of Special Research
NAACP
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32 286

NEW SCHOOL BULLETIN

VOL. VI, No. 7 OCTOBER 18, 1948

A NEW SCHOOL ANNIVERSARY

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13 LECTURES BEGINNING

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ON FINE SPUN CONSTITUTIONS

By Alvin Johnson

David Hume, the most level headed of British philosophers, remarks that in politics and political theory it is unwise to draw the lines too fine.

Our own political system is drawn on lines that are decidedly coarse. We have had Presidents elected by less than a majority of the popular vote; we never have anything approximating a full vote; we accept members of Congress from States in which a majority of adults are excluded from the polls; we give the same weight in the Senate to Nevada with under 100,000 inhabitants as to New York with 13,000,000. I could extend this catalogue of defects much farther, but any reader can do that himself, and space in the Bulletin is precious.

It is a crude political system we have; but it works. We shall elect a President November 2nd, who for the next four years will direct our foreign policy — at present our most vital national interest — along lines the great majority of us approve, or at least are reconciled to. In world affairs we shall be able to make promises, and keep them. In domestic affairs, the victorious party will roar against the rising cost of living, as the lions in the Sudan roar against the rising moon. The roaring may not be practically effective, but it is psychologicaly wholesome.

They do things better in France, Laurence Sterne used to say. Certainly, they draw lines finer. They enjoy the benefits of proportional representation, which today guarantees the presence in the Chambers of thirty Communists out of each hundred members, and at least another thirty percent of other minority parties. They have parliamentary responsibility, strange misnomer for the action of the uneasy mob of bickering politicians on whose transient combinations the Government stands or falls, but usually falls. They have a President who can't get up in the morning with a sour head and veto a bill on which good men and true and bad men and untrue have labored faithfully and schemingly for months. The French President is a figurehead, as refined political theory would have him. Not a sculptured but a painted figurehead.

The French political system presents all the virtues. But it doesn't work.

When Hitler was on the make, honest in only one point, his proclaimed determination to dominate all Europe, the most liberal and intelligent Germans cried to France "Arm! For God's sake, arm!" And the proportionalized French shouted louder, "Shush! Shush!" France went down like a rootless tree before the first serious Hitlerite push. Brave France, gallant France, caught wanting in the greatest crisis in her history, rescued from subjugation not by her own brave effort but by barbarians from across the sea.

The one great virtue George Washington saw in our Constitution is that it offers the machinery for its amendment or abolition without resort to revolution. The French Constitution, in practical effect, is unamendable, except by revolution.

And revolution thrusts its cautious head up out of the pacific flowering bushes.

GUEST SPEAKERS

Oct. 18—**RAYFORD W. LOGAN**—"The Negro During the Period of the Road to Reunion"
Dr. Logan is professor and chairman, Department of History, Howard University; author, **The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti:** 1776-1891.

Course: The Negro in American History
W. E. B. DuBois, Chairman
Mondays, 8:30 P.M.

Oct. 19—**THOMAS J. DEAGAN**—"Importance of Timing in Public Relations"
Mr. Deagan is Director of Public Relations, Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad.

Course: Principles of Publicity **Benjamin Fine**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Oct. 19—**WALTER GALENSON**—"Labor Problems and Labor Legislation"
Mr. Galenson is Assistant Professor, Harvard University.

Course: Scandinavia: between East and West
Henning Friis, Chairman
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Oct. 19—**THOMAS N. TARLEAU**—"Pending Problems in Corporate Recapitalizations"
Mr. Tarleau is an attorney with the firm of Willkie Owen Farr Gallagher and Walton.

Course: Federal Taxation **Alex M. Hamburg, Chairman**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Oct. 21—**EARL PARKER HANSON** — "The Future of the Amazon Basin"
Dr. Hanson, engineer, explorer and geographer, is lecturer and research associate, University of Delaware; author of **Amazon, a New Frontier?** and other books on Latin American countries.

Course: Economic Geography **Staudinger, Melamid**
Thursdays, 8:30 P.M.

GENERAL SEMINAR

Current Problems of the Social Sciences

Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Oct. 20—**ERNST SIMON**—"What Is Zionism"
Dr. Simon, professor of education, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, is at present visiting professor, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

Oct. 27—**EDUARD HEIMANN** — "Structure and Problems of the German Universities"

The General Seminar is open to students registered in any New School or Graduate Course and to invited guests. Please present course card or guest ticket at the door.

STUDENT HALLOWE'EN DANCE — Sun. Oct. 24, 3:30 P.M. 5th floor ($1. tax incl.)

ART EXHIBIT

An exhibit of works by ten abstractionist painters, members of the Spiral Group, will open in the 3rd and 5th floor galleries on Monday, October 18, and will run through November 2.

The Spiral Group has held exhibits at the Experimental Gallerie Neuf (1946-1947), at Black Mountain College (1947) and at the 44th Street Gallery (spring 1948).

Most of the artists in the group are well known, having exhibited widely in leading galleries and museums in New York and other cities. They are Gene Arcieri, Seymour Franks, Augustus Goertz, Job Goodman, Pietro Lazzari, Michael Loew, Joseph Meert, Margaret Mullin, John Sennhauser, Wally Strautin.

DRAMATIC WORKSHOP
MARCH OF DRAMA REPERTORY

President Theater ANDROCLES AND THE LION
247 West 48 Street George Bernard Shaw
and
ARIA DA CAPO Edna St. Vincent Millay
Wed. thru Sun., Oct. 20-24
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

Rooftop Theater THE HASTY HEART John Patrick
111 East Houston Street
Thurs. thru Sun., Oct. 21-24
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

For information about enrollment in this course and attendance at repertory performances, consult M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, President Theater, Ci. 5-7287.

COURSE NOTE

56 HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE
Fritz Kaufmann, Chairman
15 weeks, Tuesdays, 6:20-8 P.M.
Each section of the course will be led by one of the editors or contributors associated with the Encyclopedia, *The Jews*, a project sponsored by the New School. The leaders this fall are the following:

HARRY M. ORLINSKY **The Jews in the Ancient World** (Sept. 28-Nov. 9)
Dr. Orlinsky is professor of Bible, Jewish Institute of Religion and assistant editor of the Encyclopedia.

GUIDO KISCH **The Jews in the Medieval Christian World** (Nov. 16-Dec. 6)
Dr. Kisch is visiting professor of history, Jewish Institute of Religion and editor-in-chief of the Encyclopedia.

ABRAHAM KATSH **The Jews in the Moslem World** (Dec. 13-Jan. 4)
Dr. Katsh is professor of education and director of the Jewish Culture Foundation, New York University.

FRITZ KAUFMANN **The Dawn of Modern Times** (Jan. 11-25)
Dr. Kaufmann is managing editor of the Encyclopedia.

Published weekly from September through May by the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH at 66 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Entered as second class matter November 12, 1943, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

CALENDAR (continued)
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23

10:30 Ginsberg
Play Analysis ($2.40)
11:00 Fischoff
Great Sociological Classics
Melamid
Geography
2:00 Wallach
Perception ($4.50)
2:00 Yunkers
Oil Painting, Drawing ($4.50)
4:20 Mayo
Folk Song, Dance and Story: Workshop
American folk dancing and dance music

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24

7:30 Elson Dances of Peoples of Many Lands

Mortimer Borne will show slides of works by the following artists during his lecture on October 22nd, (CONTEMPORARY ART); many of these artists will be present: Burliuk, Bauer, Chapin, Adolph Gottlieb, Gwathmey, Hopkinson, Morris Kantor, Leo Katz, Walter Pach, Waldo Peirce, Hilla Rebay, Kurt Seligman.

SOCIAL RESEARCH

An International Quarterly of Political and Social Science published by the Graduate Faculty of the New School.

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1948

On the Road to Stabilization
GERHARD COLM

Theoretical Aspects of Industrialization
WILBERT E. MOORE

Colonial Policy of the British Labour Party
PETER C. SPEERS

Power and the Democratic Process—
A Definition of Politics
LUDWIG FREUND

Heidegger: Problem and Background of Existentialism
KARL LÖWITH

Book Reviews
Copies available in the Library or *Social Research* office, 3rd floor.

NEW SCHOOL ASSOCIATES

New Members: New members within recent months include Mr. Rudolph Broessler; Mrs. Claudio Arrau; Mr. and Mrs. Thorold J. Deyrup; Mrs. Angelika W. Frink; Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Fischer; Mrs. Julia Haberman; Miss Alice R. Golden; Mr. and Mrs. George Kogel; Mr. George G. Lake; Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Lieber; Mr. and Mrs. Philip Low; Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Pollak; Miss Lucette C. Olivar; Miss Ruth Robins; Mrs. Ludwig Stern; Mr. and Mrs. Max H. Sklar; Mrs. Richard Sutro; Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Solomon; Mr. and Mrs. Jerome Roth.

Also, Miss Lu Belmont; Dr. Bry Benjamin; Mrs. Edith Bry Benjamin; Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Bernstein; Mr. and Mrs. Harold Bernstein; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Brach; Mr. Howard Bryce; Mr. and Mrs. Stanley B. Ecker; Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Erlanger; Mrs. J. Andre Fouilhoux; Miss Rosamund Gleeson; Mr. and Mrs. George Kogel; Mrs. Eda Kupersmith; Miss June Lawrence; Mr. Irvin Levine; Mr. and Mrs. Murray Levine; Miss Martha MacGregor; Mrs. Madelaine G. Meyerhoff; Mr. Roman Mishell; Mr. Theodore Ness; Mr. and Mrs. Edward Rashkin; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Shaaker; Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Turner; Dr. and Mrs. Ralph Vreeland; Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Weiss; Mrs. Jean L. Whitehill; Mr. and Mrs. Julian Whittlesey.

22-32-52

October 19, 1948

Dean John H. Ferguson
School of Politics
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Dean Ferguson:

Thank you for your letter of October 15. I would appreciate it if you would send invitations to the following to hear the lecture and attend the reception for Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, on October 25.

Dr. and Mrs. Hugh H. Smythe, 2225 Fifth Avenue, 2-C, New York 35, New York.

Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Mezerik, 4 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

Mr. and Mrs. James Fields, 2225 Fifth Avenue, 1-C, New York, New York.

Miss Elizabeth H. Baker, 35 Orange Road, Montclair, New Jersey.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Martin, 2255 Fifth Avenue, 1-F, New York 35, New York.

With thanks for your kindness, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

October 21, 1948

Mr. Issai Hosiosky, Treasurer
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Mr. Hosiosky:

As the guest professors come to lecture in my course, I should like to be able to hand them their checks.

They speak in the following order:

Mr. E. Franklin Frazier	October 25
Mr. John Hope Franklin	November 1
Mr. Rayford Logan	November 15
Mr. Luther P. Jackson	November 22
Mr. Charles H. Thompson	November 29
Miss Shirley Graham	December 11
Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene	January 3.

Can it be arranged so that checks will be ready for them, or what shall I tell them?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

22-37-5

October 25, 1948

Mr. Issai Hosiosky, Treasurer
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Mr. Hosiosky:

Thank you for sending the checks for Dr. Franklin and Dr. Frazier, in reply to my note of October 21.

Unfortunately, I omitted to insert in the list of guest lecturers the name of Dr. Diggs and I would appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to send me a check to cover her services for lecturing at the New School on October 11. Please make the check out to Irene Diggs.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St. NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

22-37

John H. Ferguson
Dean, School of Politics

invites you to hear

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
President, American Sociological Society

who is the guest speaker in

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois course,

"THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY"

—

Monday, October 25, 1948 8:30 PM
Room 46

Reception follows in Fifth Floor Lounge

R. S. V. P.
Mrs. Joseph Urban

FACULTY NOTES

Dr. Max Ascoli has edited the Mussolini memoirs, the only known manuscript left by the head of any of the Axis powers. The book, "The Fall of Mussolini: His Own History," was published by Farrar Straus & Co. on October 25.

Dr. Rene J. Dubos is one of three scientists honored with the 1948 Lasker Awards for outstanding contributions to medicine. He was cited jointly with Dr. S. A. Waksman for their studies of the antibiotic properties of micro-organisms found in the soil. Dr. Dubos led a research group that first studied germ-killers from the soil and found the first antibiotic used clinically.

Dr. Louis M. Hacker has been appointed Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford, England, for the current academic year. He will teach again at the New School in 1949-50.

Yasuo Kuniyoshi is taking a leave of absence this fall for reasons of health but will return in the spring. His workshop will be conducted by Adja Yunkers.

Charles Leirens went to Morocco last summer where he took between six and seven hundred photographs in color and black and white. While there, he was commissioned by *Town and Country* to make a reportage on the villa of Barbara Hutton in Tangiers.

Dr. Kurt B. Mayer has been appointed instructor in sociology at the Newark College of Arts and Sciences of Rutgers University.

Dr. Boris Mirkine-Guetzevitch spent four months in Paris last summer where he resumed his pre-war activities: his professorship at the Institute of Advanced International Studies, University of Paris, and vice president of the International Institute of Political and Constitutional History at the Sorbonne. He was also appointed Co-Director of the Section of Public Law, Institute of Comparative Law, Faculty of Law, University of Paris and Professor at the National School of Administration.

DRAMATIC WORKSHOP

MARCH OF DRAMA REPERTORY

President Theater OUR TOWN Thornton Wilder
247 West 48 Street
Wed. thru Sun., Nov. 3-7
Thurs. thru Sun., Nov. 4-7

Rooftop Theater ROMEO AND JULIET William Shakespeare
111 East Houston Street
Thurs. thru Sun., Nov. 4-7
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

For information about enrollment in this course and attendance at repertory performances, consult M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, President Theater, CIrcle 5-7287.

(NEW SCHOOL ...)

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research NAA
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

32.28.14

NEW SCHOOL BULLETIN

VOL. VI, No. 9 NOVEMBER 1, 1948

Important Course Openings

WALTER CLAY LOWDERMILK

will speak on

"A LAND BASE FOR ISRAEL"

the opening lecture of the series

PROBLEMS FACING THE NEW STATE OF ISRAEL,

CARL HERMANN VOSS, Chairman

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 8:30 P.M.

The series $10 (plus $5.00 registration fee).
Single admission, $2.

Mr. Lowdermilk is former assistant chief, Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture and author of *Palestine — Land of Promise*

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

opens a 7 weeks series

THE DEMOCRATIC DISCIPLINES

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 8:30 P.M.

the series $8.75 (plus $2.50 registration fee)
single admission, $2.

A lecture-discussion of democratic values, and ways of teaching democracy as a mode of life.

66 WEST 12th STREET, N. Y. 11, N. Y.
Telephone GRamercy 7-8464
(Return Postage Guaranteed)

PLAIN FACTS

By Bryn J. Hovde

To one who has seen Israel, even much too briefly, observed a little of what the Jewish people have accomplished there, and sensed the indomitable spirit of young and old alike, the delay of the American government in recognizing the full legal stature of this new state and the international higgling over its boundaries are hard to understand.

Let us be coldly rational and disregard the sentimental claims, though based on ancient prophesy that so many Jews have long advanced to the land of their fathers, a sentiment that is also a fact. Let us admit only the most incontrovertible physical realities. There *are* almost a million Jews in Israel. They *have* within our generation created an ultra-modern economy upon land that was desert. They have done this in a *civilized* manner, paying the Arabs decently for their land and their purely voluntary labor, aiding and not subjugating them. They *did* in the war prove their devotion to democracy by excessive contributions, especially to the British from whom they themselves sought freedom. They *have* for this freedom successfully defied both the apparatus of the British Empire and the apparatus of the Arab League. They *have* established a democratic state which, in the words of Dr. Ralph Bunche to the United Nations, was "a fact from the moment of its birth". They *did* in the interest of peace accept the U.N. partition plan giving them the crazy boundaries of a paper torn at random. These are the facts.

What possible grounds can now exist for denying them? Jefferson would have admitted them. Perhaps President Truman wants to arrange simultaneous *de jure* recognition with Great Britain. Upon the record that is idle. Perhaps he wants to follow the lead of the United Nations. That would be laudable, but the Charter does not invest the United Nations with the right to determine the recognition policies of its members. There can be no ideological reason to delay full recognition, for none of the Arab states are so genuinely democratic or so strenuously anti-Communist as Israel. Perhaps the President delays because he fears that the Arab chieftains will retaliate by shutting the oil valves or diverting the flow to the Soviet Union. This fear he can safely dismiss, for the Arab rulers cannot dispense with their oil revenues nor can they afford to power the war machines of their most near and certain enemy. Finally, if full recognition is being withheld to be used as a club to make Israel accept the loss of the Negeb, the policy is wrong as well as a miscalculation.

Israel deserves immediate *de jure* recognition and must have adequate boundaries.

A B.A. DEGREE FOR PUBLIC RELATIONS MAJORS

The New School announces a B.A. degree for students majoring in public relations. This is the first time such a degree has been offered by the School and it marks the culmination of four years of careful experimentation in the field. The first course in public relations was given in the fall of 1944 and since that time the program has grown steadily until this year twenty courses, workshops and seminars are offered, and several hundred students are enrolled.

The hope of the New School in offering such a degree is to provide sound academic training for students expecting to enter the field and thus to give professional status to their work. Students wishing to qualify must be of junior standing, and meet the usual admission and graduation requirements of B.A. candidates in the New School. These are set forth in a special Bulletin. In addition public relations majors must indicate potential ability to write clearly and forcefully, to talk readily, to meet people easily, and possess an alert and inquiring mind.

Of the 60 points which students must earn for graduation, 30 must be earned in courses dealing specifically with public relations and publicity, or in closely related fields; such courses to be selected in conference with the public relations adviser. The other 30 points may be freely elected from the New School curriculum both in the School of Politics and the School of Philosophy and Liberal Arts, the aim being to give the student as well rounded an education as possible.

The stated requirements for graduation from the New School include the writing of a thesis, the passing of a final comprehensive examination and an Advanced Test in the field.

Students not working for a degree may continue as in other years to earn a Certificate in Public Relations, by taking the necessary courses and meeting all requirements (see catalogue).

CANCELLED COURSES

In addition to **41 C, 78,** and **202** (noted in Bulletin No. 4) the following courses have been cancelled: 16 A, **Grant, Andrade,** *Latin America: Battleground for Democracy;* 150 B (evening class), **Koch,** *The American Experiment;* 192 A, B, **Wittenberg,** *Mental Hygiene in Social Action;* 235 II, **Hermes,** *Reading;* 255 B, **Bogerianoff,** *Advanced Russian;* 267, **Borne,** *The Graphic Arts;* 283, **Jelinek,** (combined with 282 meeting Wednesday, 8 P.M.); 320, **Janowitz,** *The Human Body in Health and Disease;* 280 B merged with 280 A, **Yunkers.**

Graduate Courses: 451-S, **Ascoli,** *Political Implications of the ERP,* Seminar; 415-G, **Pfaff,** *Age of Hope: 19th Century Europe;* 545/46-S, **Dembo, Emery, Henle,** *Methodological Problems in Psychology,* Seminar; 225-G, **Staudinger,** *Government Controls and Government in Business;* 463-G, **Perlmann,** *Palestine;* 561-S and 573-G, **Kallen,** *Problems in the Integration of the Social Sciences* and *The Crisis in Educational Philosophy.*

CALENDAR OF OPEN COU

The following courses are open for single lectures, titles of which are given where possible. Unless otherwise stated the fees for single lectures are 1.80. * Courses starred meet at 109 E. Houst

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1

10:30 Kullmann
Introduction to Philosophy
Buddha and Mahavira

2:00 Molzahn
Form and Color Composition ($4.50)

2:20 Zipper
A Survey of the Opera

4:00 Lewis
Dynamics of Normal Personality

Tartak
Tolstoy and Dostoievski
Tolstoi: pedagogical work and writings

5:45 Yunkers
Woodcuts (Advanced) ($3.00)

6:00 Munson
Professional Writing
The eye for a subject

6:15 Forel
Music for Film and Television ($3.00) *

6:20 Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2.00)

J. Meyer, Wunderlich
Labor Economics and Sociology

Rosenberg
Social Disorganization

Vladeck
Labor and the Law
The Labor-Management Relations Act

8:10 Karp
Audio-Visual Aids in Education ($2.70) *

8:15 Knopf
Understanding Human Nature
The family

8:30 Bozeman
Contemporary International Politics

Bryant
Present Day English

DuBois
Negro in American History
The Negro and the Civil War

Hirsch
Current Economic Events

Leslau
Semitic Linguistics

Levy
Settling Labor Disputes
Proceeding to arbitration

Marrow
Human Relations in Industry ($1.75)

Minkoff
Modern Yiddish Literature

O'Neill, Jr.
Sources of Reason and Unreason in 20th Century Thought
du Pont de Nemours and Adam Smith

Pares
Contemporary Russia
Industrialization. Socialism. Liberalism. (1881-1903)

Parkes
American Cultural Development

Patai
Peoples and Cultures of the Near East

Voss
The New State of Israel ($2.00)
(See Cover)

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2

9:00 Lipton
Sculpture: Modeling in Clay ($5.00)

10:30 Koch
The American Experiment

R. Mirsky
Music by Parents and Children

1:00 Deinhard
Understanding Works of Art

4:00 Brandeis
Fiction and Poetry ($2.70)

6:20 Bretnall
Abnormal Psychology

Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Basic) ($3.00)

E. James
Latin American Civilization

6:20 Fritz Kaufmann, Orlinsky
History of the Jewish People
Oriental Jewry under Rome Byzantium

Lenrow
Masterpieces of World Literature
Dante: *Divine Comedy*

Maslow
Race and Religion in American Law
Segregation

O'Neill, Jr.
Homer and the Historians
The Odyssey

Oppenheimer
Achievements of Experimental Science

*** Meets at 109 E. Houston Street.**

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2 (continued)

6:20 Turner
The Changing World
Indian culture

7:30 Gassner et al
March of Drama ($2.70)
(Meets, 247 W. 48 St.)

8:00 Yunkers
Woodcuts (Beg.) ($3.00)

8:15 Rosenthal
Creative Work and Play for Children

8:30 Dubos
Pasteur and Microbiological Sciences

Ferand
Ear Training

8:30 Fine
Principles of Publicity ($2.40) (See Guest Speakers)

J. Meyer
Current Labor Events

Rosenberg
Basic Sociology

Sherwin
News Editing ($2.40)

Tartak
Russian Literary Criticism
Pushkin as literary critic

White
Political Parties

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3

1:30 Marein
Visual Communication Techniques ($4.50)

2:00 MacArthur
History and Comparison of Religions

4:00 Rosowsky
Music of the Bible

6:00 von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

6:10 Murphy
Evolution of Modern Psychology

6:15 Kaufman
Mass Communication Arts ($2.40) *

6:20 Joughin
Literary Criticism

Malaquais
French Literature

Padover
Roots of American Democracy
Free public education

Watson
Dynamics of Social Change

7:00 Pizarro
Cervantes: Don Quixote (in Spanish)

von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

8:00 Jelinek
Graphic Arts ($3.00)

8:20 Ferand
Introduction to Music
Acoustical bases

8:30 Abelson
Psychological Methods of Studying People

Deyrup
American Economic History
Writing and ratification of the Constitution

Freid
Soviet-American Relations
American expansion and N.E.P.

Huth
International Broadcasting (See Guest Speakers)

Kazin
Whitman and Melville
Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking and other poems

Lichtheim
The Ancient East

Nomad
Contemporary World Politics

Stern
Anthropology

Sternberg
America and Russia
A progressive foreign policy

Zeisel
Market and Opinion Research ($2.40)

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4

10:30 Liss
Child Growth

Untermeyer
American Poetry (1912-1946)
Edgar Lee Masters, *Spoon River Anthology*

1:30 Levi
Painting, Drawing ($6.20)

4:20 Troy
Four Philosophical Poets
William Blake

5:10 Joughin
The Research Paper
Special reference forms; format

U R S E S

ible.
Houston Street.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4 (continued)

5:30 **May**
Investment Today ($2.40)
The Dow theory and other systems
6:00 **Schanker**
Woodblocks in Color ($4.80)
6:15 **Jacobs**
March of Film ($2.70) *
6:20 **Brecht**
European Governments
Ebon
Contemporary Communism
Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Advanced) ($3.00)
Friis
Industrial Peace: Scandinavian Experience
Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2.00)
Slochower
Culture Epochs
The Greek myth: Aeschylus' Oresteia
8:10 **Kaufman, Channon**
Film for Public Relations ($2.70) *
8:15 **Kohn**
Stabilizing Forces in World Chaos ($2.00)
8:30 **Elkin**
Social Psychology of Sexual Differentiation
Ferguson
American National Government
Goudsmit
Atomic Physics
Lenrow
20th Century Novel in America
Edith Wharton
Masselman
Economic Potential
Perlmann
Middle East Today
Ross
Dominant Ideals of Western Civilization
Power and disillusion of the Romans
Schapiro
Modern Painting
Picasso and cubism
Staudinger, Melamid
Economic Geography (See Guest Speakers)
Steinberg
Public Relations ($2.40)

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5

11:20 **Cowell**
Modern Music
2:00 **Wdowinski**
Make-up of Personality
Yunkers
Oil Painting, Drawing Composition ($4.50)
4:00 **Cowell**
Music Theory (Int.)
4:20 **Glicksberg**
Writer's Laboratory ($3.00)
6:00 **Schanker**
Abstract Drawing and Painting ($3.00)
Yunkers
Lithography ($3.00)
6:20 **Abrams et al**
Housing and Planning
Andrade
South American Government and Politics
Borne
Contemporary Art (See Note)
Cowell
Music Theory (Elem.)
Hermes
English for Daily Use ($3.00)
6:20 **Klein**
Science and Philosophy
Manson
Collective Bargaining
The labor contract I
Scott
Russia as a World Power
Tagliacozza
From Laissez-Faire to Economic Liberalism
7:15 **Szent Gyorgyi**
General Biology
Energy production and consumption
8:15 **Schanker**
Abstract Drawing and Painting ($3.00)
8:30 **Cassirer**
Television News ($2.40)
Cowell
Music of the World's Peoples
Dover
Race and Racialism
Fischoff
Sociology of Literature
S. James
Publicity Writing ($2.40)
Kullmann
Hebrew Culture
Israel's relations with neighboring civilizations

Calendar continued on page 5

[2]

CALENDAR (continued)

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5

8:30 **Platt**
Practical Publicity ($2.40)
Read
Modern European Civilization
Roy
Indian Philosophy
L. J. Stone
Child Psychology
8:30 **Troy**
Modern Fiction
Flaubert: *Madame Bovary*
Tyrwhitt
Town and Country Planning
British country plans: examples
Wdowinski
Make-up of Personality

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6

10:30 **Ginsberg**
Play Analysis ($2.40)
11:00 **Fischoff**
Great Sociological Classics
Melamid
Geography
2:00 **Wallach**
Perception ($4.50)
2:00 **Yunkers**
Oil Painting, Drawing ($4.50)
4:20 **Mayo**
Folk Song, Dance and Story: Workshop
Ballads, blues and work songs

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 7

7:30 **Elson** — Dances of Peoples of Many Lands

Mortimer Borne announces that slides of the work of the following artists will be shown at the lecture on *Contemporary Art* on Friday, Nov. 5. Some of the artists are expected to be present in person: Max Band, Russell Cowles, L. L. Goff, John Heliker, Joseph Raskin, Zoltan Sepeshy, Boardman Robinson, Walter Thompson, Esther Williams, Adja Yunkers.

GENERAL SEMINAR

Current Problems of the Social Sciences

Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 3—**CEDRIC DOVER**—"The Cultural Dilemma"

Nov. 10—**J. B. D. DERKSEN**—"Foundation of Economic Planing in the Netherlands"

The General Seminar is open to students registered in any New School or Graduate Course and to invited guests. Please present course card or guest ticket at the door.

GUEST SPEAKERS

Nov. 2—**HENRY W. LEVY**—"How to Get Your Story Printed"
Mr. Levy is publicity director, Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

Course: Principles of Publicity — **Benjamin Fine**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 3—**SAWID ALMASSAWA**—"Broadcasting in the Pacific"
Mr. Almassawa is Director of *Radio Indonesia.*

Course: International Broadcasting — **Arno Huth**
Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 4—**CEDRIC DOVER**—"Social and Industrial Potentialities of Malaya"

Course: Economic Geography — **Staudinger, Melamid**
Thursdays, 8:30 P.M.

STUDENT DANCE: Sun., Nov. 7, 3:30 P.M., 5th floor. Adm. $1. (tax incl.).

Published weekly from September through May by the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH at 66 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Entered as second class matter November 12, 1943, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

CALENDAR OF OPEN COU

The following courses are open for single lectures, titles of which are given where possible. Unless o the fees for single lectures are $1.80. *Courses starred meet at 109 E. Houston Street.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8

10:30 Kullmann
Introduction to Philosophy
Early Greek philosophy

2:00 Molzahn
Form and Color Composition ($4.50)

2:20 Zipper
A Survey of the Opera

4:00 Lewis
Dynamics of Normal Personality

Tartak
Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky
Problems and methods in War and Peace

6:00 Munson
Professional Writing
Choosing a form

6:15 Forel
Music for Film and Television ($3.00) *

6:20 Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2.00)

J. Meyer, Wunderlich
Labor Economics and Sociology

Rosenberg
Social Disorganization

Vladeck
Labor and the Law
The Labor-Management Relations Act

8:15 Knopf
Understanding Human Nature
Sexual adaptation

8:20 Karp
Audio-Visual Aids in Education ($2.70) *

8:30 Bozeman
Contemporary International Politics

Bryant
Present Day English

DuBois
Negro in American History
The Negro and the Civil War, 1860-77

Eichelberger, Huth
United Nations ($2.00)
(See Guest Speakers)

Hirsch
Current Economic Events

Leslau
Semitic Linguistics

Levy
Settling Labor Disputes
Conducting the arbitration

Marrow
Human Relations in Industry ($1.75)

Minkoff
Modern Yiddish Literature

O'Neill, Jr.
Reason and Unreason in 20th Century Thought
Enlightened novelist: Henry Fielding

Pares
Contemporary Russia
Far East policy and Japanese War (1881-1905)

Parkes
American Cultural Development

Patai
Peoples and Cultures of the Near East

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9

9:00 Lipton
Sculpture: Modeling in Clay ($6.00)

10:30 Koch
The American Experiment

R. Mirsky
Music by Parents and Children

1:00 Deinhard
Understanding Works of Art

4:00 Brandeis
Fiction and Poetry ($2.70)

6:20 Bretnall
Abnormal Psychology

Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Basic) ($3.00)

E. James
Latin American Civilization

Fritz Kaufmann, Orlinsky
History of the Jewish People
(See Guest Speakers)

6:20 Lenrow
Masterpieces of World Literature
Dante: *Divine Comedy*

Maslow
Race and Religion in American Law
(See Guest Speakers)

O'Neill, Jr.
Homer and the Historians
From verse to prose

Oppenheimer
Achievements of Experimental Science

Turner
The Changing World
Islamic culture

7:30 Gassner et al
March of Drama ($2.70)
(Meets, 247 W. 48 St.)

8:00 Yunkers
Woodcuts ($3.00)

8:15 Rosenthal
Creative Work and Play for Children

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9 (Continued)

8:30 Dubos
Pasteur and Microbiological Sciences

Ferand
Ear Training

Fine
Principles of Publicity ($2.40)
(See Guest Speakers)

Friis
Scandinavia: between East and West
(See Guest Speakers)

Hamburg
Federal Taxation ($3.00)
(See Guest Speakers)

8:30 J. Meyer
Current Labor Events

Rosenberg
Basic Sociology

Sherwin
News Editing

Tartak
Russian Literary Criticism
Rise of professional literary criticism

White
Political Parties

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10

1:30 Marein
Visual Communication Techniques ($4.50)

2:00 MacArthur
History and Comparison of Religions

4:00 Rosowsky
Music of the Bible

6:00 von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

6:10 Murphy
Evolution of Modern Psychology

6:15 Kaufman
Mass Communication Arts ($2.40) *

6:20 Joughin
Literary Criticism

Malaquais
French Literature

Padover
Roots of American Democracy
Voices of protest

Watson
Dynamics of Social Change

7:00 Pizarro
Cervantes: Don Quixote (in Spanish)

von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

8:00 Jelinek
Graphic Arts ($3.00)

8:20 Ferand
Introduction to Music
The texture of music

8:30 Abelson
Psychological Methods of Studying People

Deyrup
American Economic History
Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian systems

Freid
Soviet-American Relations
U.S. depression and USSR's first Five Year Plan

Huth
International Broadcasting
(See Guest Speakers)

Kazin
Whitman and Melville
Whitman, the Civil War
Lincoln

Lichtheim
The Ancient East

Lindeman
Democratic Disciplines ($2.00)

Nomad
Contemporary World Politics

Stern
Anthropology

Sternberg
America and Russia
New situation in China

Zeisel
Market and Opinion Research ($2.40)

Zucker
Styles through the Ages
Archaic Greek art

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11

10:30 Liss
Child Growth

Untermeyer
American Poetry (1912-1946)
They sang America: Lindsay, S. V. Benet, W. R. Benet, Kreymborg

1:30 Levi
Painting, Drawing ($6.20)

4:20 Troy
Four Philosophical Poets
William Blake

6:00 Schanker
Woodblocks in Color ($4.80)

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ess otherwise stated
treet.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11 (Continued)

6:15 **Jacobs**
March of Film ($2.70)
6:20 **Brecht**
European Governments
Ebon
Contemporary Communism
Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Advanced) ($3.00)
Friis
Industrial Peace: Scandinavian Experience
Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2.00)
Slochower
Culture Epochs
Oedipus Rex and *Oedipus in Colonos*
8:10 **Kaufman, Channon**
Film for Public Relations ($2.70) *
8:30 **Elkin**
Social Psychology of Sexual Differentiation
8:30 **Ferguson**
American National Government
Goudsmit
Atomic Physics
Lenrow
20th Century Novel in America
Upton Sinclair
Masselman
Economic Potential
Perlmann
Middle East Today
Ross
Dominant Ideals of Western Civilization
Roman disillusion in Lucretius
Schapiro
Modern Painting
Picasso and cubism
Staudinger, Melamid
Economic Geography
Steinberg
Public Relations ($2.40)

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12

11:20 **Cowell**
Modern Music
2:00 **Wdowinski**
Make-up of Personality
Yunkers
Oil Painting, Drawing and Composition ($4.50)
4:00 **Cowell**
Music Theory (Int.)
4:20 **Glicksberg**
Writer's Laboratory ($3.00)
6:00 **Schanker**
Abstract Drawing and Painting ($3.00)
Yunkers
Lithography ($3.00)
6:20 **Abrams et al**
Housing and Planning
Andrade
South American Government and Politics
Borne
Contemporary Art (See Note)
Cowell
Music Theory (Elem.)
Hermes
English for Daily Use ($3.00)
Klein
Science and Philosophy
Manson
Collective Bargaining
The labor contract II
6:20 **Scott**
Russia as a World Power
Tagliacozzo
From Laissez-Faire to Economic Liberalism
8:15 **Schanker**
Abstract Drawing and Painting ($3.00)
8:30 **Cassirer**
Television News ($2.40)
Cowell
Music of the World's Peoples
Dover
Race and Racialism
Fischoff
Sociology of Literature
S. James
Publicity Writing ($2.40)
Kullmann
Hebrew Culture
Hebrew within the Semitic languages
Platt
Practical Publicity ($2.40)
Read
Modern European Civilization
Roy
Indian Philosophy
L. J. Stone
Child Psychology
Troy
Modern Fiction
Zola: *Nana*

Calendar continued on page 5

[NEW SCHOOL ...]

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research NAAC
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

NEW SCHOOL BULLETIN

VOL. VI, No. 10 NOVEMBER 8, 1948

THE TRUSTEES AND PRESIDENT
OF THE NEW SCHOOL
ANNOUNCE THE SECOND LECTURE
IN THE

HORACE M. KALLEN LECTURESHIP

MAX C. OTTO

Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, University of Wisconsin

WILL SPEAK ON

"FAITH, IDEAS, AND THE JOB"

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 8:30 P.M.
IN THE AUDITORIUM

A limited number of guest tickets has been reserved for students. Please apply at the third floor desk.

66 WEST 12th STREET, N. Y. 11, N. Y.
Telephone GRamercy 7-8464
(Return Postage Guaranteed)

GOVERNMENT BY CONCURRENT MINORITIES

By Alvin Johnson

We Americans born north of the Mason and Dixon line have done scant justice to one of our ablest political philosophers, John C. Calhoun. We think of him as merely an apostle of slavery, defender of a detestable and bygone system. Of late a change in our attitude toward Calhoun has been dawning. In Professor Hofstadter's brilliant book, *The American Tradition*, one of the most brilliant chapters is devoted to Calhoun. Today Calhoun is coming to stand out in history as the philosopher of a republic with majority and minority living under a rule of justice.

Straight majority rule, Calhoun declares, is tyranny; the worst form of tyranny. Political liberty requires the consent of the minority to every issue deeply affecting them. That means government by the concurrent minority.

Is not that a fairly close approximation to the government of the United States, as we know it? The overwhelming majority of our people is for abolition of the poll tax and against the exclusion of the Negro vote in the South. Have we of the majority ever been able to put our convictions across? No: the concurrent minority has vetoed our intentions, as arrogantly and effectively as Vishinsky vetoes every move of the United Nations toward a world not dominated by Russia.

The Farm Bureau minority is prepared to veto any real effort to put the cost of food where you and I can afford to eat it. The organized labor interest is prepared to veto any measure that asks labor to consider that it is after all only one of the group interests that compose our society. The far western irrigated land agriculture is prepared to veto any limitation upon reclamation activities. I won't go farther, for fear of being set down as a Fascist or a Red. But you know what I mean.

Calhoun, in the simple environment of the early nineteenth century, conceived of only one minority. One minority, concurrently dominant, admitted the possibility of action. But how about three minorities, six or ten? Who could devise a better set up for governmental imbecility?

We are not yet so bad as that. But the time is coming when we can no longer be content with two parties, each so completely hamstrung by concurrent minorities that it is not worth a man's time to go out to vote.

Another real party is in the offing. It puffed out its cheeks and rocketed Henry Wallace. That was only a good Sunday evening show. But Necessity whispers in our ears: "One party system, with a bunch of concurrent minorities vetoing everything may be conceivable to you mortals who can conceive of anything. But I am History."

GUEST SPEAKERS

Nov. 8—**WILLIAM AGAR**—"The United Nations: What It Is. How It Functions. Its Chances of Success"
Mr. Agar is Chief, Section for Lecture and Educational Services, United Nations.

A film, "Searchlight on the Nations", produced by the United Nations Film Division, will be shown.

Course: *The United Nations: Report and Critical Analysis* **Eichelberger, Huth**
2nd Mondays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 9—**ELLIS RIVKIN**—"The Babylonian Center, 529 B.C. to 1000 A.D."
Dr. Rivkin, Gratz College, Philadelphia.

Course: *History of the Jewish People* **Kaufmann, Orlinsky**
Tuesdays, 6:20 P.M.

Nov. 9—**LEO PFEFFER**—"Religious Liberty"
Mr. Pfeffer is Assistant Director, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress.

Course: *Race and Religion in American Law* **Will Maslow**
Tuesdays, 6:20 P.M.

Nov. 9—**HAYDEN WELLER**—"What the Newspapers Want"
Mr. Weller is director of press relations, New York University.

Course: *Principles of Publicity* **Benjamin Fine**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 9—**P. J. BJERVE**—"Government Economic Planning in Scandinavia"
Mr. Bjerve is Chief of the Division of the National Budget, Norwegian Ministry of Trade.

Course: *Scandinavia: between East and West* **Henning Friis**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 9—**LOUIS EISENSTEIN**—"Marital Deductions and Related Estate Tax Problems"
Mr. Eisenstein is an attorney with the firm of Paul, Weiss, Wharton and Garrison.

Course: *Federal Taxation* **Alex M. Hamburg, Chairman**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 10—**FERNAND AUBERJONOIS**—"Broadcasts to a Target Area: France"
and
PIERRE CRENESSE—"French Broadcasts to the United States"
Mr. Auberjonois is Chief, French Section of "Voice of America". Mr. Crenesse is Director, North American Service, French Broadcasting System.

Course: *International Broadcasting* **Arno Huth**
Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M.

ART EXHIBIT EXTENDED

The current exhibit of the Spiral Group, generously reviewed by leading art critics, will be extended to November 11. Robert M. Coates, art critic of the *New Yorker*, found the show as a whole "a thoroughly interesting one and there are some remarkably effective pieces among the forty canvasses that are shown."

FRITZ STERNBERG'S COURSE EXTENDED

Because of student demand, Fritz Sternberg's course, **America and Russia,** originally scheduled to meet for six successive Wednesdays, 8:30 p.m., will be extended another six weeks.

STUDENT DANCE: Sun., Nov. 7, 3:30 p.m., 5th fl. Adm. $1.

GENERAL SEMINAR

Current Problems of the Social Sciences

Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 10—**J. B. D. DERKSEN**—"Foundation of Economic Planning in the Netherlands"

Nov. 17—**MAX C. OTTO**—"Faith, Ideas and the Job" (Horace M. Kallen Lecture) (See cover)

The General Seminar is open to students registered in any New School or Graduate Course and to invited guests. Please present course card or guest ticket at the door.

DRAMATIC WORKSHOP

MARCH OF DRAMA REPERTORY

President Theater ROMEO AND JULIET
247 West 48 Street **William Shakespeare**
Wed. thru Sun., Nov. 10-14 and 17-21
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

Rooftop Theater THE HASTY HEART **John Patrick**
111 East Houston Street
Thurs. thru Sun., Nov. 11-14

For information about enrollment in this course and attendance at repertory performances, consult M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, President Theater, CIrcle 5-7287.

TRIBUTE TO DR. DAVID WDOWINSKI

The following letter was written to Dr. Wdowinski last spring by a group of students in his course "The Biological-Psychological Make-up of Personality". Dr. Wdowinski is giving the same course this fall to be followed by a second course in the spring.

Dear Dr. Wdowinski:

To some of us, students attending the lectures in your Biological-Psychological course at the New School, it has seemed altogether fitting that we should offer a deserved tribute to the stimulus and inspiration we have derived from your scholarship and erudition.

As American students we have been deeply impressed by the clarity and complete objectivity of presentation of an important subject by a great scholar, who has experienced in our time a persecution as fantastic as the Dark Ages, coming to a new school in a new country, and lecturing in an unfamiliar tongue.

Sincerely we wish you an ever growing success in this Western world.

Frances F. Taussig
Arno J. Mayer
Allan L. Taussig
James P. Cavanaugh
Howard S. Bryce
Hadassah Sahr
Anna M. Block
Ruth Brieger
Joseph J. Whalen
Beatrice Meyers
Frederic A. Fisher
Charlotte H. Marston
Virginia G. Ehrhorn
Lilyan Theodoroff
F. Kennedy
Eda G. Lhevinne
Judith Koppett
Annabelle Brown
Rita Boriskin
Lila Rozansky
Theresa Friedman
John M. Swackhamer
Florence V. Korn
Murray Osborn
Lyle Stuart

THE PUBLICITY CLUB OF THE NEW SCHOOL announces that **John C. Hollis** of the Man Marketing Clinic will speak on **"How To Get Your Job** — the answers to your most important question," Monday, November 8, 9 P.M., 5th fl. lounge.

CALENDAR (continued)

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12 (Continued)

8:30 Tyrwhitt
Town and Country Planning
An American country plan

8:30 Wdowinski
Make-up of Personality

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13

10:00 Abrahamsen
Emotional and Social Development of the Offender ($4.00)

10:30 Ginsberg
Play Analysis ($2.40)

11:00 Fischoff
Great Sociological Classics

Melamid
Geography
Geography of tropical products

2:00 Wallach
Perception ($4.50)

2:00 Yunkers
Oil Painting, Drawing ($4.50)

4:20 Mayo
Folk Song, Dance and Story: Workshop
Topical songs, past and present

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 14

7:30 Elson **Dances of the Peoples of Many Lands**

Mortimer Borne announces that slides of the work of the following artists will be shown in his class on *Contemporary Art*, Fri., Nov. 12, 6:20 P.M. Some of the artists are expected to be present: Philip F. Bell, Caroline Durieux, Rosario Gerbino, Samuel Greenburg, Alexander Hogue, Ellen Key-Oberg, Benjamin Kopman, Paul Mommer, David K. Rubins, Abram Tromka, Lillian Tuckerman, Frank Utpatel.

NEW SCHOOL ASSOCIATES

A. Wilfred May, chairman of the Forum Committee of the New School Associates, announces a panel discussion of "Controversial Issues in Psychoanalysis" at the second dinner forum of the season, Friday evening, December 10, 6:30 P.M.

The controversies will be discussed from three viewpoints: 1) psychoanalytic theory; 2) psychoanalytical techniques; 3) the relation of psychoanalysis to political and economic problems.

Dr. Robert Waelder, lecturer, Philadelphia Psychoanalytic Institute, who gave a course on psychoanalysis at the New School last spring, will treat the controversies over theory; **Dr. Lawrence S. Kubie,** clinical professor of psychiatry and mental hygiene, Yale University, School of Medicine and former president, New York Psychoanalytic Society, will treat the controversies over techniques; and **Dr. Sydney G. Margolin,** associate psychiatrist, Mount Sinai Hospital, lecturer in psychiatry, Columbia University, member of the faculty, New York Psychoanalytic Institute, will discuss the controversies over the relation of psychoanalysis to political and social problems.

Published weekly from September through May by the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH at 66 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Entered as second class matter November 12, 1943, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

New School

November 9, 1948

Mr. Issai Hosiosky, Treasurer
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hosiosky:

I would like to have checks of $50.00 each to give to Dr. Rayford W. Logan on November 15, and Dr. Luther P. Jackson on November 22.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD;lm

22-37

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

November 17, 1948

23-23-30

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

This is a statement of your expenditures for your course. To date we have paid your guest lecturers $250.00.

The total amount due you for your lectures was $750.00, of which we have already paid to you $187.50. We therefore still owe you $562.50 less the amount paid your guest lecturers of $250.00, making a net balance due to you of $312.50.

Very truly yours,

H. George Bamberg

RFS. H. George Bamberg.

CALENDAR OF OPEN COURSES

The following courses are open for single lectures, titles of which are given where possible. Unless otherwise stated the fees for single lectures are $1.80. *Courses starred meet at 109 E. Houston Street.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22

10:30 Kullmann
Introduction to Philosophy
Plato

2:00 Molzahn
Form and Color Composition ($4.50)

2:20 Zipper
A Survey of the Opera

4:00 Lewis
Dynamics of Normal Personality

Tartak
Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky
Napoleon's retreat from Russia

6:00 Munson
Professional Writing
Building a writing vocabulary

6:15 Forel
Music for Film and Television ($3.00) *

6:20 Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2.00)

J. Meyer, Wunderlich
Labor Economics and Sociology

Rosenberg
Social Disorganization

Vladeck
Labor and the Law
The Labor-Management Relations Act

8:15 Knopf
Understanding Human Nature
Common sexual maladjustments

8:20 Karp
Audio-Visual Aids in Education ($2.70) *

8:30 Bozeman
Contemporary International Politics

Bryant
Present Day English

DuBois
Negro in American History
(See Guest Speakers)

Hirsch
Current Economic Events

Kheel
Labor-Management Relations ($2.00)
(See Cover)

Leslau
Semitic Linguistics

Levy
Settling Labor Disputes
The discharge arbitration

Marrow
Human Relations in Industry ($1.75)

Minkoff
Modern Yiddish Literature

O'Neill, Jr.
Reason and Unreason in 20th Century Thought
Alexander Pope

Pares
Contemporary Russia
Impending war (1907-1914)

Parkes
American Cultural Development

Patai
Peoples and Cultures of the Near East

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23

9:00 Lipton
Sculpture: Modeling in Clay ($6.00)

10:30 Koch
The American Experiment

R. Mirsky
Music by Parents and Children

1:00 Deinhard
Understanding Works of Art

4:00 Brandeis
Fiction and Poetry ($2.70)

6:20 Bretnall
Abnormal Psychology

Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Basic) ($3.00)

E. James
Latin American Civilization

6:20 Fritz Kaufmann, Kisch
History of the Jews
The Catholic Church and the Jews

Lenrow
Masterpieces of World Literature
Erasmus: *Praise of Folly*
Machiavelli: *The Prince*

Maslow
Race and Religion in American Law
State FEPC Commissions

O'Neill, Jr.
Homer and the Historians
The father of history

Oppenheimer
Achievements of Experimental Science

Turner
The Changing World
Christian culture

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23 (Continued)

7:30 Gassner et al
March of Drama ($2.70)
(Meets, 247 W. 48 St.)

8:00 Yunkers
Woodcuts ($3.00)

8:15 Rosenthal
Creative Work and Play for Children

8:30 Dubos
Pasteur and Microbiological Sciences

Ferand
Ear Training

Fine
Principles of Publicity ($2.40)
(See Guest Speakers)

8:30 Friis
Scandinavia: between East and West
(See Guest Speakers)

Hamburg
Federal Taxation ($3.00)
(See Guest Speakers)

J. Meyer
Current Labor Events

Rosenberg
Basic Sociology

Sherwin
News Editing

Tartak
Russian Literary Criticism
V. Belinsky

White
Political Parties

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24

1:30 Marein
Visual Communication Techniques ($4.50)

2:00 MacArthur
History and Comparison of Religions

6:00 von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

6:10 Murphy
Evolution of Modern Psychology

6:15 Kaufman
Mass Communication Arts ($2.40) *

6:20 Joughin
Literary Criticism

Malaquais
French Literature

Padover
Roots of American Democracy
The labor movement

Watson
Dynamics of Social Change

7:00 Pizarro
Cervantes: Don Quixote (in Spanish)

von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

8:00 Jelinek
Graphic Arts ($3.00)

8:20 Ferand
Introduction to Music
From polyphony to homophony

8:30 Abelson
Psychological Methods of Studying People

Deyrup
American Economic History
The Middle Period

Freid
Soviet-American Relations
USSR misinformation on U.S.

Kazin
Whitman and Melville
Melville's early life

Lichtheim
The Ancient East

Lindeman
Democratic Disciplines ($2.00)

Nomad
Contemporary World Politics

Stern
Anthropology

Sternberg
America and Russia
Transformation of Europe's social structure

Zeisel
Market and Opinion Research ($2.40)

Zucker
Styles through the Ages
Decline of Greek art

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[NEW SCHOOL U]

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research NA
[illegible] West 40th Street
New York [illegible] N. Y.

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NEW SCHOOL BULLETIN

VOL. VI, No. 12 NOVEMBER 22, 1948

What Comes After the Taft-Hartley Act?

a talk by

THEODORE W. KHEEL

labor advisor to Mayor O'Dwyer; director New York City Division of Labor Relations.

This lecture is the second in Mr. Kheel's series, "Current Problems in Labor-Management Relations," meeting every fourth Monday.

MONDAY NOVEMBER 22 8:30 P.M.

ADMISSION $2

66 WEST 12th STREET, N. Y. 11, N. Y.
Telephone GRamercy 7-8464
(Return Postage Guaranteed)

DEMISE OF THE RED HERRING

By Alvin Johnson

Now that it is no longer politically useful to anyone to panic himself about the Reds, perhaps good sense will have a chance to develop, in Washington and in the editorial offices. Those omnipresent Reds proved to be only a fraction in the Wallace vote, the bulk of which, if it had a bulk, was good American.

Perhaps Congress will recall that punishment by investigation is a Constitutional usurpation. Congress has no power specifically granted to it to carry on general research work. It has the right to conduct inquiries bearing upon proposed legislation. Grabbing movie stars to shake their flimsy political conceptions out of them is no legitimate part of the business of Congress. Initiating prosecution of alleged spies or traitors is properly a function of the Department of Justice, an administrative department beyond Congressional control.

A Committee of the British Parliament may indeed conduct investigations in any field and issue bluebooks, if only to satisfy the vulgar curiosity of the public. The British Parliament is supreme and can invade the premises of Administration at will. Ours happens to be a government based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Un-American Committee will be less un-American when it recognizes this principle.

We citizens, too, will gradually wean ourselves from the luxury of spy nightmares. Certainly there are spies among us reporting to a foreign power on the startling technological advances we are making. We have spies too reporting to us the ineptitudes and failures of Russian technology. It goes hard with the spies if Russia catches them, and we shall not treat them gently if we catch them. But it is very little harm either can do. The best information they can supply is too sketchy and fragmentary to be of any important use. Indeed recent experience of industrial spying has proved that it misleads rather than informs. On the eve of the last war German industrial experts moved freely among our factories, reporting their findings in great detail to their government. We had experts, among them one of the greatest in the field of aviation, reporting on the supreme efficiency of Germany. The upshot was that Germany felt safe in declaring war on us, and many of us were led to believe that Germany was invincible.

If we want to be safe in this treacherous world we shall give our energies, not to spy hunting but to the elimination of every handicap upon the advance of science and technology. We have a long lead. We can make it much longer if we assure our scientists that the greasy fingers of the politicians will be kept off their necks. It is important that those who serve the Government shall be "reliable," but the only proper judges of the reliability of a scientist are the properly trained scientists.

FALL REGISTRATION

Fall registration at the New School shows a slight decrease — 3% — as compared with last year. This decrease is lower than that reported for colleges and universities throughout the country which is 10% for the larger institutions and 5% for the smaller. A total of 6743 students are enrolled for the fall term — excluding those enrolled in the Dramatic Workshop — a drop of only 229 below the 1947 fall total. The main division of the School, the Schools of Politics and of Philosophy and Liberal Arts reports 6211 students, also 3% below the 1947 figure of 6394. The Graduate Faculty records a loss of 46 students, a drop of 8% from the peak total of 578 students of last fall. Final Dramatic Workshop figures are not yet available so that no comparison with last year is possible. Figures to date show 242 day and 260 evening students.

As in other schools and colleges, the total number of veterans studying under government allowances has decreased. Last fall there were 989 such veterans (excluding those in the Dramatic Workshop); this year there are 606, a decrease of 383. But it is worth noting that part of this decrease has been offset by non-veterans or by veterans now studying on their own at the School.

Class registrations reflect the trends in student interest. In the School of Politics where 1948 students have registered, 527 students are enrolled in courses in history and political science; the next largest number—404—have elected economics; 383, sociology. The once-a-month courses, "The World of Today and Tomorrow" report 1440 registrations; international relations and foreign affairs, 488; public relations, 435. Comparisons with last year show a drop in sociology students, fewer in public relations, an increase in the monthly series.

In the School of Philosophy and Liberal Arts which enrolls 3598 students, registration is heavy in psychology and psychoanalysis, 1612; philosophy, 779; literature, 1108; creative writing, 373; art theory and art workshops, 947; music, 360.

AN ARBITRATION DEMONSTRATION

The American Arbitration Association will present a realistic demonstration of an arbitration proceeding on a moot issue involving a claim of an unjust discharge in **Beryl Levy's** course, *Settling Labor Disputes*, Monday, November 23, 8:30 p.m. The presentation will be conducted under the direction of **Rufus S. Paret**, director of the Voluntary Labor Arbitration Tribunal of the Association.

GUEST SPEAKERS

Nov. 22—**LUTHER P. JACKSON**—"Negro Officeholders during the Reconstruction with Special Reference to Virginia"

Mr. Jackson is professor of history, Virginia State College, and author of several studies of the Negro in Virginia.

Course: *The Negro in American History* **W. E. B. DuBois, Chairman**
Mondays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 23—**IDA F. MILLER**—"Fashion Publicity"

Mrs. Miller, of Forth Miller Associates, specializes in fashion publicity.

Course: *Principles of Publicity* **Benjamin Fine**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 23—**EDITH J. HIRSCH**—"Producers and Consumers Cooperation in Scandinavia"

Mrs. Hirsch, economist and world food authority, made a survey of the food situation in Scandinavia and other European countries last summer. Her reports on world food supplies made in collaboration with her husband, Dr. Julius Hirsch, make front page news in The New York Times.

Course: *Scandinavia: between East and West* **Henning Friis, Chairman**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Nov. 23—**JACOB S. SEIDMAN**—"Minimizing Tax Costs in Operating a Business"

Mr. Seidman is a C.P.A. in the firm of Seidman & Seidman.

Course: *Federal Taxation* **Alex M. Hamburg, Chairman**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

GENERAL SEMINAR

Current Problems of the Social Sciences

Nov. 24—No Session

Dec. 1—**MELVIN TUMIN**—"Social Stratification and Social Value System in Primitive Societies"
Mr. Tumin is a professor of sociology, Princeton University.

The General Seminar is open to students registered in any New York School or Graduate Course and to invited guests. Please present card or guest ticket at the door.

DRAMATIC WORKSHOP

MARCH OF DRAMA REPERTORY

President Theater **HOME OF THE BRAVE** **Arthur Laurents**
247 West 48 Street
Wed. thru Sun., Nov. 24-28
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

Rooftop Theater **OUR TOWN** **Thornton Wilder**
111 East Houston Street
Fri. thru. Sun., Nov. 26-28, Dec. 3-5
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

For information about enrollment in this course and attendance at repertory performances, consult M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, President Theater, CIrcle 5-7287.

Mortimer Borne will show slides of the work of the following artists (many of whom will be present) at his lecture on *Contemporary Art*, Fri. Nov. 26, 6:20 p.m.: Rifka Angel, Vera Andrus, Cecil C. Bell, Herman Brockdorff, Ralph Fabri, Grace Greenwood, Richard Hood, Laura Horne, Max Jaediker, Dora Kaminsky, George Tooker, Harry Wickey, Ellis Wilson.

MEMORANDUM TO MISS AGNES DE LIMA

FROM W. E. B. DU BOIS

To: Miss Agnes De Lima

Date: December 2, 1948

Subject: Students Examination

I have the following nine students registered in my class in "The Negro in American History", for credit: Claire Selltiz, Ruth Iglehart, Sondra Hellman, Robert Daly, Ernest Pawel, Herbert Ruhm, Wilbur Rippin, Charles Lieber, and Howard Berger.

I am going to allow them to hand in a term paper upon which their class standing will be based. The following have selected term papers: Sondra Hellman, Ernest Pawel, Herbert Ruhm, and Robert Daly.

If the others do not submit papers, I shall give them a written examination. When and where should such examination be held?

December 2, 1948

2232-46

Dr. John H. Ferguson, Dean
School of Politics
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

My dear Dr. Ferguson:

I have been thinking over the matter of the course, "The Negro in American History." At first I was somewhat indoubt as to this class and its drawing power for the students in it; but there has developed a good interest and the course has seemed valuable and provocative for the comparatively small number who have been in attendance. The total registration has been 21; of these 12 have taken the course for credit. There have been several visitors from time to time.

I am inclined to suggest that next year the course be given by one professor, instead of a number of guest professors. Most of the lecturers whom we are able to get are not sufficiently known to the general public to attract attendance. They thorough students of their subjectsbut young and not established in public knowledge. I think therefore that the unity and efficiency of the course as an incentive to reading and further study would be best accomplished under one teacher with perhaps two or three guest lecturers. If you would want me to undertake such a course, I think I could do it.

I think the general content of the course is satisfactory, that is American History and the part that the Negro has played in it. We ought to have a more varied collection of maps and charts and the written work of students could be stressed.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

CALENDAR OF OPEN COURSES

The following list while not complete comprises courses currently open for single lectures, titles of which are given where possible. Unless otherwise stated the fees for single lectures are $1.80.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7 (Continued)

8:30 Rosenberg
Basic Sociology
Sherwin
News Editing practices

8:30 Tartak
Russian Literary Criticism
Belinsky's articles on Peter the Great
White
Political Parties

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 8

1:30 Marein
Visual Communication Techniques ($4.50)
2:00 MacArthur
History and Comparison of Religions
6:00 von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)
6:10 Murphy
Evolution of Modern Psychology
6:15 Kaufman
Mass Communication Arts ($2.40) *
(Meets 109 E. Houston St.)
6:20 Joughin
Literary Criticism
Malaquais
French Literature
Padover
Roots of American Democracy
American minorities
Watson
Dynamics of Social Change
7:00 Pizarro
Cervantes: Don Quixote (in Spanish)
von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

8:20 Ferand
Introduction to Music
Musical notation
8:30 Abelson
Psychological Methods of Studying People
Freid
Soviet-American Relations
Atomic energy, veto problem and the UN
Huth
International Broadcasting
(See Guest Speakers)
Kazin
Whitman and Melville
Moby Dick
Lindeman
Democratic Disciplines ($2)
Nomad
Contemporary World Politics
Stern
Anthropology
Sternberg
America and Russia
War and barbarism
Zeisel
Market and Opinion Research ($2.40)
Zucker
Styles through the Ages
Early Christian and Byzantine Art

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9

10:30 Liss
Child Growth
Untermeyer
American Poetry (1912-1946)
T. S. Eliot
4:20 Troy
Four Philosophical Poets
Emily Dickinson
5:30 May
Investment Today ($2.40)
The investing company and investment funds
6:20 Brecht
European Governments
Ebon
Contemporary Communism
(See Guest Speakers)
Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Advanced) ($3)

6:20 Friis
Industrial Peace: Scandinavian Experience
Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2)
Slochower
Culture Epochs
Catholic myth
8:30 Elkin
Social Psychology of Sexual Differentiation
Goudsmit
Atomic Physics
Lenrow
20th Century Novel in America
Willa Cather
Masselman
Economic Potential
Perlmann
Middle East Today

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9 (Continued)

8:30 Ross
Dominant Ideals of Western Civilization
Medieval awakening to this world

8:30 Staudinger, Melamid
Economic Geography
(See Guest Speakers)
Steinberg
Public Relations ($2.40)

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 10

11:20 Cowell
Modern Music
2:00 Wdowinski
Make-up of Personality
4:00 Cowell
Music Theory (Int.)
4:20 Glicksberg
Writer's Laboratory ($3)
6:20 Abrams et al
Housing and Planning
Borne
Contemporary Art
(See Note)
Cowell
Music Theory (Elem.)
Manson
Collective Bargaining
Administration of the contract
6:20 Scott
Russia as a World Power
8:15 Schanker
Abstract Drawing and Painting ($3)
8:30 Cassirer
Television News ($2.40)
Cowell
Music of the World's Peoples

8:30 Dover
Race and Racialism
Fischoff
Sociology of Literature
S. James
Publicity Writing ($2.40)
Kullmann
Hebrew Culture
The ages of the Kings
Platt
Practical Publicity ($2.40)
Read
Modern European Civilization
Roy
Indian Philosophy
L. J. Stone
Child Psychology
Troy
Modern Fiction
Lawrence: *Sons and Lovers*
Tyrwhitt
Town and Country Planning
An American metropolitan plan
Wdowinski
Make-up of Personality

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11

11:00 Fischoff
Great Sociological Classics
Melamid
Geography
Areas, population, densities, frontiers

4:20 Mayo
Folk Song, Dance and Story: Workshop
Review

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12

7:30 Elson Dances of the Peoples of Many Lands

Mortimer Borne will show slides of the work of the following artists (many of whom will be present) at his lecture on *Contemporary Art*, Fri. Dec. 10, 6:20 p.m.: Rifka Angel, Vera Andrus, Cecil C. Bell, Herman Brockdorff, Ralph Fabri, Grace Greenwood, Richard Hood, Laura Horne, Max Jaediker, Dora Kaminsky, George Tooker, Harry Wickey, Ellis Wilson.

DR. HORACE M. KALLEN will deliver the Franklin J. Matchette, Inc. Lectures in Philosophy (2nd series, 1948) at Columbia University. Topic: ***Patterns of Progress,***—Dec. 7, *The Will to Progress;* Dec. 8, *"Cultural Lag";* Dec. 9, *Of Death and the Future.* Harkness Academic Theater, 5:10 p.m. Admission free.

Published weekly from September through May by the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH at 66 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Entered as second class matter November 12, 1943, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

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(New School)

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Res
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

32 2813

NEW SCHOOL BULLETIN

VOL. VI, No. 14 DECEMBER 6, 1948

THE NEW SCHOOL ASSOCIATES
announce a panel discussion of

CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES IN PSYCHOANALYSIS

DR. LAWRENCE S. KUBIE
clinical professor of psychiatry and mental hygiene, Yale University School of Medicine
CONTROVERSIES OVER TECHNIQUE

DR. SYDNEY G. MARGOLIN
associate psychiatrist, Mount Sinai Hospital, member faculty, New York Psychoanalytic Institute
CONTROVERSIES OVER THE RELATION OF PSYCHOANALYSIS TO POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

DR. ROBERT WAELDER
lecturer, Philadelphia Psychoanalytic Institute
CONTROVERSIES OVER THEORY

Summary by Dr. Kubie. Questions from the floor

A. WILFRED MAY, Chairman

Friday, December 10, 8:30 p.m.

Auditorium Admission $1.20

(We regret that no further tickets are available for the dinner preceding the forum meeting)

66 WEST 12th STREET, N. Y. 11, N. Y.
Telephone GRamercy 7-8464
(Return Postage Guaranteed)

THE REAL MENACE TO CAPITALISM

By Alvin Johnson

What ruined feudalism, Taine demonstrated, was its failure to maintain its social function. Originally the feudal lord was the military protector of the people on whose work he lived, their arbitrator and judge. He recognized that the old and infirm and the orphaned children merited his concern and succour. But with the advance of the absolute monarchy the feudal lord developed by imperceptible degrees to the position of landlord, often absentee landlord. His dependents became tenants, paying such rents as the landlord's stewards could extract and carrying their own disabilities and sorrows as best they could. The way was being paved for the French Revolution and the series of reforms and revolutions culminating in the Russian Revolution, still making progress in the world, sapping away at Italy and China and infiltrating the Arab world of Effendis and puppet Kings.

Capitalism, at the outset, did not even pretend to a social function. As a good capitalist, you grabbed. You won honor, like Little Jack Horner, if you put in your thumb successfully and pulled out a really luscious plum. Perhaps your prosperity was based on the trimmings from the singer of the Song of the Shirt.

"Seam and gusset and band.
Band and gusset and seam.
Till over the buttons I fall asleep
And sew them on in a dream."

Or perhaps your profits came from a tropical rubber forest, with one recalcitrant worker's hand chopped off for every X tons of produce. What was that to you? Your protection was the Sacredness of Private Prosperity. Your social function? To put in your thumb.

That, we have come to know, is not an adequate protection. In the last generation we have seen more property confiscated than existed in the world two generations ago. Capitalism recognizes the desperate need of an adequate function. It has found it in Management. We hear less and less of the relations of labor and capital. What we hear of nowadays are the relations of labor and management. For management is the indispensable condition of labor productivity, and all the good things that flow from it.

So far, good. But there is still the vested interest conception, that has kept us from the benefits of the St. Lawrence Seaway, with its huge head of cheap power. There are still the vested interests that compel us to give our billions of production to Europe gratis, when a drastic cut in the tariff would bring us goods for goods, to cut the cost of living.

Capitalism is still bowed down under antique luggage that makes a mockery of its vital social function. That, not red propaganda, is the real menace looming against its future.

GUEST SPEAKERS

Dec. 7—**WALLACE A. ROSS**—"Publicity Is Contacts"
Mr. Ross is the publisher of Contact Book.
Course: *Principles of Publicity* **Benjamin Fine**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Dec. 7—**LEO A. DIAMOND**—"Corporation vs. Partnership under the 1948 Act"
Mr. Diamond is an attorney with the firm of LeBoeuf and Lamb.
Course: *Federal Taxation* **Alex M. Hamburg, Chairman**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Dec. 8—**GEORGE IVAN SMITH**—"Making Programs for a World Audience"
Mr. Smith is Acting Chief of Production, U.N. Radio Division.
George Wronkow, U.N. correspondent of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, will act as chairman.
Course: *International Broadcasting* **Arno Huth**
Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Dec. 9—**BENJAMIN GITLOW**—"The U.S. Communist Movement"
Mr. Gitlow, twice candidate for Communist Party vice president, was expelled from the Communist Party and Communist International for defiance of Stalin. He is the author of the just published, *The Whole of their Lives.*
Course: *Policies and Influence of Contemporary Communism* **Martin Ebon**
Thursdays, 6:20 P.M.

Dec. 9—**F. P. HELLIN**—"Oil Problems of 1949"
Mr. Hellin is a practical oil man with an independent British oil group; has taught at Cornell and Harvard; contributor to *Atlantic Monthly*.
Course: *Economic Geography* **Staudinger, Melamid**
Thursdays, 8:30 P.M.

GENERAL SEMINAR

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Dec. 8—**HENNING FRIIS**—"Cooperation among the Scandinavian Countries"

Dec. 15—**FRIEDA WUNDERLICH**—"New Trends in Social Insurance"

The General Seminar is open to students registered in any New School or Graduate Course and to invited guests. Please present course card or guest ticket at the door.

DRAMATIC WORKSHOP

MARCH OF DRAMA REPERTORY

President Theater **ALL THE KING'S MEN**
248 West 48 Street **Robert Penn Warren**
Wed. thru Sun., Dec. 8-12
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

Rooftop Theater **MEET THE PEOPLE** Musical Review by
111 East Houston Street **Henry Myers, Edward Eliscu**
Jay Gorney
Sat., Sun., Dec. 11, 12
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

For information about enrollment in this course and attendance at repertory performances, consult M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, President Theater, CIrcle 5-7287.

STUDENT DANCES—Sun., Dec. 12, 19, 3:30 p.m., 5 fl.

CALENDAR OF OPEN COURSES

The following list while not complete comprises courses currently open for single lectures, titles of which are given where possible. Unless otherwise stated the fees for single lectures are $1.80.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 6

10:30 Kullmann
Introduction to Philosophy
Stoicism
2:20 Zipper
A Survey of the Opera
4:00 Tartak
Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky
Anna Karenina
6:00 Munson
Professional Writing
How to write articles
6:20 Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2)
J. Meyer, Wunderlich
Labor Economics and Sociology
Rosenberg
Social Disorganization
Vladeck
Labor and the Law
N. Y. State Labor Relations Act
8:15 Knopf
Understanding Human Nature
Sleep and dreams
8:30 Bozeman
Contemporary International Politics
Bryant
Present Day English
8:30 DuBois
Negro in American History
The Negro in the U. S. since Booker T. Washington
Hirsch
Current Economic Events
Levy
Settling Labor Disputes
Unfair employer practices
Marrow
Human Relations in Industry ($1.75)
O'Neill, Jr.
Reason and Unreason in 20th Century Thought
Samuel Johnson and Frederick II of Prussia
Pares
Contemporary Russia
Militant communism and civil war (1917-1922)
Parkes
American Cultural Development
Patai
Peoples and Cultures of the Near East

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7

10:30 Koch
The American Experiment
R. Mirsky
Music by Parents and Children
1:00 Deinhard
Understanding Works of Art
4:00 Brandeis
Fiction and Poetry ($2.70)
6:20 Bretnall
Abnormal Psychology
Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Basic) ($3)
E. James
Latin American Civilization
Fritz Kaufmann, Kisch
History of the Jews
Renaissance and Reformation
Lenrow
Masterpieces of World Literature
Montaigne: Essays
Maslow
Race and Religion in American Law
Discrimination in housing
6:20 O'Neill, Jr.
Homer and the Historians
Herodotus as narrative artist
Salomon
Social Theory of Revolution
Turner
The Changing World
European liberal culture
7:30 Gassner et al
March of Drama ($2.70)
(Meets, 247 W. 48 St.)
8:30 Dubos
Pasteur and Microbiological Sciences
Ferand
Ear Training
Fine
Principles of Publicity ($2.40)
(See Guest Speakers)
Friis
Scandinavia: between East and West
Open discussion
Hamburg
Federal Taxation ($3)
(See Guest Speakers)
J. Meyer
Current Labor Events

(Continued on pages 5 and 6)

[The New School for Social Research]

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

SCHOOL OF POLITICS

December 9, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Many thanks for your thoughtful letter of December 2nd.

I readily agree with your suggestion that in the future, the course be taught by one person. I am sure the course is a valuable one and I know of no one better qualified to teach it than you, hence I am anxious to discuss the matter with you fully at some future time. Would you be kind enough to raise the question again sometime toward the latter part of January, or early in February. At that time we will be making plans for the fall.

23-23-28

Cordially,

John H. Ferguson

John H. Ferguson
Dean

JHF:hk

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

[New School for Social Research]

THE GRADUATE FACULTY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
ORGANIZED UNDER THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
66 WEST 12th STREET · NEW YORK 11 · GRAMERCY 7-8464

December 10, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
New School for Social Research
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

23-23-21

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We have been asked by the University of Chicago to cooperate in the inventory on race relations and minority group problems. Would you be kind enough to fill in the enclosed questionnaire and mail it to the Committee on Race Relations at the University of Chicago.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Sidney Axelrad

Sidney Axelrad ES

SA:ES
encl.

December 17, 1948

Mr. Sidney Axelrad
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of December 10, I beg to say that no definite project in race relations has been undertaken by this department during the year. Our research has been confined to matters relating to Africa and the Negro problem in the United States as needed by specific articles like that which recently appeared in the magazine section of The New York Times.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

CALENDAR OF OPEN COURSES FOR WEEKS OF JAN

The following list while not complete comprises courses currently open for single lectures, titles of which c where possible. Unless otherwise stated the fees for single lectures are $1.80. All courses on Monday, Tue Wednesday save those starred (*) and the week of January 10. Thursday, Friday and Saturday classes a

TUESDAY, JANUARY 4, 11

6:20 O'Neill, Jr.
Homer and the Historians
Jan. 4—Thucydides and the tragic dramatist
Jan. 11—From Thucydides to Plutarch

Salomon
Social Theory of Revolution *

Turner
The Changing World
Jan. 4—Communism
Jan. 11—Comparative cultural indices

7:30 Gassner et al
March of Drama ($2.70) *
(Meets, 247 W. 48 St.)

8:10 Bingham
Operating the Film Library
Starts Jan. 4, 5 wks.
(Meets 109 E. Houston St.)

8:30 Dubos
Pasteur and Microbiological Sciences *

Ferand
Ear Training

8:30 Fine
Principles of Publicity ($2.40) *
Jan. 4, 11—(See Guest Speakers)

Friis
Scandinavia: between East and West *
Jan. 4, 11—(See Guest Speakers)

J. Meyer
Current Labor Events

Rosenberg
Basic Sociology *

Sherwin
News Editing
Jan. 4—Joint session with B. Fine's class

Tartak
Russian Literary Criticism
Jan. 4—Herzen on "Russia and the West"
Jan. 11—The period of "great reforms"

White
Political Parties

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5, 12

2:00 MacArthur
History and Comparison of Religions *

6:00 von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

6:10 Murphy
Evolution of Modern Psychology

6:15 Kaufman
Mass Communication Arts ($2.40) *
(Meets 109 E. Houston St.)

6:20 Joughin
Literary Criticism

Malaquais
French Literature

Padover
Roots of American Democracy *
Jan. 5—The American presidency
Jan. 12—Summary: ideals of American democracy

Watson
Dynamics of Social Change

7:00 Pizarro
Cervantes: Don Quixote (in Spanish)

von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

8:20 Ferand
Introduction to Music
Jan. 5—Style in music
Jan. 12—Classical vs. new music

8:30 Abelson
Psychological Methods of Studying People
Jan. 5—Measurement problems: fine and applied arts

Deyrup
American Economic History
Jan. 5—Economics of the Civil War
Jan. 12—The new industrialism

Freid
Soviet-American Relations
Jan. 5—The "Truman Doctrine"
Jan. 12—Conclusions and suggestions

Huth
International Broadcasting *
Jan. 5—Problems and Results of the International High Frequency Broadcasting Conference, Mexico City

Kazin
Whitman and Melville
Jan. 5—The Piazza Tales
Jan. 12—Melville: the poet

Lichtheim
The Ancient East

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5, 12 (continued)

8:30 Nomad
Contemporary World Politics

Stern
Anthropology

Zeisel
Market and Opinion Research ($2.40) *

8:30 Zucker
Styles through the Ages *
Jan. 5—Gothic in Germany
Jan. 12—Gothic in England

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 13

10:30 Liss
Child Growth

Untermeyer
American Poetry (1912-1946)
Jan. 6—Later women lyricists
Jan. 13—MacLeish, Hart Crane, Aiken, Torrence, Humphries

4:20 Troy
Four Philosophical Poets
Jan. 6, 13—G. M. Hopkins

5:30 May
Investment Today ($2.40)
Jan. 6—Securities laws and SEC
Jan. 13—The stockholder's status

6:20 Brecht
European Governments: Germany

Ebon
Contemporary Communism

Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Advanced) ($3)

Friis
Industrial Peace: Scandinavian Experience

Slochower
Culture Epochs
Jan. 6—Machiavelli: *The Prince*
Jan. 13—Corneille: *The Cid*, Racine: *Phèdre and Athaliah*

6:20 Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2)

8:15 Kohn
Stabilizing Forces in World Chaos ($2)

8:30 Elkin
Social Psychology of Sexual Differentiation

Ferguson
American National Government

Goudsmit
Atomic Physics

Lenrow
20th Century Novel in America
Jan. 6—Sherwood Anderson
Jan. 13—Sinclair Lewis

Masselman
Economic Potential

Perlmann
Middle East Today

Ross
Dominant Ideals of Western Civilization
Jan. 6—Machiavelli's *The Prince*
Jan. 13—Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*

Staudinger, Melamid
Economic Geography
Jan. 13—(See Guest Speakers)

Steinberg
Public Relations ($2.40)

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 14

11:20 Cowell
Modern Music
Jan. 7—(See Note)

2:00 Wdowinski
Make-up of Personality

4:00 Cowell
Music Theory (Int.)

4:20 Glicksberg
Writer's Laboratory ($3)

6:20 Abrams et al
Housing and Planning

Borne
Contemporary Art
(See Note)

6:20 Cowell
Music Theory (Elem.)

Manson
Collective Bargaining
Jan. 7—The mechanics of adjustment
Jan. 14—Principles of wage determination

Scott
Russia as a World Power

Tagliacozzo
From Laissez-Faire to Economic Liberalism

ANUARY 3, 10

hich are given
y, Tuesday and
sses and later.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 14 (continued)

8:30 Cassirer
Television News ($2.40)
Cowell
Music of the World's Peoples
Jan. 14—(See Note)
Dover
Race and Racialism
Fischoff
Sociology of Literature
S. James
Publicity Writing ($2.40)
Kullmann
Hebrew Culture
Jan. 7—Institutions, administrations
Jan. 14—A day in Jerusalem and a day in Samaria
Platt
Practical Publicity ($2.40)

8:30 Read
Modern European Civilization
Roy
Indian Philosophy
L. J. Stone
Child Psychology
Troy
Modern Fiction
Jan. 7—Gide: *The Counterfeiters*
Jan. 14—Malraux: *Man's Fate*
Tyrwhitt
Town and Country Planning
Jan. 7—Theory of New Towns
Jan. 14—Examples of British New Towns
Wdowinski
Make-up of Personality

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 15

11:00 Fischoff
Great Sociological Classics

11:00 Melamid
Geography
Jan. 8—The geography of parallel layers of population
Jan. 15—Location of the petroleum industry

SUNDAY, JANUARY 9, 16

7:30 Elson Dances of the Peoples of Many Lands

ART NOTES

"Formations" show, 3rd and 5th floor galleries, runs through January 7.

Frederik W. Deuker, Detroit artist, will hold a one man show of abstract color drawings in the 5th floor gallery, January 11-24. This is his first one man show in New York.

Mr. Deuker spent most of his childhood in Chicago where he lived until 1939. He studied evenings for four years at the Chicago Art Institute. He won honorable mention at the Scarab Club Annual Water Color Show for Abstract, Detroit, 1945 and previous to that had had five one man shows, one in Detroit, the remainder in Chicago.

Studio 74, a group of twelve artists working under the guidance of Louis Schanker to explore the potentialities of the color wood block medium, will hold their first group show at Peridot Gallery, 6 East 12th Street, January 5-February 3. The name, *Studio 74,* is taken from the room number at the New School where the group is working.

Published weekly from September through May by the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH at 66 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Entered as second class matter November 12, 1943, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

[NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH] (1)
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

32.28 B

NEW SCHOOL BULLETIN

VOL. VI, No. 17 DECEMBER 27, 1948

THREE JANUARY LECTURES

A new course:

The Problems of the Balkans in the Contemporary World

EMIL LENGYEL

3 sessions (3rd Mondays), 8:30 P.M. Beg. January 17. The series, $3.75. (Registration fee, $1.50.) Single Admission, $2.

Israel's Strategy of Defense

MAJOR WELLESLEY ARON

Monday, January 3, 8:30 P.M. Adm. $2.

Results of the United Nations Assembly Meeting in Paris

ANDREW W. CORDIER

Monday, January 10, 8:30 P.M. Adm. $2.

For additional details on the lectures by Major Aron and Mr. Cordier, see p. 4.

66 WEST 12th STREET, N. Y. 11, N. Y.
Telephone GRamercy 7-8464
(Return Postage Guaranteed)

THE NEW SCHOOL IS AN IDEA

By Homer C. Wadsworth

For two years now I have been asking myself why the New School is such a live and influential force in American life. Is it because we have been led by men of the great stature of Alvin Johnson and Bryn Hovde? Is it because of our location at the nerve center of the cultural and economic life of the Western world? These are good reasons, and they explain many things. But they do not tell the whole story.

The New School is an idea — an idea more powerful and more relevant to contemporary circumstances than it was at the School's founding thirty years ago. It is a double-barreled idea, compounded of freedom as the indispensable attribute of all worthy thought and action, and of respect for means as well as ends in dealing with the complex problems of our times. Let's put it another way: the New School believes that only free men can find the right answers, and that they will find them in time. The New School believes also that faith in free men and democratic institutions outlaws the abuse of human rights in the promotion of schemes of social redemption.

The time has come when to believe in such an idea, and to speak up for it, is not easy. Suppose we look at it in relation to the present crisis. We are engaged in a great search, all of us, for ideas and methods strong enough to compete in the marketplace of world opinion with Marxist thought and totalitarian methods. Money and arms cannot buy favor or peace for long — dismal China and bankrupt Greece are witness to this hard fact. Nor can the issue be squarely joined by dropping atom bombs on the busy centers of the Soviet Union, however much their propaganda may provoke us.

The dictators of opinion on both the left and the right are now having their innings all over the world, and there are few of us who have any stomach for either. The left would have us believe that we must sell our birthright for bread. Millions of people who have had no taste of real freedom, and who have been hungry for as long as they can remember, have fallen into the net. The right would have us believe that there can be nothing but communism or anarchy in the world, that war is inevitable, and that the center shades of the political spectrum are stuff and nonsense left over from the nineteenth century.

It is in the tradition of the New School to prosper in adversity. It was founded in the reaction against efforts to impose thought control in the days following the first World War. It thrived in the unreality of the twenties and the disasters of the thirties. It came up with a touch of genius in the University-in-Exile project and played an important part in the rescue of hundreds of scholars from the clutches of Hitler. It has wielded much influence in improving race relations, and in promoting anti-discrimination legislation. It has retained its flexibility: it discards threadbare ideas as easily as it picks up new ones and makes them a part of the curriculum. Its catalogues are a liberal education in what is of interest and concern to mature and sophisticated people.

Those who think in stereotypes have never known what to make of the New School. They never will. The New School is a needle in the hides of the complacent, and a halter on the necks of the hell-bent. That's a pretty important function for any school in a day like this.

DRAMATIC WORKSHOP

MARCH OF DRAMA REPERTORY

President Theater **MEET THE PEOPLE** **Henry Myers, Edward Eliscu, Jay Gorney**
247 West 48 Street
Wed. thru Sun., Jan. 5-9, 12-16, 19-23
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun., 2:30 P.M.

Rooftop Theater **ALICE IN WONDERLAND** **Lewis Carroll**
111 East Houston Street
Fri. thru Sun., Jan. 7-9 and Thurs. thru Sun., 13-16
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun., 2:30 P.M.

For information about enrollment in this course and attendance at repertory performances, consult M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, President Theater, CIrcle 5-7287.

TWO MUSICAL EVENTS

Henry Cowell's class, "The Meaning of Modern Music", Fridays at 11:20 A.M., will hold its January 7 session in the studio of John Cage, 326 Monroe Street (cor. Grand Street and East River Drive). Maro Ajemian will play Cage's prepared piano music; the composer will comment. Members of other classes may attend by contacting Mr. Cowell through the Bulletin office, 5th floor and purchasing single admission in advance.

Irish traditional singing will be presented by **Eileen Curran Herron** in **Henry Cowell's** class, "Music of the World's Peoples", Friday, January 14, 8:30 P.M.

Henry Cowell's Works To Be Performed: The world première of Henry Cowell's fifth symphony will be presented by the National Symphony Orchestra, Hans Kindler, conducting, Washington, D. C., Wednesday evening, January 5.

The world première of Cowell's orchestral piece, "American Pipers" will be presented by the New Orleans Symphony Orchestra, Pierre Henrotte, conducting, Wednesday afternoon, January 12. The same orchestra will play his "Ancient Desert Drone" on Wednesday, February 2.

Joseph Szigetti will play Cowell's Sonata for Violin and Piano in Carnegie Hall, Thursday evening, February 6.

The Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra will play his 4th symphony, Alfred Wallenstein conducting, on Wednesday and Thursday evenings, February 16-17.

"Decadent Composers". Issue No. 5 for 1948 of *Sovietskaya Musica* leads off a list of "decadent composers" with the following names: 1) Stravinsky; 2) Prokofieff; 3) Messien; 4) Cowell.

MORTIMER BORNE will show slides of the work of the following artists (many of whom will be present) at his lectures on *Contemporary Art*, Fri., Jan. 7, 14, 6:20 p.m.: **Jan. 7:** Wayman Adams, Milton Avery, Sister M. F. Irvin, Landeck, J. Margulies, Ross Moffet, Elias Newman, Hobson Pittman, Radein, Ratkai, Irma Rothstein, Sokole, Thalinger, Robert Jay Wolff. **Jan. 14:** Gifford Beal, Bouché, Horowitz, Lassonde, Saul Raskin, Rose, Ruellan, Schrag, Schnakenberg, Schultheis, Mitzi Solomon.

GUEST SPEAKERS

Jan. 3—**MRS. LESLIE GORDON PHILLIPS** and **PATRICIA LEWIS**—"The Writer's Market"
Mrs. Phillips is head of the Literary Agency bearing her name. Miss Lewis is her associate.

Course: Professional Writing **Gorham Munson**
Mondays, 6 P.M.

Jan. 3—**LORENZO J. GREENE**—"The Free Negro and His Development"
Dr. Greene is professor of history, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.; author of *The Negro in Colonial New England*.

Course: The Negro in American History **W. E. B. DuBois**
Mondays, 8:30 P.M.

Jan. 3—**MAJOR WELLESLEY ARON**—"Israel's Strategy of Defense"
Major Aron is an officer of the Haganah, Israel's army. He was commander of the Jewish Brigade in the British Army, World War II.

Course: Problems Facing the New State of Israel **Carl Hermann Voss**
1st Mondays, 8:30 P.M.

Jan. 10—**ANDREW W. CORDIER**—"Results of the United Nations Assembly in Paris"
Mr. Cordier is executive assistant to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has just returned from Europe.

Course: The United Nations: Report and Critical Analysis **Eichelberger, Huth**
2nd Mondays, 8:30 P.M.

Jan. 4—**MARK SHERWIN**—"Pictures in the News"
Mr. Sherwin's class will meet for this session with Mr. Fine's class.

Jan. 11—**GARY STEVENS**—"Radio Publicity"
Mr. Stevens is a director, producer and publicist of radio shows including *Twenty Questions*, *Luncheon at Sardis* and others.

Course: Principles of Publicity **Benjamin Fine**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Jan. 4—**BRITTA SKOTTSBERG**—"Scandinavian Foreign Policy, Past and Present"
Dr. Skottsberg is former director, Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm.

Jan. 11—**GUNNAR LEISTIKOW**—"Cooperation between the Scandinavian Countries"
Dr. Leistikow is New York correspondent for *Information*, Copenhagen; *Verdens Gang*, Oslo; and *Uusi Suomi*, Helsingfors.

Course: Scandinavia: between East and West **Henning Friis**
Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Jan. 13—**EDITH J. HIRSCH**—"The World Food Situation"
Mrs. Hirsch, economist and world food authority, collaborates with her husband Dr. Julius Hirsch, economic consultant, in world economic and agricultural economic research.

Course: Economic Geography **Staudinger, Melamid**
Thursdays, 8:30 P.M.

GENERAL SEMINAR

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Jan. 5—**KURT RIEZLER**—"Facts and Artifacts in the Social Sciences"

Jan. 12—**JOHN H. FERGUSON**—"Problems of Public Ownership in the United States"

The General Seminar is open to students registered in any New School or Graduate Course and to invited guests. Please present course card or guest ticket at the door.

CALENDAR OF OPEN COURSES

The following list while not complete comprises courses currently open for single lectures, titles of which are given where possible. Unless otherwise stated the fees for single lectures are $1.80. All courses on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday save those starred (*) and the week of January 10. Thursday, Friday and Saturday classes end later.

MONDAY, JANUARY 3, 10

10:30 Kullmann
Introduction to Philosophy
Jan. 3—Patristic philosophy
Jan. 10—Arabian and Jewish philosophies in Middle Ages

2:20 Zipper
A Survey of the Opera

Tartak
Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky
Jan. 3—Tolstoy the playwright
Jan. 10—The last decade

6:00 Munson
Professional Writing ($3)*
Jan. 3—(See Guest Speakers)
Jan. 10—Literary values

6:20 Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2) *

J. Meyer, Wunderlich
Labor Economics and Sociology

Rosenberg
Social Disorganization

Vladeck
Labor and the Law
Jan. 3—Minority groups and discrimination
Jan. 10—Survey of the labor law

8:15 Knopf
Understanding Human Nature
Jan. 3—Relatives, friends and acquaintances
Jan. 10—Normality

8:30 Bozeman
Contemporary International Politics

Bryant
Present Day English

8:30 DuBois
Negro in American History
Jan. 3—(See Guest Speakers)
Jan. 10—Summary

Eichelberger, Huth
United Nations: Report and Critical Analysis ($2) *
Jan. 10—(See Guest Speakers)

Hirsch
Current Economic Events

Levy
Settling Labor Disputes
Jan. 3—The national emergency situation
Jan. 10—The public stake

Minkoff
Modern Yiddish Literature

O'Neill, Jr.
Reason and Unreason in 20th Century Thought
Jan. 3—Hume and Kant
Jan. 10—Rousseau

Pares
Contemporary Russia *
Jan. 3—Hitler and Japan (1933-36)
Jan. 10—For a "United Front" (1933-41)

Parkes
American Cultural Development

Patai
Peoples and Cultures of the Near East

Voss
The New State of Israel ($2) *
Jan. 3—(See Guest Speakers)

TUESDAY, JANUARY 4, 11

10:30 Koch
The American Experiment

1:00 Deinhard
Understanding Works of Art

4:00 Brandeis
Fiction and Poetry ($2.70)

6:20 Bretnall
Abnormal Psychology

Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Basic) ($3)

Fritz Kaufmann, Katsh
History of the Jews *
Jan. 4—The Turkish Empire and the Jews
Jan. 11—(Kaufmann) Sephardic civilization in the Western world

6:20 E. James
Latin American Civilization

Lenrow
Masterpieces of World Literature
Jan. 4—Marlowe: *Dr. Faustus*
Jan. 11—Cervantes: *Don Quixote*

Maslow
Race and Religion in American Law *
Jan. 4—Religious liberty
Jan. 11—The private Attorney General: NAACP and CLSA

(Continued on pages 5 and 6)

THE WORLD OF TODAY AND TOMORROW

The Negro problem cannot be viewed in isolation from world events and world issues. For those desiring to keep abreast of significant developments and the vital problems of our time, the following series of up-to-the-minute, once-a-month lectures by eminent authorities will prove both suggestive and challenging:

THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CRISIS OF OUR AGE — **Reinhold Niebuhr**
7 sessions, every first Thursday, 8:15-9:55 P.M. ($7.)
Beginning October 2.

HISTORY AS SOCIAL ANALYSIS — **Ralph E. Turner**
8 sessions, every first Monday, 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($8.)
Beginning October 6.

AMERICA IN A WORLD FRAMEWORK — **Max Lerner**
8 sessions, every second Thursday, 8:15-9:55 P.M. ($8.)
Beginning October 9.

THE SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS — **A. A. Berle, Jr.**
6 sessions, every second Monday, 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($6.)
Beginning November 10.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES — **Leo M. Cherne**
8 sessions, every third Thursday, 8:15-9:55 P.M. ($8.)
Beginning October 16.

MODERN MAN AND ECONOMIC IDEAS — **J. Raymond Walsh**
8 sessions, every third Monday, 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($8.)
Beginning October 20.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY: STABILIZING FORCES IN WORLD CHAOS — **Hans Kohn**
4 sessions, every fourth Thursday, 8:15-9:55 P.M. ($4.)
Beginning February 26.

CURRENT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS — **Antonin Basch**
8 sessions, every fourth Monday, 8:30-10:10 P.M. ($8.)
Beginning October 27.

[New School...]

The World View of the NEGRO QUESTION

2-37

A FIFTEEN WEEK COURSE

LAWRENCE D. REDDICK
Chairman

1947-48

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
66 WEST TWELFTH STREET • NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
GRamercy 7-8464

The dominance of the world by western civilization during the modern period has been so great that sometimes we forget that it has not always been so; or is likely to remain so. Historically, Asiatic and African cultures preceded the rise of Europe and today the counter-offensive against the West is gathering momentum. In time, these contacts and conflicts may result in a single planetary civilization.

This course attempts to give a sense of (1) ancient and medieval African cultures; (2) the impact of world forces that tore millions of Africans from their home continent and then tore the home continent from those Africans that remained there; and (3) the struggles for liberation and integration that are now being made by Negroid peoples under the varying conditions of life in Melenasia, Africa, the West Indies, South America and the United States.

THE WORLD VIEW OF THE NEGRO QUESTION

Lawrence D. Reddick and guest lecturers

15 weeks. Fridays, 8:30-10:10 P.M. $15. (Single Admission $1.80) Fall term, beginning October 3.

The principal topics to be discussed will be:

Definitions

A survey of library and other research resources for Negro studies in the United States and abroad and the stereotypes and folk beliefs popularly held as contrasted with the findings of physical anthropology.

Historical Forces

A summary account of African cultures in ancient Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and West Africa prior to the intrusion of the Atlantic slave trade; and the effects upon African societies and the world of the slave trade, slavery in the New World and the scramble of the great powers for African territories.

Struggle For The World

An estimate of the impact of the two great wars upon Negroid peoples and the extent to which Negroes participated in them.

Institutions and Movements

Organizations, mass movements, leaders and their social philosophies, as well as group cultural contributions.

Lawrence Dunbar Reddick, Ph.D., Chicago. Curator, Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, New York Public Library; lecturer, department of history, College of the City of New York. Member, Committee on Negro Studies, American Council of Learned Societies. Assistant professor of history, Kentucky State College, 1933-35; Dillard University, 1935-38.

GUEST LECTURERS

DR. GENE WELTFISH, Instructor, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

LEO HANSBERRY, Professor of History, Howard University.

W. E. B. DU BOIS, Director of Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; author, Africa and the World.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, Professor of Sociology, Howard University; author, The Negro Family in the United States.

H. M. BOND, President, Lincoln University; author, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order.

B. E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College; former Vice-President, Federal Council of Churches.

ROBERT GARDINER, United Nations Trusteeship Council Secretariat.

C. A. PETIONI, President, Caribbean Union.

WALTER WHITE, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

ALAIN LOCKE, Professor of Philosophy, Howard University.

NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY

15 Lectures

[New School... Negro in...]

300 ↓

DISCOVERY – 1492 - 1606

SETTLEMENT – 1600 - 1800

22-37-42 ↓

HOME - RULE – 1775

EXPANSION – 1800 - 1830

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION – 1820

148 ↓

SLAVERY – 1619 - 1863

CIVIL WAR – 1861 - 64

RECONSTRUCTION – 1864 - 76

BIG BUSINESS – 1890

WORLD WAR – 1914 - 1918

DEPRESSION – 1920 - 40

NEW DEAL – 1933 – 1940

WORLD WAR – 1941 - 45

UNITED NATIONS – 1945

[New school ...]
[Negro in ...

Negro in U.S. History

22-37-67

Europe + Africa, 1600-1800
Colonization 1700-1800
Labor + Industry
Gt Britain + America
France + America
U.S. 1800-1850
Slavery 1450-1848
Reconstruction 1865-1877
Industry 1870-1890
Imperialism 1890-1900
1st W.W.
Depression
2nd W.

[New School ...]
[Negro in ...

Negro in American History

22-37-68

1. Introduction & Survey — DuBois
2. Europe & Africa, 1600-1800 — DuBois
3. The New World — Diggs
4. Revolution 1775-1815 — Eric Williams
5. Cotton Kingdom 1820-60 — ~~Afolabon~~ Evet Franklin
6. Civil War — DuBois
7. Reconstruction
8. Race Adjustment — Allison Davis
   ~ Douglass - Graham
9. Economic Adjustment — Harris — ~ Green
10. [illegible]
11. Wards — Logan
12. B.T.W. + his time — Thornton
13. The New Deal — Smyth
14. Literature — DuBois
15. Summary — DuBois

[New School . . .]
[Negro in . . .]

22-37-64

1 Introduction — DuBois —
2 Europe + Africa, 1600-1800 DuBois —
3 The Slave Trade Eric Williams
4 Revolution 1775-1815 — Franklin
5 The Cotton Kingdom 1820-1860 — Aptheker
6 The Free Negro 1800-1860 — ~~Franklin~~ Green
7 Civil War — 1860-70 — Woodson
8 Reconstruction 1865-1876 — DuBois —
9 ~~Social Growth — Frazier~~
10 Psychology of Adjustment — Davis
11 Economic development — Harris (DuBois
12 Biography — Thompson
13 " — Graham
14 World War — Logan
15 New Deal — DuBois —
16 — 2nd W. W. — Smythe
17 Conclusion — DuBois —

[New School]
[New School...]

22-32-63

1 Europe + Africa — DuBois
2 New World — E Williams
3 Colonies + Slave trade — DuBois
4 Revolution — Franklin
5 Independence —
6 Slavery — Aptheker
7 The West — Franklin
8 Civil War — Woodson
9 Reconstruction — DuBois
10 Big Business — Harris
11, 12 Biography — Douglass + Carm. - Yates
13 Imperialism — Smythe. BTW — Thornton
14 WWI — Logan
13 New Deal — DuBois
14 2nd WW. — Smythe
~~15 Biography~~

Trivial DuBois

Alton Davis.

47 48
Soc + Hist

[New school ....]
[Negro in ...]

Negro in U.S. History

22-37-46

Europe & Africa	1600 – 1800	Du Bois
Colonization & Slave trade	1700 – 1800	~~Du Bois~~ E Williams
The Cotton Kingdom	1800 – 1825	Aptheker
Europe & the U.S.A.	1790 – 1860	Du Bois
West & free soil	1820 – 1850	
Civil War & Reconstruction		Franklin Du Bois
Big Business	– Harris	
Imperialism	– Diggs	
1st WW	– Logan.	
Depression & New Deal	Smythe	
2nd WW	– Smythe	
Segregation	– Ginsburg Woodson Thornton	

[New School] Course
[Negro in...]

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

22-32-62

Negro in American History

1. Survey — Du Bois
2. Europe + Africa, 1600-1800 — Du Bois
3. The New World 1400-1700 - Diggs
4. Revolution, 1770-1815 — Eric Williams
5. The Cotton Kingdom, 1815-1860 — J. H. Franklin
6. Civil War — Du Bois
7. Reconstruction — Du Bois
8. Social Development — Frazier
~~9. Race Psychology — A. Davis~~
19. Frederick Douglass — S. Graham
10. Economic adjustment — ~~Kyrsons~~
11. B.T. Washington — Charles Thompson
12. The World War I Logan
13. World War II Smythe
14. The Negro in Literature — Du Bois
15. Summary — Du Bois

[New School ...]
[Negro in ...]

Sept
27 - OPEN

Oct
4 - WEBD
11 - WEBD
18 - Diggs
25 - Logan

Nov
1 - Thompson
8 - WEBD
15 - WEBD
22 - Frazier
29 - Franklin

Dec
6 - Drake
13 Greene
20 - Jackson

Jan
3 - Graham
10 - ~~Logan~~
17 - WEBD
~~24 - WEBD~~

22-37-40

Ask Mrs. Smythe to leave my Times Article at my Apartment. I want to look it over Sunday night.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Rodman of Progressive Party will be here Monday at 3. She wants info. about education in certain States

[New School . . .]
[Negro in . . .]

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

22-32-65

Allison Davis — Psychology of Adjustment
Abe Harris — Negro Bankers
Eric Williams — Slave Trade — Capit.
E. Franklin Frazier — Social Growth
Carter Woodson — Negro History work
Charles Thompson — Negro Newspapers
John Hope — Founder of Morehouse — The Negro
Lester Hill — Literature
Rayford Logan — Negro in WW I

Aptheker — Anna Dorothy — Literature
Graham — Revolt
Sawyer — 2nd WW — Biog
Diggs — Church — French Writers

Du Bois — Intro Africa

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY

The course, "The Negro in American History," will consist of fifteen lectures. They will be directed by W. E. B. DuBois, and he will be assisted by a number of guest lecturers, all of whom are specialists in their fields. The general object of the course is to follow the development of American history with special emphasis upon the influence which persons of Negro descent have had upon the thoughts and activities of this country.

It will begin with a survey and a general consideration of America's relations with Europe and Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This will be followed by a study of the New World between 1400 and 1700 and the American Revolutionary War with England. Then there will be a treatment of the economic, social, and political development of the United States, the influence of slave labor and the Cotton Kingdom, and the Civil War. Reconstruction will be viewed as the struggle between democracy and Big Business in a South dominated by land monopoly and caste. There follows an inquiry into the part played by Negroes in the social and economic development of the nation during the nineteenth century, including the lives of men like Frederick Douglas and Booker T. Washington, and the Negro as writer and subject in American literature. The development of Capitalism and Imperialism in the twentieth century, covering both World Wars and the Depression, will be considered from the point of view of Negro workers and thinkers.

Bibliographical notes and references will be furnished and special fields of investigation and further study indicated.

23-24-58

The New School

1948 - 1949

The course, ~~called~~ "The Negro in American History", will consist of fifteen lectures. They will be directed by W. E. B. Du Bois and he will be assisted by a number of guest-lecturers, all of whom are specialists in their fields. The general object of the course is to follow the development of ~~the~~ American history with special emphasis upon the influence which persons of Negro descent have had upon the thoughts and activities of this country.

23-24-52

It will begin with a survey and a general consideration of the Dawn of relations ~~between~~ with Europe and Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries. This will be followed by a study of the New World between 1400 and 1700, and the Revolutionary War ~~between America~~ at and England. Then there will be a further study of the economic, social and political development of the United States, ~~will be followed and~~ the influence of slave labor ~~weighed in~~ and the Cotton Kingdom, and the Civil War. Reconstruction will be viewed as the struggle between democracy and Big Business, in ~~the~~ the South dominated by land monopoly and caste. There follows inquiry ~~into phases of social development~~, including the family and ~~problems of~~ economic adjustment. ~~Individuals like Frederick Douglas and Booker T. Washington will be studied, and the Negro in American literature as writer and as subject. The impact of the First and Second World Wars on the Negro, together with the Depression and the New Deal will follow.~~

Bibliographical notes and references will be furnished and special fields of investigation and further study indicated.

ive the part played by Negroes in the social & economic development of the Nation during the 19th century, including the lives of men like Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington and the Negro as writer and subject in American literature. The development of Capitalism and Imperialism in the 20th century, with particular reference to the World Wars and the Depression, will be considered from the point of view of Negro workers and Thinkers

Simpson in Haiti - articles
Makers of the Slave Trade - Brazil
Negro in Brazil, Ramos
From Slavery to Freedom, John Hope Franklin
Suppression of the African Slave Trade - DuBois
to the U.S.A. No 38 - 1870
Black Folk Then & Now - DuBois
Journal of Negro History - various volumes
Journey in the Seaboard Slave States - Olmsted
The Negro in the New World - J Johnston
El Engenio de las Razas - Ortiz
(Negro in Cuba)
The Negro - DuBois
Negro Family in the U.S. - Frazier
Shadow of the Plantation - C.S. Johnson
The Free Negro in N.C. - J. Hope Franklin
The Negro in S.C. - Horace Fitchett
J. of Negro Education, Vol 18 - art. by Aimes
American Negro Slave Revolts, Aptheker
Negro in Colonial New England, Greene
Slavery in the U.S., Ball
Ancestry among the Brillah Negroes, AA Vol 43 Boscom
Black Roadways, a Study in Jamaican Folk
life, Beckwith
The West Indies as they are (Slavery in Jamaica
Bickell, R.
The Negro in Md - Brackett, J.R.
Religiones Negras - Carneiro, Edison
Journal of Negro History - Fanny Kemble

Ethnographical Notes on the Bush Caribs, Coreemus, Edward
AA 30.
Carteander, Howard. Haiti Sing
Caste & Class in a Southern Town, Dollard
After Freedom, Pandemaker
Negroes in Brazil, Pierson, Donald
The Negro Family - Frazier
Louisiana Studies - Fortier
Negro Slave Family, J Negro Hist. Vol 15, Frazier
Cuba - Islands & Seas - People
The Exiles of Florida - J. R. Giddings
History of the Sea Islands - Guion Johnson
Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, S.C. - Johnson Guy
Journal of a W. Indian Proprietor - Lewis
Description de la partie française de l'Isle
Saint-Domingue - Moreau de St. Méry
The Cotton Kingdom - Olmsted
A Journey in the Back Country - Olmsted
Conflict & Fusion of Cultures with Special
Ref to the Negro - J. Negro Hist Vol 4, R.E. Park
Memorials of a Southern Planter - Susan Smedes
Narrative of a 5 Years' Expedition against the
Revolted Negroes of Surinam - J.G. Stedman
"Hist of Slavery in Conn. B.C. Steiner Johns Hopkins
U Studies Hist & Pol Sci. Vol XI, 1893
Leaflets from the Danish West Indies, Taylor
Some Problems Involved in the Study of the
Negroes in the N. World - H. D. Turner, Essays p 354
West Indies as a Social Laboratory, Weatherly
P. U. Soc. Vol 29 (Cited from Bibliography)

[New School for Social Research]

Periodicals to be consulted by students of the course

22-37-40

Journal of Negro History

Journal of Negro Education

The Annals

The Crisis

Opportunity

Phylon

The Southern Frontier

Atlanta University Studies

New Republic

The Nation

Survey Graphic

Social Forces

American Sociological Review

Quraterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes

Negro College Quarterly

American Journal of Sociology

Monthly Summary of Race Relations

Negro Digest

Ebony

Negro newspapers: Courier, Defender, Guide, Afro-American
Black Dispatch, California Eagle

Prof. W. E. B. DuBois, Chairman

September, 1948
January, 1949

THE NEW SCHOOL

A Tentative Lecture Schedule

for the course

The Negro in American History

		Lecture Number
September		
27	DuBois	1
October		
4	DuBois	2
11	Diggs, Assoc. Professor of Economics, Morgan College, Baltimore, Md.	3
18	Logan, Professor in charge of Dept. of History, Howard U.	4
25	~~Thompson~~ Dean, The Graduate School, and Professor of Educ., N.Y.U., Ed. of Negro Hist.	5
November		
1	DuBois	6
8	DuBois	7
15	E.F. ~~Frazier~~ Thompson, Prof. & Chr. Dept. of Soc., Howard	8
22	J.H. Franklin, Professor of History, Howard	9
29	St. Clair Drake, Assoc. Prof. of Anthropology Dept. of Soc., Roosevelt College.	10
December		
6	Graham, Director, Institute of	11
~~13~~	~~Greene~~, Prof. History, N.Y.U., D.C. Mayor of	12
20	Jackson, Prof. Ch. Dept. Hist., VSC, author of	13
January		
3		
10	DuBois	14
~~17~~	DuBois	15

NOTE: There are several other available dates for juggling the lecture schedule to suit the lecturers, if the above are not convenient. There are two dates in January, 3 and 24, and these may be shifted about to accommodate lecturers during the other months of the term.

[New School for Social Research]

Sept. 27 Du Bois Survey

Oct. 4, Du Bois Europe & Africa

II, Diggs, Latin America

I8, Du Bois, Negro ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Negro slavery in USA, I6I9 - I9[illegible]

25, Frazier , Social devel.

Nov. I, Franklin, Cotton Kingdom

8, Du Bois, Negro & the Civil War, I960- I977

I5 Logan, Negro, I877- ~~xxxx~~ xz I900

22 ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Jackson, Office holders

29 ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Thompson, B. Washington

Dec. 6, ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ Greene, Free Negro

I3, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Graham, Douglsas

20, Drake, Cities

Jan. 3, Du Bois, Litersature

I0, Summary, Du Bois

23-24-50

Oct, 1948

Tentative lecture program--The New School, Fall Term, 1948, Dr. DuBois, Chr.

September

27 DuBois A Survey of the Negro in American History

October

4 DuBois The Negro in Europe and Africa: 1600-1800

11 Diggs The Negro and the Colonization of Latin America

Miss Diggs is Professor of sociology at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland. She took her Ph.D. at the University of Havana, Cuba, and has studied in South America under the U. S. Department of State's auapices.

18 DuBois Slavery in the U. S. A. , 1619--1815

25 Frazier The Social Development of the Negro in the U. S.

Mr. Frazier is Chairman and Professor in the Department of Sociology, Howard University. He is currently President of the American Sociological Society. He took his Ph.D. from the University of C icago.

23-24-1

November

1 Franklin The Development of the Cotton Kingdom, 1815-1860

Mr. John Hope Franklin is Professor of History at Howard University. He took his Ph. D. at Harvard University. He is the author of several books and has written widely for publications in his field.

8 DuBois The Negro and the Civil War, 1860-77

15 Logan The Negro during the Period of the Road to Reunion

Mr. Logan is Professor of History and Chairman of the Department, Howard University. He took his Ph. D. at Harvard University. He was a Captain in the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I., is the author of several books and has published widely in publications here and abroad.

22 Jackson Negro Officeholders during Reconstruction with Special Reference to Virginia

Mr. Luther P. Jackson, is professor of history, Virginia State College and author of several studies of the Negro in Virginia.

29 Thompson Booker T. Washington and His Times

Mr. Charles H. Thompson, is Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Education at Howard University. Also, he edits the Journal of Negro Education. He took his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago, is a writer and lecturer of wide reputation.

December

6 DuBois The Negro in the United States since Booker T. Washington

11 Graham Frederick Douglass and His Times

Miss Graham is the author of a biography of Frederick Douglass and several other biographies.

20 DuBois The Negro in Cities

January

3 Greene The Free Negro and his Development

Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene, is professor of history at Lincoln University Jefferson City, Missouri, and author of several books.

10 DuBois Summary

23-24-2

New School

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No 11

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20 DuBois The Negro in Cities Negro Libraries

January

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Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene, is professor of history at Lincoln University Jefferson City, Missouri, and author of several books.

10 DuBois Summary

87
37
1/4
2 1/2
2

1

Before 1895 SC
after 1896 – Miss
Ala
La
Ga
Fla
Va
Ark
N.C
Tenn

10

RR
St. Cars
Parks, elevators
Public offices

1890 – SC
1896 Miss
1900 Ala
1901 La
1902
1910 Ga
1914 Ark

1890 – beginning
Jim Crow

5 copies Revised Oct. 21, 1948

Tentative lecture program--The New School, Fall Term, 1948, W.E.B. Du Bois, Chr.

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December

DuBois THE NEGRO IN THE U.S.A SINCE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

~~DuBois~~ ~~The Negro in the World~~ ~~The Negro in American history~~

6 ~~Greene~~ ~~The Free Negro and His Development~~

Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene, is professor of history at Lincoln University, Mo. and author of several books.

December

13 Graham Frederick Douglass and His Times

Miss Graham is the author of a biography of Frederick Douglass and several other biographies.

20 ~~Drake~~ DuBois > 5 The Negro in Cities

Mr. St. Claire Drake is professor of anthropology at Roosevelt College, Chicago, and co-author of "Black Metropolis."

22-32-44

January

~~Dubois~~ The Free Negro and his Development

3 ~~The Negro in America & Literature~~

10 Dubois Summary

New School lecture, Nov. 8, 1948 New York City
W2B DuBois Causes of The American Negro
"The Negro in the Civil War"

Economics

I850: VALUE SLAVES, $250,000,000.

VALUE COTTON RAISED, $105,600,000

South Cotton crop

I79I	9000 bales
I800	79,000
I822,	500,000
I83I,	I,600,000
I840,	2,000,000
I852,	3,000,000
I86I,	5,000,000

SEVEN-EIGHTS OF WORLD CROP

22-37-56

SLAVERY

I83I, LIBERATOR
I844, CHURCHES DIVIDE
I845, Texas ANNEXED,
I846 MEXICAN WAR I2,000 dead, $I00,000,000
I84I DOUGLASS' FIRST SPEECH
I850, MISSOURI COMPROMISE: CAL. FREE; FUGITIVE SLAVES; NO SLAVE TRADE, D.C.
I848 EUROPE
I854, OstendMANIFESTO
KANSAS NEBRASKA BILL
REPUBLICAN PARTY
I856, KANSAS AND JOHN BROWN
I857 DRED SCOTT PANIC
I859, JOHN BROWN HELPER

I860, PARTIES SPLIT. LINCOLN ELECTED

WAR

I860 - 6I, S.C, MISS., FLA., ALA., GA., LA., TEX., SECEDE

I86I -- C.S.A. AT MONTGOMERY BRITAIN GRANTS BELLIGERANCY
APRIL, FORT SUMTER
JUNE, ARK., TENN., N.C., VA., SECEDE

WAR

NORTH: 23 STATES, 22,000,000 WHITES, 500,000 NEGROES

SOUTH: II STATES, 5,500,000 WHITES, 3,950,000 SLAVES, 360,000 FREE NEGROES

DRAFT

NORTH: I,600,000 - 2,400,000 SOLDIERS

SOUTH: 800,000 SOLDIERS

(1) BLOKADE, TRENT ALABAMA

(2) MISS. VALLEY: OPENING RIVER, I862; VICKSBURG, I863. NEGRO SOLDIERS
SHERMAN TO SEA, I864

(3) EAST: WASHINGTON TO RICHMOND
BULL RUN, I86I
PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, I862 2nd BULL RUN
LEE INVADES, ANTIETAM, EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
BURNSIDE STOPPED

HOOKER, CHANCELLORSVILLE, I863
1863 LEE INVADES, GETTYSBURG JULY 40,000

GRANT AND LEE: WILDERNESS, SPOTSYLVANIA, COLD HARBOR, PETERSBURG

1865 EARLY AND SHERIDAN SHERMAN UP FROM GEORGIA J.E. JOHNSON
APRIL, LEE SURRENDERS

THE COSTS IN MONEY

22-37-57

1857 FREE TRADE
1864, TARIF,47%

INTERNAL TAXES INCOME TAX

GREENBACKS, $500,000,000

BONDS, $2,600,000,000

TOTAL COST, NORTH, $3,000,000,000

SLAVES

CONTRABAND
GENERAL STRIKE — XX 250,000 LABORERS
SOLDIERS, XX 280,000 SOLDIERS

SLAVES OF REBELS CAPTURED FREE, JULY 17, 1862
PRELIMINARY PROC, SEPT.22, 1862 PALMERSTON
EMANCIPATION, JAN. 1, 1863 NAPOLEON III
13th AMEDDMENT, 1865

ELECTION OF 1864 LINCOLN

POST-WAR PROBLEMS
1. SLAVES
2. GOVERNMENT
3. ECONOMIC RESTORATION

VOLUNTARY RELIEF — SCHOOLS
FREEDMENS BUREAU, 1865

LINCOLN: 10 % OF VOTE, 1863 (VA., LA., ARK., TEX.) (NEGRO SUFFRAGE) KILLED, APRIL 15, 65

JOHNSON: SOUTH RESTORED: NO NEGRO VOTERS, DEMOCRATS IN CONTROL (STEPHENS), BLACK CODES, 3/5.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON RECONSTRUCTION — THAD STEVENS - SUMNER

VETOS: CIVIL RIGHTS, FREEDMENS BUREAU

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT: CIVIL RIGHTS, NEGRO SUFFRAGE, EX-CONFEDERATES, WAR DEBTS

ELECTION OF 66 SWING AROUND CIRCLE NEW ORLEANS KKK

1867 RECONSTRUCTION LAW, MARCH

10 STATES UNDER MILITARY RULE

NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND 14 th AMENDMENT

1868, IMPEACHMENT 39 to 19

CONVENTIONS 14th AMENDMENT
1870 15th AMENDMENT FORCE BILLS (1871)
~~1871xx~~

I868 -- I876

1. PUBLIC SCHOOLS

DEBT S.C. 1860 $12M 1871 - 22 Mill

2. NEW DEMOCRACY

3. SOCIAL UPLIFT: ASYLUMS, LAND DIVISION AVE. SIZE
I86I 335 ACRES, I870- 214
I880 I53

RAILROADS, COTTON, I870, 3 million bales; I860, 5,755,000 bales

CONSTITUTIONS KEPT: FLA. I7 years VA. 32, S.C. 27 MISS. 22

22-37-58

1876

BOOKS

Psychology

SINCE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1900 TO 1948

1901 WHITE HOUSE LUNCHEON

1903 CRUM

INDINOLA

CITIES

UNIONS CIGARMAKERS, MINERS

CASTE

1890 MISS
1895 SC
1900 NC
1908 ALA
1910 VA

ST. CARS

SEGREGATED HOMES 1912-13 LOUISVILLE, BALTIMORE, RICHMOND, ATLANTA

PARKS & PLAYGROUNDS JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

MUCKRAKERS

22-37-48

LYNCHING 1901 100 NEGROES LYNCHED

1901 - 17, 1100 "

1899 - 1922, 3436 PERSONS LYNCHED SILENT PARADE, ADS

* RIOTS ATLANTA, 1906 SEPTEMBER

BROWNSVILLE, AUGUST ROOSEVELT'S EXECUTIVE LYNCHING 1909 INQUIRY

Springfield , ILL., 1908 (PAGE 435)

NM & NAACP

1912 WILSON

1913 20 SEGREGATION BILLS & SEGREGATION IN D.C. DEPARTMENTS

~~XIX~~ 1915 HAITI

BIRTH OF A NATION DEATH OF B.T.W. 1916 WACO

1917 WAR 31% NEGROES DRAFTED, 26% ofWHITES

FORT DES MOINES

92nd & 93rd DIVISIONS YOUNG EMMETT SCOTT *

SOUTHERN CAMPS ~~CHARLESTON~~ CHARLOTTE, N.C. YMCA ~~&~~ 5

HOUSTON, TEX 17 WHITES KILLED, 13 NEGROES HANGED, 41 LIFE

SPARTANBURG

URBANIZATION

369th DIVISION IN FRANCE CROIX DE GUERRE

STEVADORES 25,000TONS A DAY 760,000 TONS, SEPT. 1918

370 th DIV (EIGHTR ILL) 90DECORATED

371 (S.C) 152 DECORATIONS

92ND DIV PROPAGANDA 57 DECORATED

1917 38 NEGROES LYNCHED

1918 58 (3 000 SPECTATORS)

EAST ST. LOUIS 40

1919 KKK IN 27STATES

70 NEGROES LYNCHED 10 SOLDIERS IN UNIFORM

THE RED SUMMER

25RIOTS LONGVIEW, WASHINGTON, CHICAGO (MONTH #'38KILLED,537INJURED

1000FAMILIES HOMELESS*

TENN., NEBRASKA, ARK

1921 TULSA 1925, DETROIT

GARVEY (1916 -1927) DIVINE 1919 -

UNIONS FIREMEN RANDOLPH 1925 CIO, 1935

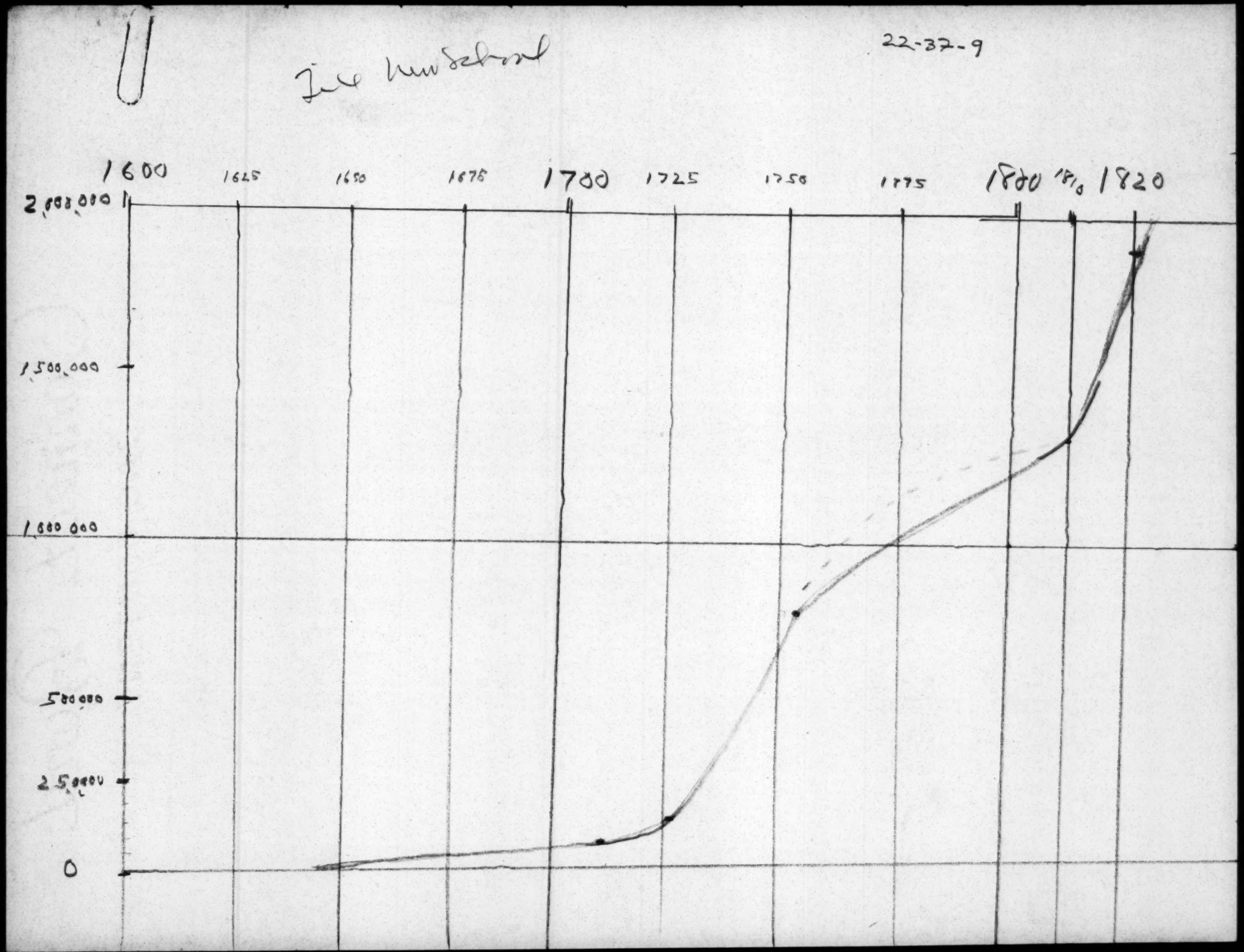
COLLEGE

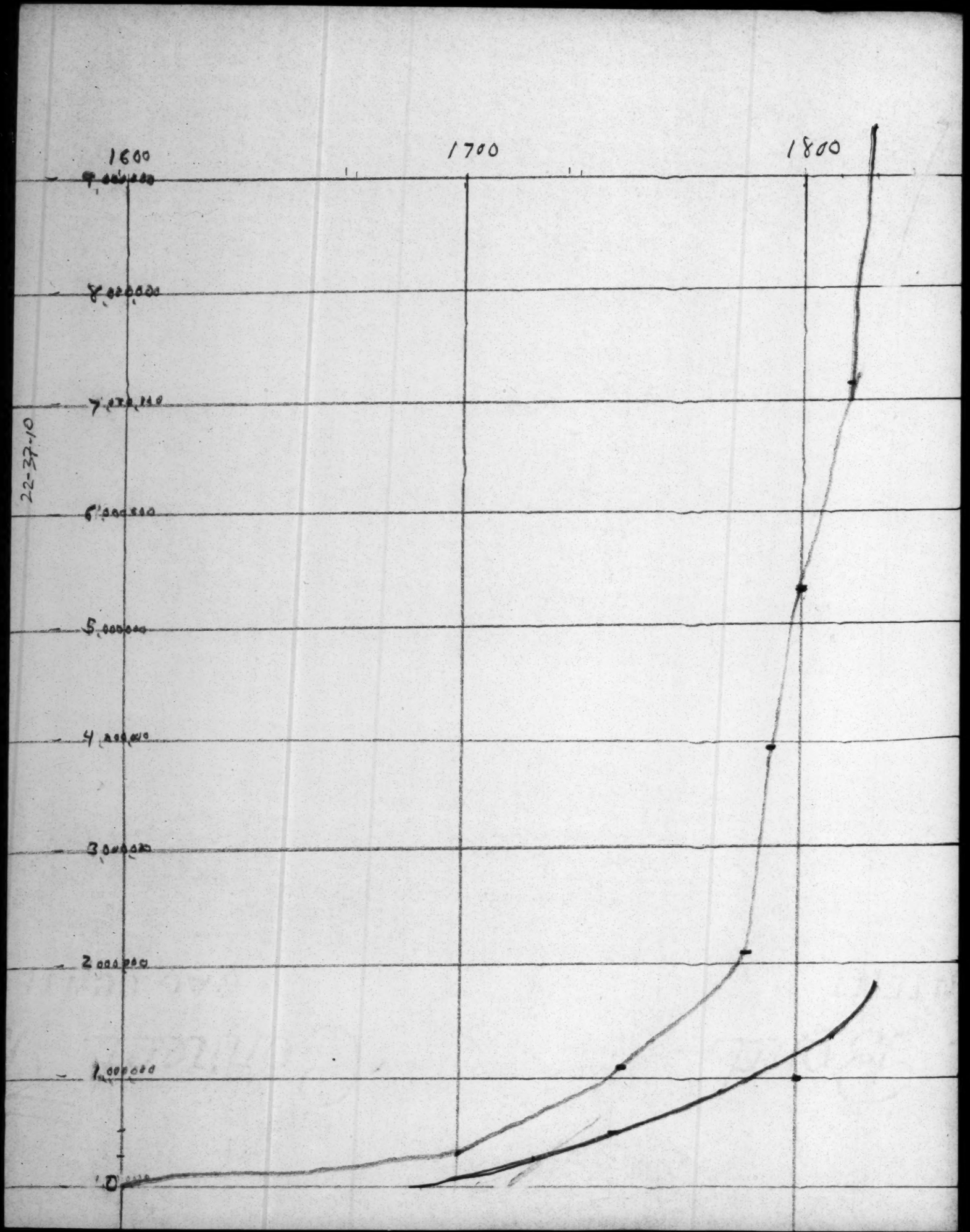
PAN-AFRICA

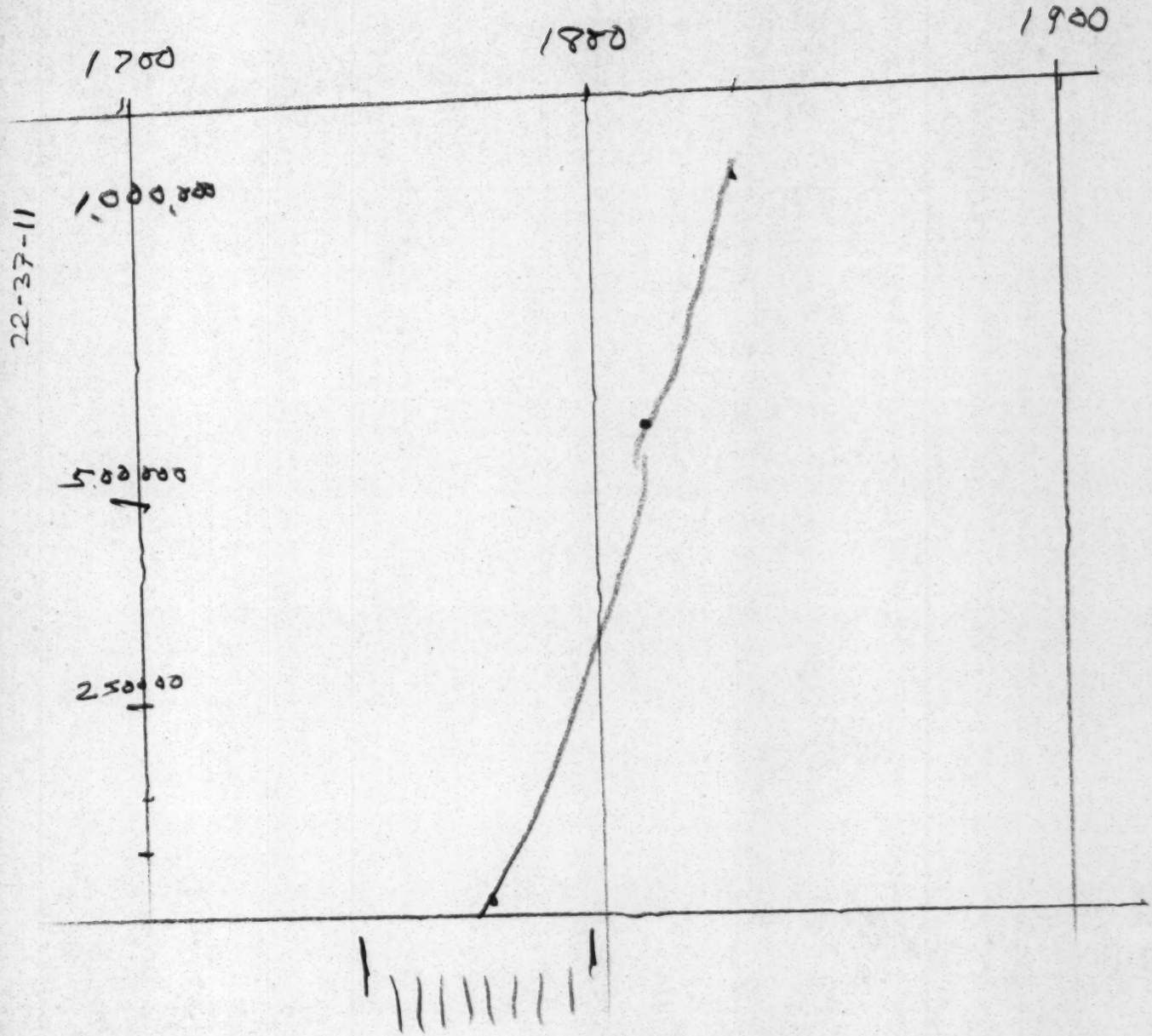
22-32-49

DEPRESSION INCAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT WHITES 17% NEGROES 38%

ON RELIEF , NEGROES 33% TO 75%


22-32-9
1600
1625
1650
1675
1700
1725
1750
1775
1800
1810
1820
2,000,000
1,500,000
1,000,000
500,000
250,000
0


1600
1700
1800
22-37-10


1700
1800
1900
1,000,000
500,000
250,000
22-37-11

The New School for Social Research
66 West 12th St.
New York City 11

Course # 106 | Final Examination | W. E. B. Du Bois

Fall Term 1948

23c - 36-3

The Negro In American History

1. Has the transplanting of Negroes from Africa to America been advantageous or disadvantageous ——

   (a) To the Negro ?

   (b) To the United States ?

2. If, in writing the history of the United States, the thoughts and actions of Negroes are omitted, does that seriously distort the picture?

3. What has been the part played by the Negro in the Labor Movement in the United States?

4. Was Reconstruction after the Civil War a disaster or a "noble experiment?".

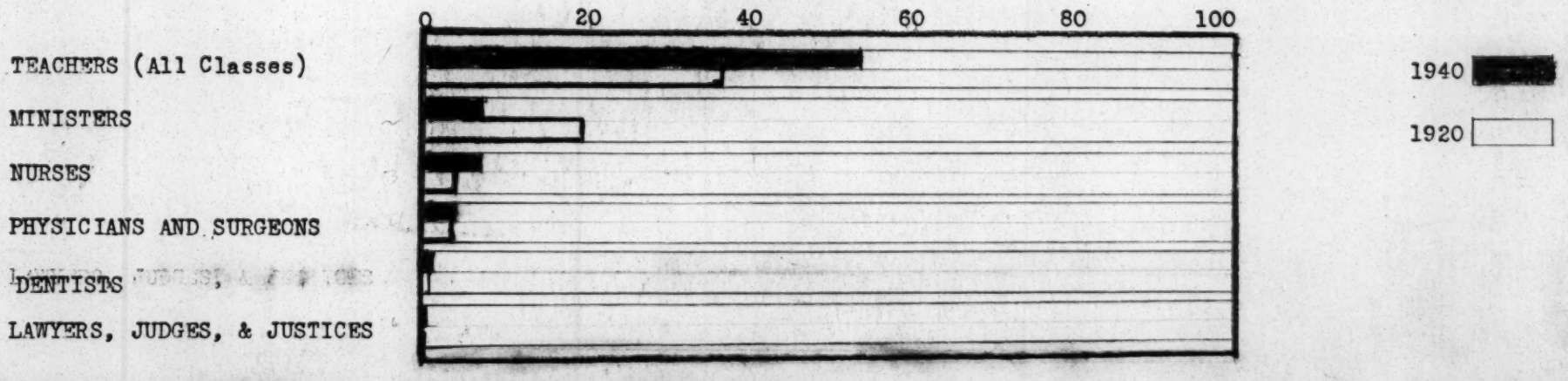
5. If you had been alive, 1850 to 1860 how would you have tried to solve the slavery question?

On the cover of each examination book used, please print your name, the course number, instructor's name and the type of credit for which you are registered. Examination questions should be returned with the examination book.

W.E.B. DuBois 1948

Negro Gainful Workers in Selected Occupations for the Periods: 1920 and 1940

Negro Professional Workers



Source: U. S. Census: 1920, 1940; and Negro Year Book, 1947.

DATE:	TOTAL:	NEGROES:
1619		20
1620	2500	
1630	5700	
1640	27,947	
1650	51,700	
1660	84,800	
1670	114,500	
1680	155,600	
1690	213,500	
1700	275,000	
1710	357,500	
1714		59,000
1720	474,388	
1727		78,000
1730	654,900	
1740	889,000	
1750	1207,000	
1754		293,000
1760	1610,000	
1770	2205,000	
1780	2781,000	
1790	3929,000	757,200
1800	5308,000	1002,037
1810	7239,000	1377,808
1820	9638,000	1771,656

22-37

1734	South Carolina	22000 Negroes	7000 Whites

NEGROES IN MARYLAND

1704	4475
1719	25000
1748	36,000
1755	46,000
1761	49,675
1787	80,000

United States, Slaves Imported 1804-1807 39,000

22-37

NEGROES IN VIRGINIA

1625	23		
1650	300		
1708	12,000	18,000	Whites
1715	23,000		
1756	120,000	173,000	Whites

INVENTIONS

1738	Fly Shuttle
1748	Carding Machine
1764	Hargraves Spinning Jenny
1769	Water frame
	Watt Steam engine
1779	Mule
1785	Power Loom
1793	Cotton Gin

COTTON CONSUMED IN ENGLAND

1781	13,000 Bales
1820	572,000 "
1830	871,000 "

22-37

THE NEW
STATESMAN AND NATION
The Week-end Review
10 GREAT TURNSTILE · LONDON W.C.1
Holborn 3216 ~~XXXX~~ 8471

21st April, 1948

Dear Sir,

You may recollect that some time ago I wrote to you about THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION. You did not take advantage of the offer then and I am sorry because, had you been reading THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION each week for the last few months, I cannot help feeling that you would have been even better informed about the important and fast-moving events in Europe than you are, perhaps, to-day.

23-28-25

It is because THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION is so authoritative and has a reputation for foresight, knowledge and fearless independence that it has attained a sale never equalled before anywhere by a political and literary weekly review. It is read by all your leading columnists and commentators who acknowledge that it provides pointers and information indispensable to their work.

You can get the paper each week just as easily as they can. We have an office in New York which will attend to your orders promptly. By air express, you will receive Saturday's paper, published and printed in London, by post on Monday morning (unless you live in the far West). Alternatively, at less expense, you can have the surface mail edition which takes a little longer but nevertheless is arriving with great regularity in U.S.A.

The paper is not however devoted exclusively to politics; at least half of it contains general articles and deals with books, the theatre, films, music and radio, also there is a weekly competition. This half of the paper has gained a reputation on its own merits through the distinguished group of writers contributing regularly to its pages. There are few papers that can boast of such a collection of world-famous literary names who were recognised first and encouraged by THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION in their early days.

Enclosed you will find a convenient order form which you need only put into the mail to New York with a remittance and you will receive your first issue of the paper without delay.

Yours very truly,

Peter Aynsley

THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

NEW STATESMAN AND NATION LONDON, ENGLAND

[Enc]

To

British Publications Inc.
150 East 35th Street
NEW YORK, 16, N.Y.

Please enter my subscription to THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION for which is enclosed remittance as follows :—

52 weeks by SURFACE MAIL	$7
26 „ „ „ „	$3.50
52 weeks by AIR EXPRESS	$15
26 „ „ „ „	$8

(delete lines not applicable)

23-28-24

Name.....

Street.....

City..... State.....

NEW STATESMAN AND NATION LONDON, ENGLAND

[Encl]

To

British Publications Inc.
150 East 35th Street
NEW YORK, 16, N.Y.

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26 „ „ „ „	$3.50
52 weeks by AIR EXPRESS	$15
26 „ „ „ „	$8

(delete lines not applicable)

23-26-23

Name.....

Street.....

City..... State.....

[New York City, Mayor's Office]

22-38-28

24: Letters Rec'd:

January 23, 1948

Mayor William O'Dwyer
Gracie Mansion
New York, New York

My dear Sir:

I understand that my friend, Ferdinand Q. Morton, has resigned as a member of the Civil Service Commission of the City of New York. I think you have lost a very valuable helper in his inability to continue further in this work.

This, however, gives me opportunity to recommend for appointment to his position, William T. Andrews. Mr. Andrews is a man whose family I have known for a long time. I went to school with his father at Fisk University many years ago, and I have known Mr. Andrews during most of his life. He has been a member of the State Legislature, as you probably know, for some fourteen years and has done a good piece of work. He is at present a member of important committees.

I think that Mr. Andrews deserves promotion, and what is much more important than that, I think he could do a good job as Civil Service Commissioner. He is intelligent and faithful. His wife is a librarian in one of the branch libraries of the New York Public Library system, and she also has an enviable record. I trust in the difficult matter of your seeking to replace Mr. Morton that you will give Mr. Andrews consideration.

I remain, Sir

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) W.E.B. DuBOIS

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[New York City, MAYOR]

Letter Received from W. E. B. DuBois

CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK 7, N.Y.

February 10th, 1948.

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

22-32

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated January 28th, 1948, addressed to the Mayor, and to advise you that it will be brought to his attention.

Very truly yours,

John J. Bennett

JOHN J. BENNETT
Deputy Mayor

[New York City, Public Library Trustees]

The Trustees of The New York Public Library

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
FIFTH AVENUE & 42ND STREET

New York, January 12, 1948

Honorable Thomas J. Patterson
Director of the Budget
Municipal Building
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

In behalf of The New York Public Library, I have the honor to transmit herewith an estimate of $3,492,545 for the year 1948/49 for the operation of 51 branch libraries and 12 sub-branches in the boroughs of The Bronx, Manhattan, and Richmond. We hope to be able to make clear in the following statements how carefully we have followed the advice of your December 15th letter as to the necessity for City departments' limiting their budgets.

We are greatly encouraged by the interest and attention which libraries have been fortunate in receiving from the City. We know that you have been watching as closely as we the narrowing gap between the Library's annual budget and the standard of $1.00 per capita toward which we have aimed for so long. It is our misfortune that, as we approach that figure, rising costs have moved its former equivalent in library values farther away from us. However, we still consider it progress to meet even that minimum standard and we hope to reach it in the appropriation for 1948/49.

To a budget for serving 3,581,000 people, an increase of $289,000 is requested for raising salaries; an increase of $270,000 for books; an increase of $47,000 for equipment and renovation of branches; and $15,000 for a bookmobile for the Borough of The Bronx. These major items total increases of $620,000. The remainder of the requested budget increase, $189,000, is to provide new positions and to cover increased costs of supplies and materials.

The total increase of $809,965 is the minimum defensible request which the Trustees can present for an institution of 915 employees serving three-and-a-half million people through 63 outlets.

Salaries To bring salaries to standard is a major consideration, since good service depends not only upon recruiting but also upon retaining a staff of superior ability and training.

The last two years' improvement in salaries begins to show results. For the first time in eight years, resignations have decreased: in 1946 - 383, in 1947 - 299. This is still too high a percentage of turnover - 34 per cent. We have been fortunate in acquiring some excellent recruits, but unless we can offer them a career with suitable remuneration, we shall lose them after we have given them the good training for which we are known. Our training represents an investment on which there is no dividend for New York if, after training, we lose our staff to better-paying positions elsewhere.

We need higher salaries for the branch librarians who are charged with the administration of library service in communities of up to 140,000, a task equivalent to the entire library service of Wilmington, Delaware or of Sacramento, California or of Fort Wayne, Indiana. In New York, branch librarians assume full responsibilities and administrative problems at only $1,200 a year more than the inexperienced beginners whom they train for their staff.

We are indeed appreciative of the understanding of this point which the City has already shown in the increase of $180 to the annual salaries of branch librarians which was approved last July. We now request increases of $300 for Grades I and II librarians, $540 for Grade III, and $580 for Grade IV librarians and supervisors.

	Grade	Present Salary	Increase Requested	Proposed Salary
Branch librarian	4	$3,420	$580	$4,000
Assistant branch librarian	3	2,880	540	3,420
Librarian - advanced duties	2	2,460	300	2,760
Library assistant - general duties	1	2,220	300	2,520

For clerical and other employees also, the need for some adjustment to the present inflated costs is obvious. We request an addition of $300 to salaries which begin at $1,680 per annum, and an increase at the annual rate of $200 to the salaries of library pages. We request that these increases be added to the basic salary. It is desirable that, as soon as possible, all cost-of-living adjustments be treated as a part of the basic salary.

New Positions The success of work with children and young people has earned a widespread reputation for the Library; yet we are able to do less of that work than we did ten years ago. Scores of requests from hospitals, from schools, from institutions for the handicapped have had to be refused. When a branch has only two or three children's librarians - in some cases only one - to take care of the hundreds of youngsters who crowd the library, it is apparent that not one can be spared to answer a hospital's call for a regular visit from the library's storyteller.

23C-37-10

The few librarians remaining in the Department of Work with Young People are doing a gallant job. With only 30 on the staff, 6,000 library talks and school visits have been made, yet requests for as many more have had to be turned down. The Young People's Lounge at the Aguilar Branch on East 110th Street is being carried on this year by a private donation. We need several such informal centers in the Bronx, but we lack assistants to staff them.

Two busy branches which are open only 12 to 9 p.m. daily should be extended to a 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. schedule. Only 17 positions of the 25 requested were granted us when these libraries were built (1938/39). The staff has not been increased since then.

The growing work of the Library for the Blind, increased by the number of blinded veterans, must have much more page service.

These facts point out that the Library needs additions to its staff. It is no lack of conviction that influences us to present so moderate a request as 35 new full-time positions - 10 Grade III librarians, 10 Grade C-3 clerks, and 30 half-time pages. It is an effort to reach full strength in graded steps that prompts us to make the present limited request.

230-37-11

Books The budget for books has shown a most heartening increase to 10 cents per capita. Public response to this expansion of the book collection has proved how vitally it was needed, for circulation has increased by more than a million books in the past two years, and that with ten branches each closed one month for painting during 1947.

However, there is one factor which hampers seriously our efforts to make more books available. The cost of books has increased so that a 14 per cent addition to the budget produced only a 5 per cent increase in the collection.

In 1943, when we prepared figures for the City's survey of libraries, we found average costs which compare strikingly with those of 1947.

Average Cost	1943	1947
Adult non-fiction	$2.52	$3.50
Adult fiction	1.26	1.76
Juvenile books	1.30	1.80

In a recent effort to provide each branch with an up-to-date encyclopedia for adults and one for children we found that the costs of the former had risen from $142 to $192 and of the latter, from $79 to $109. For this one project - providing current encyclopedias - the cost is $15,000.

We have formerly quoted the national library standard of 20 cents per capita for books. In the light of present costs that standard must be changed. We should consider it progress, however, if, in 1948, our book appropriation could rise as high as this now outmoded standard which was established at least ten years ago. To achieve a book budget of 20 cents per capita, an increase of $270,000 is needed.

Book Binding In the rebinding of books, we are glad to be able to sound a very welcome note. The proposed budget is less than the proposed budget of last year. During the past year we have introduced a system of covering book jackets with cellophane and binding them securely to the books. This innovation, in addition to adding to the attractiveness of each volume, prolongs its life.

For years we have been far behind in our binding schedule. Insufficient budget appropriations have caused regrettable waste. Ordinarily a new book will last for 15 circulations; if rebound then, it will last for 90 more circulations. If we lack money for rebinding, the book disintegrates completely and has to be discarded and a new book purchased to replace it.

Under the new system, the rebinding of a volume can be postponed considerably beyond its 15th circulation. In view of this, our binding funds have spread farther than they formerly did, even though binding costs have jumped from 92 cents per volume to $1.05. We have been able to make progress in reclaiming some of the backlog of valuable books like atlases, dictionaries, and encyclopedias. Formerly, we had anticipated that we needed $112,000 in the Code which provides for book binding. With the economies made possible this year, we now request an increase of only $20,000, or a total in this Code of $85,000.

230-37-12

Buildings and Equipment It is a pleasure to be able to express appreciation, in behalf of the Library and of the public, for the funds to paint ten branches during 1947. Though many more branches are in deplorable condition, we limit our current request for funds to repair and re-paint ten more branches during the coming year. The increased cost of materials and the need for replacement of tools as work progresses require a larger sum for this purpose.

The urgency for modern and dependable fire extinguishers to replace the 35-year-old models now installed is apparent, as is the need for repair or rebuilding of fire escapes and outside stairways. Electric fans should be supplied to all branches and in New York this is no luxury request. We underscore our plea for $8,000 to install new boilers in four branches where a complete breakdown and the subsequent closing of branches threaten every winter.

Almost any library user has had the experience of attempting to draw up a chair to a table, only to have the chair arm come loose in his hand. It is more serious when chair legs come loose. Constant repairs to disintegrating furniture which must soon be discarded anyhow are expensive and wasteful. To propose new and comfortable library furniture wherever needed throughout the system is beyond reason or at least beyond expectation in any one year. The equipment is old and its replacement was necessarily postponed during the war years. In line with Mayor O'Dwyer's recent statement of the City's program, we plan a 5-year period of progressive replacements, supplying in turn each of the ten branches which we hope to renovate each year. Our request is for $14,000 to purchase some 500 new pieces of furniture.

Another expensive waste is the continued use of virtually unusable typewriters. There is loss of time waiting between frequent repairs, and inefficiency when library records and correspondence must be handwritten. Proof of the difficulties here would have been easily demonstrable if this letter had been prepared on one of those machines where stuck keys, illegible type, and skipped spaces would have provided evidence. We cannot emphasize too much the request for $3,500 for new typewriters.

Traveling Library — Again as in the section on Buildings we can preface a request with an appreciation of the past year's progress. The traveling library for the Borough of Richmond was reinstated July 1, 1947, after its suspension for four years. The response it received indicated how keenly it had been missed. In a report on all the libraries in the cities and towns of New York State, it is found that this one traveling unit had a book circulation larger than 507 of the 608 registered libraries.

33C-37-13

In 1944, when the traveling library service for the Borough of The Bronx was discontinued, the book circulation had been more than twice as high as that in Richmond. The large Bronx population unserved by any library has led the City to approve several new branches in that borough. Until those branches become an actuality, it is obligatory that Bronx citizens receive some semblance of library service in the bookmobile. The appropriation of $15,000 for its purchase is strongly urged.

If I may summarize, then, in compliance with your request for careful consideration of a plan for essential expenditures, we propose a budget at an irreducible minimum. Our request for new personnel is smaller than last year, since we treat this as one step in a graduated expansion of staff. New methods achieving binding economies enable us to reduce our request in this Code from the request of last year. We are eager to install charging machines which many large libraries use and which would in time prove a real economy, but we postpone a request for this initial expense in the hope that our entire quota of typewriters may be supplied. We need renovation of many branches, but we request this for only ten. These increases total 25 cents per capita, the figure which would bring the Library's budget to the minimum standard of $1.00 per capita.

We have made every effort to eliminate every reasonable deterrent to the City's granting our full budget request and therefore look forward, with justifiable anticipation, to the proposed budget's receiving your approval.

Respectfully submitted,

Morris Hadley
President, Board of Trustees

TENTATIVE BUDGET

Code Number	Title	1947/48 ALLOWED	1948/49 REQUEST	INCREASE
3701-001	Salaries Regular Employees	$2,014,235	$2,390,405	$376,170
3702-001	Mechanics	28,920	51,610	22,690
	Total Personal Service	$2,043,155	$2,442,015	$398,860
37-100				
101	Office Supplies	8,500	9,500	1,000
102	Printed Stationery & Forms	17,500	20,300	2,800
103	Departmental Reports & Bulletins	600	1,500	900
104	Printing and Reproducing Supplies	200	200	--
105	Automotive Supplies	1,400	1,400	--
106	Laundry & Cleaning Supplies	3,000	3,700	700
108	Household & Refrigerating Supplies	2,500	4,900	2,400
109	Fuel Supplies	38,000	36,000	2,000*
113	Small Tools & Implements	300	1,200	900
149	Other Operating & Maintenance Supplies	2,000	3,200	1,200
37-200				
201	Construction Materials	7,500	13,700	6,200
202	Motor Vehicle Materials & Repair Parts	200	200	--
37-300				
301	Office Equipment	2,500	20,000	17,500
305	Motor Vehicle Equipment	--	16,700	16,700
308	Household Equipment	200	700	500
309	Light, Heat, Power & Water Equipment	3,500	11,325	7,825
314	Construction Equipment	--	350	350
338	Library Books	240,000	510,000	270,000
349	Other Operating & Maintenance Equipment	2,000	2,100	100
37-400				
401	Postage	4,750	4,750	--
402	Telephone & Other Communication	7,500	8,400	900
403	Office Services	65,000	85,000	20,000
404	Carfare	2,000	2,000	--
407	Repairs to Motor Vehicles	1,000	1,500	500
408	Repairs to Buildings & Structures	17,000	28,580	11,580
409	Repairs to Office & Other Operating Equip.	1,000	1,900	900
416	Storage of Motor Vehicles	150	180	30
421	Cleaning Services	4,800	4,800	--
37-600				
602	Pension Fund	195,000	242,500	47,500
37-700				
703	Rent	10,225	12,745	2,520
704	Surety Bond Premiums & Insurance	1,100	1,200	100
	Total Other Than Personal Service	$639,425	$1,050,530	$411,105
	SUMMARY			
	Total Personal Service	$2,043,155	$2,442,015	$398,860
	Total Other Than Personal Service	639,425	1,050,530	411,105
	TOTAL	$2,682,580	$3,492,545	$809,965

* Decrease

23c-37-14

W E B Du Bois

Reddick [NEW YORK PUBLIC LIB]

230-37-15

WHAT DOES THE SCHOMBURG COLLECTION NEED?

The Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, probably the nation's most famous library of its kind, is in danger. This repository of the culture of Negro peoples from all parts of the world, and from the 16th century to the present time, is suffering from neglect and indifference. Figuratively, it is being starved and strangled by the City Fathers and library authorities who seem to find funds for much else but very little for this center of Negro culture. This library has in it most of the works of the major Negro writers past and present. It has in it rare and invaluable works such as the 17th century historical work of Es Sadi, "Tarik Es Sudan" and the celebrated poems of Juan Latino. There are books in the Schomburg Collection that are not in any other library in America. It has one of the best collections of Haitian literature in this country. Scholars, journalists, graduate students, play producers, scenario writers and others find it an invaluable source for their research. And yet the City Fathers, who find tens of millions for the Sanitation Department, seem unable to find a few thousand dollars for the operation of this important cultural institution.

Very often when the needs of the Schomburg Collection are referred to, a counter statement is made that other departments of the library system have great needs also and that the way to solve the problem is to appropriate more money for the library as a whole. This is true but only part of the truth. Every department should have its real wants satisfied and the library as a whole does deserve a larger budget than it has had. But the other part of the truth is that the Schomburg Collection is not getting a fair share of the funds the library has already and unless definite stipulations are made, there is no guarantee that it will get more in the future. New York not only needs a bigger pie for its library system, but also a fairer slice of that pie for the Schomburg Collection.

In the recent internal negotiations of the Schomburg Collection with top-level library authorities for more adequate support, needs were outlined on the basis of a moderate rate of growth. Thus, by fulfilling the immediate demands and adding a little year after year to basic facilities, it was hoped that in time the collection would be brought up to par. It is possible to get a picture of these very modest needs as specified by consulting the various requisitions and memoranda that have been submitted by the Curator of the Schomburg Collection. Of particular interest is the memorandum prepared for the conference of October 6, 1947 that took place with the Director, the Chief of the Reference Division, the Chief of the Circulation Division and the Schomburg Curator.

23C - 37-16

This present statement attempts to give a more complete picture of the overall needs of the collection.

It should not be forgotten that when the new library building at 104 West 136th Street was constructed in 1941 it was not completely equipped. Only the minimum needs were met because of the war emergency. For example, the elevator shaft was cut, but no elevator put in. Only two of the five display cases were secured. The reinforced concrete, fire-proof filing cabinets for manuscripts were not purchased. The book shelves were not built to the maximum height. No drinking water system or rest rooms were installed for the public. The understanding was that as soon as the war was over, the "flesh and blood" of the skeleton would be filled in. Thus far no such thing has happened. Accordingly, the needs of the Schomburg Collection are in part "unfinished business" and in part the requirements for growth as a center of Negro culture.

This second point is of great importance. Within recent years there has been a remarkable expansion of interest in race relations and Negro studies. What used to be a trickle of publications is now a sizeable stream. Books by and about Negroes are frequently on the best-seller lists. Writers and readers in all parts of the world are giving more and more attention to the various phases of this broad

subject. Moreover, we seem to be at the threshold of a remarkable social, intellectual and artistic development of Negroid peoples the world over. New York City -- with UN, Broadway, Wall Street, radio networks, newspapers and news gathering and distributing agencies, publishing houses, great libraries, schools and museums and many diverse peoples -- is indeed the capital of the world. By this same token it should be also the world capital of Negro culture. The Schomburg Collection, therefore, should be a cultural center. Located in the heart of Harlem, the largest Negro urban community on earth, it ought to be able to function effectively in acquiring, preserving and popularizing the intellectual and artistic history of black folk in all times and places.

230 - 37-17

BUILDING

No request is made at this time for a separate building for the Schomburg Collection, though some provision should be made for expansion within the present location. The present structure, less than eight years old, is kept up poorly. Paint is peeling from the inside walls; baseboards are warping and falling apart; in one or two places the walls show cracks; the linoleum floors are suffering from infrequent waxing; the heating system breaks down often and the lighting system for our staff and readers is so bad that Mrs. Catherine Latimer, Reference Librarian, had to retire from service because of failing eye-sight; Miss Kathleen Hill, cataloger, has had to consult an eye specialist; Mrs. Lucia S. Engle, the latest addition to the Schomburg staff, is having to secure more powerful reading glasses.

Any number of readers who use the collection have had to discontinue their work there on evenings and cloudy days. Many complaints have been received on this score.

The elevator, drinking fountain and rest rooms should be installed immediately.

EQUIPMENT

The following additions are imperative: ten ordinary filing cabinets for

mounted newspaper clippings, ready reference pamphlets and photostats; ten reinforced concrete filing cabinets for valuable manuscript holdings; a 20 x 8 cabinet for photographs, prints, etc.; 3 desks, 3 noiseless typewriters with stands; 2 magazine racks; the extension to the ceiling of all book shelves in the stacks; the provision of newspaper shelves on both walls of newspaper room; an improved lighting system which may require desk lamps for readers and staff.

23C -37-18

ACQUISITIONS

The present sum, $1,000 per year, is about a fifth of what is needed regularly to purchase books, periodicals, manuscripts, prints, etc.; for binding books and pamphlets with paper covers and for rebinding items that have become worn from use or age.

LECTURES AND EXHIBITIONS

In 1944-45 the Schomburg Collection offered a series of public lectures entitled, "A World View of the Negro Question" at a cost of $2500; in 1946 "Human Relations in New York City" at a similar cost. The funds for the two series were provided by outside, non-library sources. These meetings were overwhelmingly successful. The attendance was great and the discussions were exceedingly helpful and stimulating. Naturally provision was made for a modest fee for the lecturers who came from all parts of the country and for their travelling and hotel expenses incident to their appearance at the library. The library should continue these and similar programs.

As part of the effort to make known to the public the many valuable treasures in the Schomburg Collection, frequent and well-planned exhibitions should be held.

STAFF AND SALARIES

The present staff consists of a total of six persons -- a high school student who serves as page, a general clerk, a secretary, two librarians and the Curator.

The total salaries during the fiscal year, 1947-48 were $12,600. The task of processing the great amount of material that the Schomburg Collection is receiving (and should receive) and at the same time serving readers, consulting with creative writers and scholars, conducting tours of interested groups and maintaining working relations with schools and colleges is far beyond the energies of six people. Actually, the staff should be doubled; personnel to be added immediately: 2 clerks, 2 librarians.

Since the Schomburg Collection is a special library, it requires particularly well-trained personnel not only in the general field of library science but in the field of Negro studies as well. Accordingly, the collection cannot expect to attract and retain such a staff without much better compensation than is now provided. All salaries should be upped one third. This would mean an annual increase to the present budget for salaries of $18,000 for a staff of 10 persons. This would make the total annual figure for salaries $30,000.

330-37-19

PROMOTION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

As widely used as the Schomburg Collection is by scholars and the general public, it would be even more widely used if more individuals and groups knew about it and knew specifically what the Schomburg Collection contains that would be of use to them in their work and development. Accordingly, there should be brochures, talks before interested groups and a general campaign to educate the public to the holdings and services of this cultural center.

COST

Estimates for the above described services approximate the following:

For building improvements and new equipment (capital outlay) . . . . . $100,000.

Increase to present annual budget . . . . . $ 30,000.

Acquisition (books, periodicals, manuscripts, etc.) . . . . $ 4,000.

Lectures and Exhibitions . . . . . $ 4,000.

Promotion and Public Relations . . . . . $ 3,000.

Supplies and Incidentals . . . . . $ 1,000.

Staff . . . . . $18,000.

In terms of the total budget for New York City or even the total budget of the New York Public Library this request for $100,000 in capital outlay and an increase of $30,000 annually is a mere pittance. For a city that so readily appropriates over $6,000,000 for snow removal during one winter, $130,000 for "Negro culture" is almost nothing.

Even when compared with the budget of the New York Public Library this request is modest. For the fiscal year 1947-48 the NYPL received $2,670,700. This figure does not include the income for the main library at 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue ($1,749,431.) that is supplied by philanthropy or the fees that are received from fines to readers for overdue books ($186,733). The Schomburg Collection received for the fiscal year 1947-48 approximately $15,000 which is slightly less than one half of one per cent of the city's contribution or one third of one per cent of the library's total income of $4,606,864.

The Schomburg Collection feels that it is entitled to a 2% share of whatever amount is granted to the library through the city budget, or 1% of library income from all sources. This is slightly more than is now allocated to most of the 51 branches of the library. Some of these branch buildings are large, some are small, some serve neighborhoods that vary in size, number of regular readers, etc. The Schomburg Collection does not merely serve the Harlem community, but also the more than half a million persons of the Negro community for greater New York. What is more, its services are not restricted to the Negro community, for approximately 2/5 of its readers are non-Negro. Many persons come from long distances out of town to do research on special topics for which materials may not be had elsewhere. The formula of 2% on the annual budget, therefore, seems to be equitable on any grounds of fairness as well as need. The request for $45,000 for annual upkeep is well within this percentage.

The tax payers of New York should see to it that the Mayor, the Board of Estimate and the Director of the New York Public Library do right by the city's major institution for Negro culture.

* * * * *

230-37-20

[N.Y.C. Public Library]

January 23, 1948

Dr. L. D. Reddick
136th Street Branch Library
New York, New York

Dear Larry: Enclosed is a letter which Dr. DuBois is planning on sending to the Editor of the New York TIMES. He would like for you to look it over, make any suggestions, additions, or corrections, and return it to him at your earliest convenience.

Thanks for your attention to this. Hope to see you next week. Best wishes.

Cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:HHS

Enclosure

23C-37-21

This letter to:
THE NEW YORK TIMES
MAYOR WILLIAM O'DWYER
Copies sent to Reddick and Latimer
New York Herald Tribune

35-2-159

January 28, 1948

Mr. Ralph Beals, Director
New York Public Library
42nd Street and Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Beals:

Many residents of New York and tax payers of Negro descent are alarmed and disappointed at the news recently printed in your columns, that Dr. L. D. Reddick, Curator of the Schomburg Collection, has resigned and is going South because of lack of funds and facilities for support of his work.

Most people, unfortunately, know little about this collection. Arthur Schomburg was a bank messenger who had wide knowledge of Negro literature in English, Spanish, and other languages. He began collecting books, pamphlets, and other articles on his own account until his collection became one of the most outstanding in the United States.

The 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library was beginning to be a center for Negroes and others interested in reading and research, and for some time there was friction because it was not the policy of library authorities to encourage Negro librarians or assistants. After considerable pressure, however, this ban was lifted, and today there is a Negro librarian in charge of this and other branches, and assistants in various parts of the city library system.

Meantime, in 1925, Miss Ennetine Rose, Librarian of the 135th Street Branch, conceived the idea of establishing a research collection on the Negro, known as the Division of Negro Literature and History. Mrs. Catherine A. Latimer was made reference librarian in charge of this work. She gathered quite a number of books and gradually impressed upon her superiors that Negro American culture in the United States had a growing, interesting literature which people ought to know and many wanted to study. Finally, after the Schomburg Collection was bought by the City, and after a time Mr. Schomburg, having retired from his work at the bank, was appointed Curator in 1932. He was valuable in collecting books, but he was not a trained librarian, and naturally the direction of the Schomburg Collection fell to Mrs. Latimer.

After Mr. Schomburg's death, L. D. Reddick, a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, was put in charge of this collection as Curator in 1939. It began to grow, and especially it became a center where students looked for rare books, and pamphlets, and other materials pertaining to Negroes. The vast manuscript collection of the Myrdal study was entrusted to this collection and there was a considerable collection of objects of art. But the library authorities did not seem to realize the unique place which this collection occupied. When the library was enlarged and rebuilt, the Schomburg Collection was put on the fourth floor, with no elevator, and it was given but meager facilities. It is now difficult for students to use it, and the number of helpers is far too few. Dr. Reddick had many plans which called for additional funds but, as the library authorities said, it was cramped for funds in all directions, and it still seemed to be under the impression that the Schomburg Collection was nothing more than a branch library for casual readers which did not call for any special attention.

Because of this, the Schomburg Collection has lost much material which it could have had. The Arthur Spingarn Collection of Negro literature, one of the finest in the world, went to Howard University, because Mr. Spingarn was convinced that there it would get the attention which it needed. Many of my own manuscripts and documents have been given to the James Weldon Johnson Collection at Yale University because they were giving especial attention to that sort of thing. There is no certainty that the Schomburg Collection is going to be anything more than the orphan child of the New York Public Library.

Now comes the serious news that the best trained man for this work in the United States is going to leave to go to head up the library of a Southern university, because he simply despairs of getting the attention and the funds which he must have, if the Schomburg Collection is to fulfill its promise. It would be a calamity to have this happen. And it seems to me that someone in the city of New York ought to take it upon his conscience to induce the New York Public Library, and the philanthropically-minded citizens, to come to the rescue of this unique and important adventure in the study of American Negro culture.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBDuB:HHS

[New York City Public Library, Citizens Committee]

Reddick

March 22, 1948

Dr. C. A. Petioni
Library Citizens Committee
114 West 134th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Petioni:

I want to thank you for your invitation to Dr. DuBois to attend a farewell tea given in honor of Dr. L. D. Reddick. Unfortunately, the Doctor is out of the city and is not due back until mid-April, and consequently will be unable to attend the affair.

Because I know of Dr. DuBois' sincere interest in the Schomburg Collection, please extend to Dr. Reddick his sincere good wishes for his success in his new work in Atlanta. May I be permitted to join Dr. DuBois in extending best wishes to Dr. Reddick.

Your invitation shall be brought to Dr. DuBois' attention upon his return to New York.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

33C-37-8

[New York City, Public Library]

Reddick

The New York Public Library

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
FIFTH AVENUE & 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

New York, February 14, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

23-37-18

Thank you for your letter of January 28th apropos of the Schomburg Collection.

In 1933, when I joined the staff of the American Association for Adult Education as assistant to the director, the Association was then at about mid-point in its grants to The New York Public Library, totaling some $32,750 in all, for the development of adult education at the 135th Street Branch. One practical and enduring outcome was the Schomburg Collection. At that time I participated in a number of discussions of adult education in Harlem. I have always felt that the grants made for that purpose, and especially the grant for the purchase of the Schomburg Collection, were among the most valuable and lasting in results of the work done by the Association during my connection with it. I mention these points merely to stress the fact that I have long been acquainted with the work of the 135th Street Branch and of the importance of the Schomburg Collection.

Thursday being a holiday, I spent much of it reviewing the full file of correspondence and memoranda on the Schomburg Collection. Although the record sets forth a substantial accomplishment, I agree with you entirely in your view that much remains to be done. That is unhappily true of the Library as a whole.

The effects of inflation upon our whole program have been appalling. Our salary scales, low to begin with, are still wholly inadequate in spite of the several general increases already granted by the City. Turnover consequently is high; and we shall continue to loose good people in all grades and all branches and divisions until we can meet the competition of other institutions. Our book funds, never adequate, buy progressively fewer and fewer books as the prices of books and other materials mount - and they are rising by leaps and bounds. The same is true of supplies and equipment. All this adds

up to an increase of $809,965 in the appropriation from the City merely to sustain the present program. In like manner, an immediate increase of at least $600,000 a year in income from private sources is necessary to carry on the work for which the City has never provided funds. In short, approximately $1,500,000 of additional income is needed immediately to keep the Library from sinking further into the quicksand of inflation.

In view of the situation generally, I hope that we may have your assistance and support for the program of the Library as a whole as well as for the Schomburg Collection.

Yours sincerely,

Ralph A Beals

Director

23-37-19

RAB:B
enc.

C.A.Petioni,M.D.
Library Citizens Committee
114 W 131 St., NYC

NEW YORK, N.Y.
MAR 17
12-PM
1948

BRONX C... STA...

UNITED STATES POSTAGE
3 CENTS 3

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Goldwick

232 - 37-6

23c-37-7 [3117/C18]
[N.Y.C. Public Library, Citizen's Committee]

THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF THE 135th STREET
BRANCH OF THE N. Y. PUBLIC LIBRARY
cordially invites you to

A FAREWELL TEA

TUESDAY, MARCH 23rd, 1948 — 4:30 P. M.

IN THE SHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 West 136th Street

In Honor Of

Dr. L. D. REDDICK

who will shortly be leaving for Atlanta University

23c-37

Reddick

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

European Edition
Published Daily and Sunday in Paris

230 West 41st Street
New York 18

Feb. 10, 1948

23C-37-5

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter, which has just been received at this office. It has been placed before the Editor for his attention.

Yours very truly,

E. D. Long

Secretary to the Editor

[New York Herald Tribune]

File Smythe

xxxxxxxxxxxx

August 23, 1948

To the Editor
The New York Herald Tribune
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

23-20-54

After reading the series IN THE LAND OF JIM CROW, by Sprigle, I thought you might appreciate a few words on the series from one who has dealt first-hand with the subject covered. I am a research man, and have spent twelve years researching on the Negro problem in every Southern state. The ground that Mr. Sprigle covered is well known to me, and I had to laud the restraint with which he painted pictures of conditions in the South, and in the Delta country particularly. Actually, in such localities the Constitution and Declaration of Independence are unknown. Things are far worse for Negroes in the Southern region generally, and in that section of Mississippi especially than he depicted -- to really appreciate just how closely conditions there approach slavery, and to know how bad it really is, you have to go there and live among the colored people.

If this series had been written by a Negro many white people would probably discount the findings, reasoning that the results were colored by the emotional reaction of the Negro since he is the victim of the injustices noted. But since Mr. Sprigle is white, they can accept what he saw and set down and know that he is relating the facts as he saw them. Many white people will thus have their eyes opened by one of their own group and can accept the truth as he saw it. The author of the series has done a real service to this country and is to be commended.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
Assistant to the Director

HHS:s

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

European Edition
Published Daily and Sunday in Paris

230 West 41st Street, New York 18
PEnnsylvania 6-4000

Aug. 24, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter, which has just been received at this office. It has been placed before the Editor for his attention.

Yours very truly,

E. S. Tomc

Secretary to the Editor

23-20-53

Re: "In the Land of Jim Crow"

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
230 WEST 41ST STREET, NEW YORK

Smythe

August 26, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
20 West 40th Street
New York 18
New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

We were glad to learn your opinion about the articles "The Land of Jim Crow" by Ray Sprigle which have been appearing in the Herald Tribune.

You may like to know that a series of six articles setting forth another opinion is to start on Monday, August 30th, written by Mr. Hodding Carter, a distinguished Pulitzer Prize winner and editor of the "Delta Democrat-Times" of Greenville, Mississippi. Mr. Carter is both a Guggenheim and Neiman Fellow who studied at Harvard. In the interest of objective journalism we think it fitting to publish Mr. Carter's reply to Mr. Sprigle.

Sincerely yours,

Wilbur Forrest

Wilbur Forrest,
Assistant Editor

23-20-52

22-28-11

September 13, 1948

The New York Herald Tribune
241 West 41st Street
New York, New York

To the Editor:

May I as a Negro-American appeal through you to my fellow-citizens of Italian descent?

Recently, you have been approached by two seasoned politicians with the offer that they would favor the return of African colonies to Italy and especially that Eritrea be not returned to Ethiopia. They evidently think that you favor this. But do you, or should you?

Eritrea is a land about the size of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, composed of half malaria and half desert. Agriculture cannot flourish without irrigation and there are no rivers. Without an immense outlay of capital it cannot be self-supporting, and today has about thirty-six persons to the square mile. It is of no practical value to Italy except for two things: the handling of Ethiopian products through the port of Massawa, and the conquest of Ethiopia. Three times Italy has tried to conquer Ethiopia from Eritrea: in 1885, in 1896, and in 1939. She failed in the first two cases, but succeeded at last with Mussolini.

But does the restoration and progress of Italy depend on restoring colonialism in a world where imperialism is dying? Does Italy want to thrive on monopoly of Ethiopian ways of reaching world markets, or does Italy hope a fourth time to attempt to conquer this land?

Would it be too much to hope that the Americans of Italian descent will say to America: We do not want a new Italy to thrive on the serfdom of Africans. We do not want to conquer Ethiopia. We do not want Eritrea, which historically by religion, by race, and by language belongs to Ethiopia.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Reservations
mailed to
Penn Station

[New York, New Haven and Hartford RR]

February 5, 1948

Reservations
New York, New Haven
& Hartford Railroad
Grand Central Station
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Will you please make the following reservations for me. As soon as I have received your confirmation of this request, with total cost of the trip, I shall send you a check for the amount specified:

Saturday, February [redacted]

From: New York Lv: 11:00 A.M., Penn Station Accom: Parlor Car Seat
To : Boston Ar: 4:00 P.M. Train: Pilgrim, No. 188

Wednesday, February 18

Trip to be made over the Maine Central Railroad

From: Boston, Mass. Lv: 4:30 P.M. Accom: Parlor Car Seat
To : Waterville, Me. Train: Pine Tree, No. 19

[redacted] February 20

Trip to be made over the Boston & Maine Railroad

From: Waterville, Me. Lv: 6:04 A.M. Accom: Lower Berth
To : New York, N.Y. Train: State of Maine Express

For your convenience, I am enclosing a self-addressed stamped envelope. With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:s

22-33

May 13, 1948

Mr. T. O. Thackrey, Editor
The New York Post
75 West Street
New York, New York

Sir:

May I make a suggestion? The role which Africa is going to play in the modern world is increasing in importance. The newspapers of the United States omit most that is going on there. Only a few matters from Africa are considered news.

I wonder, however, if it would not be wise for a forward-looking newspaper, about once a week, to make a sunnary of significant happenings in Africa: of the unrest in British West Africa; of the steps being taken to make East Africa an outpost of the reorganized British Empire; of the election which is pending in South Africa; of the industrial organization in South West Africa; and of a number of movements in Ethiopia and Liberia?

It seems to me that a short weekly article, perhaps no more than a half or quarter of a column would prepare the world and your readers for the role that Africa is destined to play in the near future, and would also be interesting reading.

If you think this idea is of any worth, I should be glad to talk to you about it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-39-103

New York Post
FOUNDED 1801
AND THE HOME NEWS
MAIN OFFICE: 75 WEST ST., NEW YORK 6 • WHITEHALL 4-9000

DOROTHY S. AND T. O. THACKREY
EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS

May 14, 1948

23-39-104

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association For The Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I have taken the liberty of sending your letter of May 13 and its suggestion concerning coverage of Africa along to Mr. Henry Wishengrad, the Editor-In-Chief of the Overseas News Agency, upon which we rely primarily for coverage in that area.

The Agency maintains at least one full time correspondent in North and West Africa, and I believe is planning to enlarge its coverage.

Sincerely,

TOT:rc
cc/ Mr. Henry Wishengrad

November 4, 1948

23-39-105

The Editor
THE NEW YORK POST
New York, New York

The lesson of the election is clear. Since the First World War, the civilized world has been going Left; that is veering from the 19th century ideal of individual freedom to twentieth Century social control in order to eliminate Poverty, Disease and Ignorance. Alone among the great nations the United States has tried to stand for private enterprise uncontroled by public welfare. This policy was overthrown by the Great Depression of 1929 to 1933, and the ten year reign of Roosevelt began a "New Deal" for the socialization of America, with curbing of private wealth, social security and long distance economic planning. His program was interrupted and diverted by war, which without questioning the socialization of wealth and social planning turned on the character of the control, whether through dictatorship or by democratic methods. With the indispensable help of Russia, the allies overthrew the dictators. Britain and other lands proceeded toward socialization of wealth and social planning, while in the United States, Big Business, made bigger by huch war profits, determined to turn the clock back and return the nation to the anarchy of industry and the organized fight against socialism, which characterized the Nineteenth Century. President Truman did not realize what the struggle was all about and in face of his vacillation and hesitation, Big Business got almost complete control and prepared to take over with Mr. Dewey.

Meantime Henry Wallace began to fight for a New Deal, for socialism, for understanding with Russia andfor world peace. He accepted help and cooperation from all parties, including Communists. Immediately the Big Business interests concentrated their fight against the New Deal by a witch hunt against "Communism". To win their ends, they thrust the nation to the brink of war, intervened on the side of dictators and investors all over the world, and dubbed "Communism" every sane step toward real world progress and democracy. They so overplayed their hand that Henry Wallace began to grow in popularity.

Then Harry Truman got wise. Deserted by his main supporters, bit by bit he accepted thedomestic policy of Wallace in price control, labor legislation, agriculture, water conservation and curbing of monopoly. Less surely, he began to talk "Peace" and to hesitate on Arabian oil and

The Editor
The New York Post

Chiang Kai Chek. And finally in the last days of campaigning he even mentioned again civil rights, on which he had been dumb for four months.

What then did the voters have to decide on November 2? Dewey and reaction or Truman on the platform of Henry Wallace. They choose Truman on the hope that he would stand on this platform. But that does not end the matter. It begins it. Will Truman try to carry out the Wallace platform? And will his party let him? The answer is No! Truman has no idea of the world change form uncontrolled private initiative to social control.. He has no broad comprehension of social planning. He does not understand the Russian Revolution nor the Truth that even bombs cannot kill ideas. Personally he likes neither Negroes nor Jews; he hasn't the foggiest idea of the inner struggles of the Balkans and Asia. The Democratic party as constituted today would not back Mr. Truman even if he tried to live up to his final campaign promises. The South is reactionary and against democracy. Large elements of the party in the North stands for Big Business, and in foreign affairs the Democrats and Republicans are one.

What to do? The Progressives have done a good job. Without the hard work of Henry Wallace and his followers, the electorate would still be ignorant on fundamental issues and Thomas Dewey and Wall Street would be headed for the Presidential chair. It is no mean feat to induce two million people to endanger their social security by voting for an unpopular cause, and one they know could not succeed in this election. But now the education of the people of the United States must proceed. The Progressives with tightened organization and co-ordinated effort must teach the nation:

1. That War is the end of Civilization
2. That Poverty can be conquered
3. That social medicine and research can save and prolong life
4. That Universal Education costs less than Universal military training and does not murder youth.

The meaning of this election is the success of the Wallace campaign and the necessity for its continuance.

23-39-106

November 5, 1948

The Editor
THE NEW YORK POST
New York, New York

The lesson of the election is clear. Since the First World War, the civilized world has been going Left; that is veering from the 19th century ideal of individual freedom to Twentieth Century social control in order to eliminate Poverty, Disease and Ignorance. Alone among the great nations the United States has tried to stand for private enterprise uncontroled by public welfare. This policy was overthrown by the Great Depression of 1929 to 1933, and the ten year reign of Roosevelt began a "New Deal" for the socialization of America, with curbing of private wealth, social security and long distance economic planning. His program was interrupted and diverted by war, which without wuestioning the socialization of wealth and social planning turned on the character of the control, whether through dictatorship or by democratic methods. With the indispensable help of Russia, the allies overthrew the dictators. Britain and other lands proceeded towards socialization of wealth and social planning, while in the United State, Big Business, made bigger by hugh war profits, determined to turn the clock back and return the nation to the anarchy of industry and the organized fight against socialism, which characterized the Nineteenth Century. President Truman did not realize what the struggle was all about and in face of his vacillation and hesitation, Big Business got almost complete control and prepared to take over with Mr. Dewey.

Meantime Henry Wallace began to fight for a New Deal, for socialism, for understanding with Russia and for world peace. He accepted help and cooperation from all parties, including Communists. Immediately the Big Business interests concentrated their fight against the New Deal by a witch hunt against "Communism." To win their ends, they thrust the nation to the brink of war, intervened on the side of dictators and investors all over the world, and dubbed "Communism" every sane step toward real world progress and democracy. They so overplayed their hand that Henry Wallace began to grow in popularity.

Then Harry Truman got wise. Deserted by his main supporters, bit by bit he accepted the domestic policy of Wallace in price control, labor legislation, agriculture, water conservation and curbing of monopoly. Less surely, he began to talk "Peace" and to hesitate on Arabian oil and Chiang Kai Chek. And finally in the last days of campaigning he even mentioned again civil rights, on which he had been dumb for four months.

The Editor
The New York Post

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The meaning of this election is the success of the Wallace campaign and the necessity for its continuance.

[NEW YORK STAR]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

63 13

September ~~27~~, 1948

The Editor
~~THE~~ NEW YORK ~~TIMES~~ Star
New York, New York

The Editor of the Times:

I sat at luncheon ~~Saturday~~ lately to hear the head of a labor union in the Canal Zone tell of his efforts to improve labor conditions. He was a colored man, earnest and intelligent. He had gone to work at the age of nine to help dig the Panama Canal. He had almost no formal schooling but spoke English and Spanish quite well.

His wage at first was ten cents an hour. This wage, the workers by organization and agitation had raised to 40 cents an hour. But this was not enough for decent living. They lived in hovels, with poor food and wrecked sanitation; their schools were poor and teachers underpaid. All this was taking place under the army rule of the United States Government, who were discriminating against colored workers (called Silver workers) and paying white workers (Gold workers) wages often 100% higher, with good homes, schools and opportunity for promotion. Against this squalor and discrimination this man, with help from union labor in the United States, had organized a union of 10,000 members.

He said, "the whites break up our meetings and throw our leaders in jail." He spoke with deep feeling and restraint for a half hour. He asked out help. Then he sat down. But finally he turned to his neighbor, a white editor, and said: "And they call me Communist? What do they mean by that?"

I did not catch the editors reply.

W E B DuBois

W. E. B. Du Bois

35-2-47

45-2-44

October 14, 1948

The Editor
NEW YORK STAR
New York, New York

The Editor of the Star:

I sat at luncheon lately to hear the head of a labor union in the Canal Zone tell of his efforts to improve labor conditions. He was a colored man, earnest and intelligent. He had gone to work at the age of nine to help dig the Panama Canal. He had almost no formal schooling but spoke English and Spanish quite well.

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He said, "the whites break up our meetings and throw our leaders in jail." He spoke with deep feeling and restraint for a half-hour. He asked our help. Then he sat down. But finally he turned to his neighbor, a white editor, and said: "And they call me Communist? What do they mean by that?"

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W. E. B. Du Bois

[New York Star]

Fr. NY Star

OCT 21
9-PM
1948

CHURCH STREET

1 CENT JEFFERSON 1

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Dept. of Special Research
Natl. Assoc. for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

23-52-21

NEW YORK STAR, 164 Duane Street, New York, 13, N. Y.

We thought our readers would be as interested in your recent letter as we were, so we printed it on our Letters Page on Oct. 21st

Lack of space often requires us to edit the letters we print, so please do not be offended if you find we've used only part of yours.

Thank you for writing. We hope you will again.

Catherine Patterson

Editorial Department

Back copies are available at the above address.

[New York Star]

Fill: Star

December 20, 1948

To the Editor of the Star:

I am told that the United States as of September 8, has given impoverished Holland $16,000,000 for "recovery" under the Marshall Plan. This will go some distance toward financing her current war in Indonesia. But just where does this leave us in our world leadership of democracy?

Also we are about to enter into plans to "protect" Holland from aggression; have we any similar plans for Indonesia?

23-46-1

W. E. B. Du Bois

Corrections by Mrs Latimer

January 23, 1948

35-2-161

To the Editor
The New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Many residents of New York and tax payers of Negro descent are alarmed and disappointed at the news recently printed in your columns, that Dr. L. D. Reddick, Curator of the Schomberg Collection, has resigned and is going South because of lack of funds and facilities for support of his work.

Most people, unfortunately, know little about this collection. Arthur Schomberg was a bank messenger who had wide knowledge of Negro literature in English, Spanish, and other languages. He began collecting books, pamphlets, and other articles on his own account until his collection became one of the most outstanding in the United States.

The 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library was beginning to be a center for Negroes and others interested in reading and research, and for some time there was friction because it was not the policy of library authorities to encourage Negro librarians or assistants. After considerable pressure, however, this ban was lifted, and today there is a Negro librarian in charge of this and other branches, and assistants in various parts of the city library system.

In 1925 Miss Ernestine Rose, librarian of 135th St Branch conceived the idea of establishing a research collection on the Negro known as the Division of Negro literature and History. Mrs. Catherine A. Latimer was made reference librarian in charge of this work.

Meantime, ~~at the 135th Street Branch, Mrs. Catherine Latimer, of Brooklyn, began to collect Negro literature and was given charge of this work.~~ She gathered quite a number of books and gradually impressed upon her superiors that Negro American culture in the United States had a growing, interesting literature which people ought to know and many wanted to study. Finally, the Schomberg Collection was bought by the City, and after a time Mr. Schomberg, having retired from his work at the bank, was appointed Curator in 1922. He was valuable in collecting books, but he was not a trained librarian, and naturally the direction of the Schomberg Collection fell to Mrs. Latimer.

After Mr. Schomburg's death

In 1939, L. D. Reddick, a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, was put in charge of this collection as curator in 1939. It began to grow, and especially it became a center where students looked for rare books, and pamphlets, and other materials pertaining to Negroes. The vast manuscript collection of the Myrdal study was entrusted to this collection and there was a considerable collection of objects of art. But the library authorities did not seem to realize the unique place which this collection occupied. When the library was enlarged and rebuilt, the Schomberg Collection was put on the fourth floor, with no elevator,

and it was given but meager facilities. It is now difficult for students to use it, and the number of helpers is far too few. Mr. Reddick had many plans which called for additional funds but, as the library authorities said, it was cramped for funds in all directions, and it still seemed to be under the impression that the Schomberg Collection was nothing more than a branch library for young readers which did not call for any special attention.

Because of this, the Schomberg Collection has lost much material which it could have had. The Arthur Spingarn Collection of Negro literature, one of the finest in the world, was given to Howard University, because Mr. Spingarn was convinced that there it would get the attention which it needed. Many of my own manuscripts and documents have been given to the James Weldon Johnson Collection at Yale University because they were giving especial attention to that sort of thing. There is no certainty that the Schomberg Collection is going to be anything more than the orphan child of the New York Public Library.

Now comes the serious news that the best trained man for this work in the United States is going to leave to go to head up the library of a Southern university, because he simply despairs of getting the attention, the planning, and the funds which he must have, if the Schomberg Collection is to fulfill its promise. It would be a calamity to have this happen. And it seems to me that someone in the city of New York ought to take it upon this conscience to induce the New York Public Library, and the philanthropically-minded citizens, to come to the rescue of this unique adventure in the study of American Negro culture.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBB:S

Dear Dr. "D."

Many thanks for this excellent letter. I am very sure it will accomplish our purpose. I have inserted a few facts which I feel are important. Again many thanks.

Catherine,
1023 Union St.
Brooklyn 25 N.Y.

January 23, 1948

35-2-163

To the Editor
The New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

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Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBB:S

Ralph Beals
Director N.Y. Pub. L.
Maryn O'Dwyer
Amsterdam News

July 12, 1948

Mr. ~~C. L.~~ Arthur Sulzberger, Editor
The New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

The Julius Rosenwalf Fund recently finished thirty years of social work chiefly among Negroes. At its concluding meeting in Chicago, May 28, I was asked to summarize the improvement in Race Relations in this period of time. My investigations made me realize as never before what organized and persistent social effort can accomplish in a generation. Due to the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro colleges, Foundations like the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, and others, these things have been accomplished:

1. The capability of Negroes to receive the highest education has been universally conceded.

2. Race differences have been minimized.

3. Race amalgamation is regarded as not necessarily evil.

4. Factual, scientific study of races has begun.

5. The Negro population is increasing and its health is improving.

6. Illiteracy is decreasing and Negroes in colleges have increased from 10,000 in 1917 to more than 70,000 in 1947.

7. Negro occupations are shifting from farming and domestic and personal service, to trades and professions, with about the same proportion in manufacturing and transport.

8. There has been a large increase in teachers and nurses; a small increase in lawyers, physicians, and dentists.

9. Negroes are receiving recognition in academic circles, in art and literature, in sciences and in sports.

10. Negroes are successfully fighting for political and civil rights. Lynching has been decreased from 64 in the year 1918, to 1 reported in 1947. There have been 23 cases, involving legal rights, won before the United States Supreme Court between 1915 and 1948, including the constitutionality of the Fifteenth Amendment, annulling segregation by ordinance, outlawing the white primary and the housing covenant.

11. The Negro vote today is recognized and courted by all parties and cannot be bought simply by appointment or purchase.

12. The Negro is entering the Labor Movement in increasing numbers, and in other ways is taking part in social uplift movements in the United States.

This is just a rough and very general outline of progress in race relations in a generation. I am writing to ask if you would consider an article outlining this development and drawing some conclusions from it?

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DUBois

WEBD:lm

The New York Times
Times Square

18

July 15, 1948

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Mr. Sulzberger has discussed with me the article outlined in your letter of July 12, and we are agreed that it would be a valuable contribution to The Times. If you will, therefore, prepare a manuscript of 2500 words along the lines indicated by you, we shall be glad to have it for the magazine.

Yours, sincerely,

Lester Markel
Sunday Editor

LM:bd

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

August 2, 1948

Mr. Lester Markel
Sunday Editor
The New York Times
Times Square
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Markel:

Enclosed is the article which you promised to read in your letter of July 15. I hope it is not too long. If it is, you are at liberty to cut it.

As to illustrations, may I venture to suggest that a group or a building (like the Wilkie Building, NAACP headquarters) would be preferable to pictures of any individual. I want to stress the fact that Negro progress is a mass movement, and not a matter of individual accomplishment.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

W. E. B. DuBOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

August 2, 1948

The Editor of the Times:

Are you quite logical when you compare the Progressive Party platform to that of the Communists and ~~conclude that the resemblance shows~~ under Communistic influence? Would it not be fairer to compare both these platform will be the demands of liberals the world over in the last century? All liberal programs have increasingly demanded public ownership of natural resources; planned control of industry; curbing of private monopoly; public aid for power production, housing, social security, health and education; protection for the rights of Labor; equitable taxation; and abundance to abolish poverty. These demands, varying in ~~emphasis and immediacy~~ with time and place have been voiced by Populists and Socialists; followers of La Follettes and of both the Roosevelts. They form the basis of the program of the Labor party in England and ~~many of the Conservatives,~~ liberal thought in France, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Holland and Scandinavia agrees. ~~Could there be a Progressive program which did not agree?~~

In two respects alone does the Progressive platform go beyond the New Deal and that is in War to curb Communism and the Marshall Plan. ~~But~~ A sincere Liberal may sincerely believe that Communism can never be curbed by force or by pouring ~~my~~ hard-earned dollars down rat-holes in Greece and China; ~~if he believes~~ he may be convinced that another world war would be suicide for human culture and murder of Youth, Faith and Genius. ~~for whom can he vote but Wallace? And if~~ An honest American, who is neither ~~a traitor nor a fool~~, may be wants ~~desperately~~ eager to help the hungry and naked, but is unwilling to see this effort ~~turned mainly~~ wasted for toward expanding American business ~~and business methods~~, ~~can he be blamed~~ called a traitor or a fool for refusing to support our "bi-partisan" foreign policy, and voting the Progressive ticket?

(over)

all the explanations underlined in blue

Is such a man a traitor, or a fool if he refuses to support ~~cannot live with his own conscience and not~~ the "Bi-partisan" foreign policy but could and vote for Henry Wallace?

August 3, 1948

To the Editor of the New York Times

Are you quite logical when you compare the Progressive Party platform to that of the Communists and infer undue Communistic influence? Would it not be fairer to compare both of these platforms with the demands of liberals the world over in the last century? All liberal programs have increasingly demanded public ownership of natural resources; planned control of industry; curbing of private monopoly; public aid for power production, housing, social security, health and education; protection for the rights of Labor; equitable taxation; and abundance to abolish poverty.

These demands, varying in time and place, have been voiced here by Populists and Socialists, followers of LaFollette, and of both the Roosevelts. They form the basis of the program of the Labor Party in England, and even of conservative liberal thought in France, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Holland, and Scandinavia.

In two respects alone does the Progressive platform go beyond the New Deal, and that is on war to curb Communism and the Marshall Plan. A sincere Liberal may surely believe that Communism can never be curbed by force, or by pouring hard-earned dollars down rat holes in Greece and China; he may be convinced that another world war would be suicide for human culture and lead to the murder of Youth, Faith, and Genius. An honest American may be eager to help the hungry and naked, but unwilling to see this effort used for expanding American business at the expense of underpaid workers. Is such a man a traitor, or a fool if he refuses to support the "bi-partisan" foreign policy and votes for Henry Wallace?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Magazine article

The New York Times

TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LACKAWANNA 4-1000

August 6, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Since Mr. Markel is in Europe your article on "Civil Rights for Negroes" has been referred to me. It seems to me that it has very interesting material in it but that the story could be handled with considerably more color. I suggest that you might try organizing the material along these lines:

1. The peg -- which is the Rosenwald Fund.

2. The state of the negro in the United States 30 years ago.

3. The state of the negro today.

4. The state he ought to be in 30 years from now.

Does this proposal seem a good one? If it does, I hope you will be able to do the revision soon. If it does not, perhaps we can get together and talk about it.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel Schwarz

Daniel Schwarz
Sunday Department

DS:far
Enc.

I shall Recreate my article and Submit it to you August 19. Many I remain your Obedient Servant W. E. B. DuBois

w/Mr. Talmadge

"ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT"

August 9, 1948

Mr. Daniel Schwarz
Sunday Department
The New York Times
Times Square
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Schwarz: In reply to your letter of August 6, I shall recaste my article and submit it to you on August 19.

May I remind you, that in the Times the word Negro is spelled with a capital letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:S

45-2-40

11 AM

45-2-43

229 W43rd

The New York Times

TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LACKAWANNA 4-1000

September 1, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I have not acknowledged receipt of your article on "Civil Rights for Negroes" before this because we were debating what to do with it. We felt that the second version was much better, and yet it did not follow the outline or achieve the dramatic quality we had hoped for. Therefore, we attempted to edit the article in the hope that by pulling it together we would have something which would, in our opinion, appeal to the general reader. However, when the job was completed it still seemed unsatisfactory.

Therefore, I am writing you this note to suggest that perhaps we can get together and talk about what the piece ought to be. Would you care to give me a ring so that we can work out a mutually satisfactory time?

Sincerely yours,

Daniel Schwarz

Daniel Schwarz
Sunday Department

DS:far

"ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT"

September 10, 1948

Mr. David Schwartz
The New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Schwartz:

Here is the 3rd edition. It is still too long, but I have indicated some possible cuts.

Sincerely Yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

Times

W. E. B. DuBOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

Sept. 27, 1948

The Editor of the Times:

I sat at luncheon Saturday to hear the head of a labor union in the Canal Zone, tell of his efforts to improve labor conditions. He was a colored man, earnest and intelligent. He had gone to work at the age of nine, digging the Panama canal. He had almost no formal schooling but spoke English and Spanish quite well. His wage at first was ten cents an hour. This wage, the workers by organization and agitation had raised to 40 cents an hour. But this was not enough for decent living. They lived in hovels, with poor food and wretched sanition; their schools were poor and teachers underpaid. All this was taking place under the army rule of the United States government, who were discriminating against colored workers (called Silver workers) and paying white workers (Gold workers) wages often 100% higher, with good homes and schools and opportunity for promotion. Against this squalor and discrimination this man, with help from union labor in the United States, had organized a union of 10,000 members and he asked our help. He said "the whites break up our meetings and throw our leaders in jail" He spoke with deep feeling and restraint for a half hour. Then he sat down. But finally he turned to his neighbor, a white editor, and said: " And they call me Communist? What do they mean by that? "

I did not catch the editor's reply.

W.E.B Du Bois

45-2-45

35-2-51-9

Magazine article
N.Y. Times

22-40-98

September 27, 1948

The Editor
THE NEW YORK TIMES
New York, New York

The Editor of the Times:

I sat at luncheon Saturday to hear the head of a labor union in the Canal Zone tell of his efforts to improve labor conditions. He was a colored man, earnest and intelligent. He had gone to work at the age of nine to help dig the Panama Canal. He had almost no formal schooling but spoke English and Spanish quite well.

His wage at first was ten cents an hour. This wage, the workers by organization and agitation had raised to 40 cents an hour. But this was not enough for decent living. They lived in hovels, with poor food and wreched sanitation; their schools were poor and teachers underpaid. All this was taking place under the army rule of the United States Government, who were discriminating against colored workers (called Silver workers) and paying white workers (Gold workers) wages often 100% higher, with good homes, schools and opportunity for promotion. Against this squalor and discrimination this man, with help from union labor in the United States, had organized a union of 10,000 members.

He said, "the whites break up our meetings and throw our leaders in jail." He spoke with deep feeling and restraint for a half hour. He asked out help. Then he sat down. But finally he turned to his neighbor, a white editor, and said: "And they call me Communist? What do they mean by that?"

I did not catch the editors reply.

W. E. B. Du Bois

13-34-2

October 20, 1948

The Editor
The New York Times
Times Square
New York, New York

To the Editor of the New York Times:

Can the Editor or his correspondent, Anthony Liviero, explain just where in President Truman's Raleigh speech, they find "no yielding on rights" for Southern Negroes? Many of your readers, along with Arthur Krock, have noted that the President not only was willing to accept a weak plank on Civil Rights in the Democratic Convention, but in all of his campaign speeches he has avoided the slightest allusion to the subject. Therefore, Negroes watched his North Carolina speech with interest. He said, "The Constitution of the United States and not the desire of angry men is the supreme law of the land." This is neither new nor profound; is it the only basis for your headline and your statement that the President "implied" his continued defense of civil rights for Negroes? If so, is not the basis of your statement a bit weak?

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

45-2-100

The New York Times

TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LACKAWANNA 4-1000

File

October 21, 1948

35-2-126

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Here, finally, are proofs of your article. You will find that it has been cut. If you think any damage has been done in the process, please do not hesitate to restore or modify.

With many thanks for your patience, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Daniel Schwarz

Daniel Schwarz
Sunday Department

DS:far
enc.

23-34-3

The New York Times
Times Square

October 23, 1948.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director
Dep't of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I hope you will pardon my delay in answering your letter of October 20. The reason for the delay was I wished to ask Mr. Leviero for an answer to your criticism.

May I say that from a technical newspaper standpoint your criticism of the line in the head, "NO YIELDING ON RIGHTS", is not very pointed because that line matches statements in the story, which is the way a headline should be written.

That brings us to the story itself, and on that I attach a copy of a memorandum Mr. Leviero sends me.

Sincerely yours,

Edwin L. James
Managing Editor

HA

C O P Y

23-34-4

Mr. James:

It is true that Mr. Truman at Raleigh was not specific. But his words, taken in context with more specific mentions of the subject that I heard from him during the campaign, made it clear to me as a reporter that he was implying support of his program, though in softer language, considering the circumstances.

Mr. DuBois is incorrect in saying the President has not made "the slightest allusion" to the subject. He will find a definite one, for example, in the text of his speech at Los Angeles, on September 23rd.

Anthony Leviero

Washington, D. C.
October 22, 1948.

NY Times

December 6, 1948

To The Editor of The New York Times:

35-2-156

There is one matter of civil rights which is not often emphasized, but which is of first importance in our national attitude toward caste and public insult. That is interstate travel. Here there is no question of states rights: the jurisdiction of the federal government over this subject is clear in statute and court decision. Yet the inaction of Congress hitherto subjects travellers to state law and regulation. Negroes who take long trips are subject to discrimination in accommodations, threats, intimidation, and often arrest and fines, or even jail sentences. Appeal is difficult and costly. The state and the railroads simply rely on state laws and allege that in the absence of congressional action, they have no other alternative. The duty of congress, therefore, is clear. Legislation forbidding discrimination in interstate travel on account of race, color or creed would be welcomed by the carriers themselves; would apply to a minority of travellers, but in just those cases where justice and decency demands commonsense; and would remove from our record one of the most irritating and senseless of our caste restrictions.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Request for Info
Sent in April 14

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
157 WEST THIRTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: WATKINS 9-5202

April 12, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Research Director
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A Committee in the Human Relations Center of New York University and the Bureau for Intercultural Education has, during the past year, attempted to formulate the basic principles and techniques in making a survey. Individuals within the New York area who have been responsible for surveys have been interviewed and reports of surveys have been studied. As we have extended our investigation the implications of what we can do as a local study indicates the necessity for broadening our scope to include the national scene. Your experience with surveys would be of significance to us in the over-all picture which we are trying to assemble.

22-39

We hope that out of the answers to the enclosed questionnaire will emerge a compilation of the principles and techniques which will be of value to us and other organizations in the field of human relations.

Very sincerely yours,

Carol Smith

Carol Smith, Chairman
(Cambridge, Mass.)

Pauline Taylor

Pauline Taylor, Secretary
(Kalamazoo, Mich.)

Members of the Committee:

Jean Altschuler (New York City)
Johnnye M. Cox (Athens, Georgia)
Claramae B. Long (New York City)
Ethel J. Alpenfels, Faculty Adviser (Denver, Colo.)

[New York University]

April 14, 1948

Center for Human Relations Studies
New York University
School of Education
157 West 13th Street
New York 11, New York

Gentlemen:

Under separate cover we are returning the questionnaire, together with a copy of our study as requested in your letter of April 12. We hope you may find it of some help, and shall be looking forward to a copy of your findings.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[N.Y.U. + STUDENTS FOR WALLACE]

lecture

2102 Avenue U
Brooklyn 29, New York
April 13, 1948

23-29-23

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The New York University Students for Wallace group would be most honored if you were able to come to speak here at our Washington Square campus on the question of the abrogation of Negro rights.

We are planning a rally during the week of May 2nd and would appreciate hearing from you as to which day during that week would be most convenient for you.

We eagerly await word from you.

Sincerely yours,

Abraham Wodinsky

Abraham Wodinsky
Educational Director
NYU STUDENTS FOR WALLACE

Letter of appreciation

22-38-26

Wilberforce, Ohio
November 27, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanksgiving Day brought to mind those who had been so helpfully kind to me--you, Colonel Young and others, and my resolve was to say again thanks to you for the priceless encouragement that you gave so freely.

I still owe you great thanks. In recommending racial information of value to students in working as readers' adviser in the Hallie Q. Brown Library of the State College I am invariable repaid with data unobtainable elsewhere when I look to you as source.

With appreciation always,

Effie Lee Newsome

28-23-28

December 2, 1948

Miss Effie Lee Newsome
Hallie Q. Brown Library
Wilberforce, Ohio

My Dear Effie Newsome:

I am so sorry not to have been able to call on you while I was in Wilberforce. I had it firmly in my plans; but they went astray. Whatever I have been able to do for your work has been more of a joy to me than help to you, I am sure.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Newsweek

NEWSWEEK BUILDING • BROADWAY AND 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 18

23-24-15

June 3, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Research Director
NAACp
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

At the request of our Special Projects Editor, Harold Isaacs, I am glad to send you herewith a copy of the June 7th Newsweek in which our special report of the Randolph-Reynolds civil disobedience proposal appears on page 28.

Will you please accept our grateful thanks for your assistance in the preparation of the material that went into this report.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh D Beach

Hugh D. Beach
For the Editors

rr

UN
Gen. Assembly

EMBAJADA DE NICARAGUA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

163-T February 21, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director, Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23-46-8

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your January 22 letter sending me a copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, the petition formally presented to the Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on October 23, 1947.

I have been pleased to forward a copy of your letter and its enclosure to my Government and will let you know as soon as I have a reply from them.

Very truly yours,

Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
Ambassador, Permanent
Representative of Nicaragua
to the United Nations

May 12, 1948

J. A. Nicholson & Son
310 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Gentlemen:

Will you please put up the awning on my porch. You have it in storage.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

COPY

22-36

[North Carolina A and T.]

F. D. BLUFORD, PRESIDENT

E. R. HODGIN, SECRETARY-TREASURER

The Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina

GREENSBORO, N. C.

October 21, 1948

Reg for Info.

22-38-29

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois

We are interested in obtaining all the information we possibly can relative to the part American Negroes played in race relations during World War II. We believe that Mr. Walter White, and perhaps others, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Mr. Lester B. Granger, of the Urban League, among others took an active part in the promotion of race relations during World War II, at home and abroad.

Would you please be kind enough to furnish us any information or materials on this question you possibly can? We would appreciate having you cite us to other sources for such information.

Very gratefully yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd

RGL/cad

October 25, 1948

Mr. R. Grann Lloyd
A. & T. College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

Thank you for your letter of October 21, relative to race relations in World War II. The following may be of some help in your quest.

A letter direct to Mr. Walter White, this address, on your problem should enable you to find out about what Mr. White did on your subject.

A similar note to Lester Granger, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y., should bring some response from his office about data.

Check THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, Vol. XII, Summer Number, 1943.

Write to Mr. James C. Evans, Negro Affairs Office, War Department, Washington, D. C.

Consult Mr. Truman Gibson, Supreme Liberty Life Insurance, 35th Street and South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois.

Contact Dr. Channing Tobias, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York, New York.

Write to U.S.O. Headquarters, Washington, D. C., or ask the War Department for this information, and write to them for information.

Consult Mr. George W. Goodman, 1800 Main Street, Hartford, Connecticut. He was head of the largest Red Cross Club in the European Theater of Operations and did some writing and publishing on your subject when he returned to this country following the close of the war.

Consult The Common Council on American Unity, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

Write to Major Ulysses Lee, War Department, Historical Section, Washington, D. C. He should be able to give you leads as well as material.

Consult the volume, THE INTEGRATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE U.S. NAVY, by Lt. Dennis Nelson, just published this year (A master's thesis done at Howard University).

Hoping you find this of some help, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

[North Carolina Wallace Club, Univ. of]

Recd Jan. 15, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I happened to read your extremely fine pro-Wallace column in the Chicago Defender and first of all want to congratulate you on your courageous and forward-looking stand,

23-22-2

I belong to the Publicity Committee of the Wallace Club here at the University of North Carolina. It came to us that a mass circulation of your article would help our cause greatly. However, like most progressive organizations we suffer from an acute shortage of financial resources.

I wonder if you know of any way in which we can secure a large number of copies of your article at the most reasonable fee possible.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Blake

Mrs. Dorothy Blake
24 Main Street
Carrboro, N. C.

Zik Du Bois Williams

February 5, 1948

23-20-12

Miss Mira B. Wilson, Principal
Northfield School For Girls
East Northfield, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Wilson:

My friends, despite my attempted protest, are set on giving a dinner February 23, at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York, to celebrate my 80th birthday. My daughter is coming up from Baltimore, and it would be nice to have my granddaughter present. I would not however ask for her to come if it would hurt her work or transgress your rules. She would come the 20th or 21st and return the 24th. I have said nothing to her about it.

Will you kindly let me have your advice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

NORTHFIELD SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

EAST NORTHFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

March 1948

230-46

To the Parents and Guardians of Northfield Students:

It is with the greatest regret that I am writing, as many heads of schools all over the country are forced to do this year, about a raise in tuition charges for 1948-49.

I need not point out how the rising costs of provisions and desperately needed salary and wage increases have affected our budget, and involved us in a large current deficit. To continue to operate next year at our present charge would make inroads on our securities which would jeopardize the help the Schools could hope to offer to students of the future.

The Board of Trustees voted at its January meeting to increase the tuition to $750 for the school year, 1948-49, payable as follows:

On or before Registration Day	$ 250
November 15	250
February 1	250

It is our earnest hope that no girl of ability and character will be deterred from applying to our school for financial reasons. We are fortunate in having some endowment funds for scholarships and student aid loans.

I write, may I say again, with reluctance and regret but in the assurance that the families of Northfield students will be the first to understand the necessity which forces the increase.

Very sincerely,

Mira B. Wilson

N/K
NORWEGIAN PERMANENT DELEGATION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
Room 6228
Empire State Building
350 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.
Telephone: BRyant 9-7640

Will Assembly

February 9, 1948.

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23-4/6-9

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I thank you very much for your letter of January 22 with which you sent me a copy of an appeal to the world. I should appreciate it if you would please send me five or ten additional copies of this petition, which I will forward to my government for distribution.

With regard to the problem of having the document published in Norwegian, I regret to inform you that it will not be possible for my office to arrange that. I therefore should like to suggest that you contact a Norwegian publisher.

Regarding the recommendation of placing the petition on the agenda of the General Assembly, the matter will be transmitted to my government for consideration. I do not think, however, that it will be possible for my government to take any initiative in this matter at the present time.

Sincerely yours,

Finn Moe

Norwegian Permanent Delegate
to the United Nations

Reg. Miscellaneous

Mmem, Ahafo [CNSIAN]
Ashanti,
Gold Coast
West Africa
25. 5. 48

Honoured Sir,

It is pointedly clear (from the address on the envelope) that the one who desires to communicate with you is looking for a guide to direct him to where you are.

I have heard of your activities in connection with the American Negroes' struggles for a better existence. My conception to correspond with you was temporarily thwarted by want of address. This unhappy state of affairs was relieved by a paper I had from the Secretary of N.A.A.P.C. I saw your name on the paper and I at once conceived the idea that when I write to you through the N.A.A.P.C., you will get the letter.

I am an Ashanti by birth. I am 34 years old. I have been a school teacher for 18 years. I am now making a research work on Colonial Problems and I hope to publish the result.

Much has happened, much is happening and what is worse than both what has happened and what is happening promises to happen, because a new social order is struggling grimly to be born.

The following books (the first of which is the result of your brain, pen and ink) will be very useful tools in my hand if you will kindly enquire about them and report the result to me. (1st. or second hand)

T. T. O.

① Black Reconstruction

② Life and Times of Frederick Douglass

It is too early to write [redacted] about what is happening, but when we come to know each other, all these things will follow naturally.

That you will honour me with your reply (though I am not worthy of it) is the expectation of [redacted]

Your most humble servant

B. G. Nsiah.

23-3-71

June 30, 1948

Mr. B. G. Nsiah
Mmem, Ahafo
Ashanti
Gold Coast, West Africa

Dear Mr. Nsiah:

I am writing in reply to your letter of May 25 to Dr. DuBois. The Doctor was glad to hear from you and thanks you for writing. For your information, he can always be reached at the above address.

In regard to the books which you mention, the following information should serve your purposes.

Black Reconstruction, by W. E. B. DuBois, is out of print and is most difficult to secure. It is now a collector's item and cost a lot of money. You might write to the publisher, Harcourt & Company, New York, New York, and see if they can supply you or direct you to a place where it might be purchased. The book was published in 1935. Also, try writing Stechert-Hafner, Inc., Book Dealers, 31 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y., or Barnes and Nobles, Book Dealers, Fifth Avenue at 18th Street, New York, New York.

The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, published by DeWolfe & Fiske Company, 1892, Boston, Massachusetts, is also out of print and a rare book. Write to the publisher and the same other book dealers mentioned above and they might be able to help you in locating a volume. These are both valuable books and most difficult to secure.

With hopes for your success in your work, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Req for info.

Ahafo Mmem,
Ashanti,
Gold Coast,
West Africa
19. 10. 48

Honourable Sir,

The big parcel of books, booklets, pamphlets and membership forms has reached me safely, and I thank you very sincerely for it. You have brought the N. A. A. C. P. very close to my door and, like one who is face to face with opportunity. I did not allow it to pass unseized. I have sent a remittance to cover membership fee and the subscription for the "Crisis" magazine.

I note with pleasure that your connection with the N. A. A. C. P. has been of long standing. Your advancing age has been attuned to rise with your ideals. The Negro race is a debtor to the skilful pen you wield.

Stechert-Hafner and Barnes and Noble have both written to say they could not secure ~~me~~ second hand copies of your "Black Reconstruction" and "The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass," but the latter has sent me a catalogue of useful books on Negro problems and I have already ordered books from it.

The enclosed amount £1. is to be posted to the publishers of "The Journal of Negro Education," as my annual subscription for that journal. I hope the amount is sufficient for part of it to be used by you in meeting the cost of communicating with the publishers. I feel that I have gone too far by asking you to communicate with the publishers of the Journal in question, but it is all due to want of knowledge about the publishers' address and is not a sign of disrespect on my part to a man of your age and attainment. I have enclosed a photograph of myself in my native dress.

I thank you again for the books, booklets etc etc. and I pray that good health may be yours so that you can continue your services as the elder statesman of your race.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
your most humble servant,
B. G. Nsiah.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 West 40th Street
New York 35, New York, USA
October 26, 1948

Mr. B. G. Nsiah
Ahafo Mmem
Ashanti, Gold Coast
West Africa

Dear Mr. Nsiah:

Dr. DuBois thanks you for your very fine letter and he is pleased that you received and found the material he sent from the NAACP of some help. We regret that you were unable to secure a copy of his BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, but that volume is now a collector's item and rare (its current retail value is now about $25, or more than £6 English money, and the price is rising on it yearly).

As requested, we have sent in your subscription to the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, as the enclosed letter indicates. In due time your journals should begin to arrive. If not, contact the editor, Dr. Charles H. Thompson.

Incidentally, the Doctor thanks you for sending the picture. Since I thought you might like to have one of his, I am enclosing it in this letter.

With good wishes for continued success in your work, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure

P.S. The picture is being sent under separate cover.

22-39-24

Key for info

22-39

October 26, 1948

Mr. B. G. Nsiah
Ahafo Mmem
Ashanti
Gold Coast
West Africa

Dear Mr. Nsiah:

Since writing you this morning we have encountered some difficulty in cashing your British Postal Order. We have been informed by both the United States Postal authorities and the British Information Service here in New York that your postal order is not redeemable in this country. We have been informed that British restrictions on the release of money from Britain and her possessions do not permit the issuing of funds. You will have to secure an International Money Order and secure the permission of the British authorities there in the Gold Coast concerning its expenditure before you can secure the magazine subscription to THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION.

Consequently, I am enclosing the postal order you sent for twenty shillings ($4.00 American money), and suggest that you try to secure the subscription by writing directly to Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Editor, The Journal of Negro Education, Howard University, Washington 1, D.C.

With regrets, and hoping you will be successful, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure

TELEPHONE EVERGREEN 7-8794

223 GRAHAM AVENUE, BROOKLYN 6

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

WILLIAM J. GAYNOR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL 49, BROOKLYN

LAZARUS D. ROSS, PRINCIPAL

Jan. 2, 1948

Mr. Madison S. Jones, Jr.
Administrative Assistant,
Nat'l Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th. Street,
New York.

13C JAN3 '48

23C-45

Dear Mr. Jones:

Just a line to ask if you have been able to contact a speaker for me, at above school, on April 5, 1948 at 1 P.M. My schedule of speakers must be complete by Jan. 15, 1948 and I am hoping that you will be able to give me the name of the speaker before that date.

May I hear from you in regard to this?

Thanking you for the help promised me, I am

Sincerely,
George F. Tucker
110 New York Ave
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Tel. SL. 6-9460

[N.A.A.C.P.]

Mr. Spingarn January 5, 1947 (Dictated by phone to M. Ward)

With reference to the letter of December 31, 1947 of Mr. Bernard P. Perry of A.A.Wynn addressed to Mr. White, Mr. Perry spoke to me on the telephone before writing that letter and told me that if they published the book the NAACP would be under no obligation to buy copies but if they wished to they could buy a thousand copies at cost plus 50% for handling and without royalties. I said that the number one thousand was mentioned because it was suggested by Madison Jones and it would be agreeable to me to accept Mr. Perry's proposition provided that (1) it was distinctly understood that the NAACP was under no obligation to buy copies and (2) that the NAACP should receive a royalty on copies other than those purchased by them.

23-28-28

MEMORANDUM

TO Mr. Walter White DATE January 5, 1948

FROM Arthur W. Hardy

SUBJECT

The attached material came to my desk. I thought you would be interested in looking through it. It looks like the gentleman is trying to build up a little private racket.

A. W. H.

230-36-9

[Enc.]

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW YORK SOUTHERN SOCIETY

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have already written the LONDON papers about the propaganda put out by the N. Y. white Papers and the Negro national papers against the peoples of the South, that it was these people that gave the nation its BILL OF RIGHTS. Several southern papers among them the MOBILE REGISTER AND a paper in MIAMI have promised help. Now I shall need money for a campaign and haven't the first penny toward such an endeavor. Here is what I want the members of the Southern Society to do. (1) Kindly send me a small contribution during the holidays to help me with my debts and (2) tell your friends what I propose to do an urge them to send me a substantial contribution along about next May when I intend to begin an active campaign.

Very sincerely,

Thomas C. Williams
2049 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

December 18, 1947

23-28-30

Hon. Clark Gifford
Counsel to the President
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gifford:

I am a colored man living in Harlem, N. Y. C. I am no lawyer. I am from Virginia. I wrote Senator Byrd that I have seen his father the late Richard Evelyn Byrd almost get to fighting with another white lawyer over a Negro client, that this thing of the Judge, the District Attorney and the Defense working together to rob an ignor nt youth of his constitutional rights is unknown in Virginia,. Senator Byrd sent me a fine reply, also Senator Russel of Georgia.

The Negroes of the N. A. A. C. P. are supported by wealthy whites and Jews. I have no money and no organization. I am certain if I can show the Negroes of Harlem that the decent white people of the South are as good as the Yankees and the Jews I shall be able to counteract the propaganda throughout the world by the White N. Y. PRESS and the NEGRO PRESS against the South and its people.

Very sincerely yours,

T. C. Williams
2049 7th Avenue
New York City
November 15, 1947

NAACP

January 5, 1948

For extra clerical assistant in my office.

~~November 1-15~~	~~$27.50~~
~~Nov. 15-Dec. 1~~	~~$28.25~~
Dec. 1-15	$39.00
Dec. 15-Jan. 1	$28.00
~~12.75~~	
	$67.00

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois, Director

Department of Special Research

Bills for Oct + Nov. rendered
Payment not received

23C-36-32

NAACP

January 5, 1948

For extra clerical assistant in my office.

December 1-15	$39.00
December 15-Jan. 1	$28.00
	$67.00

Bills for October and November rendered payment not received.

W. E. B. Du Bois, Director

Department of Special Research

23C-36-33

Memo...

To Dr. DuBois and Madison Jones, Jr.

from

WALTER WHITE

Will you read the attached and let me/your have opinion?

ww/mdj
Attach:
1/6/48

23-36-29

SCHULTE PRESS, Inc. CHelsea 2-0326 0327 119 W. 23rd ST., NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

[A. A. Wyn, Publisher]

CURRENT BOOKS, INC.

A A Wyn PUBLISHER
23 WEST 47TH STREET · NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
PENNSYLVANIA 6-6787

December 31, 1947

Mr. Walter White
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, NY

23-36-30

15 JAN2 '48

Dear Mr. White:

Pursuant to my letter of December 19 to Mr. Madison Jones and to our subsequent conference and 'phone conversation, I am writing to clarify our proposition concerning a bound book edition of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD. I would like to emphasize the fairness of our offer and to point out that the issue of a book by us will in no way increase your indebtedness to the printer, Mr. Lerman. In short, you would proceed as if there were no book. We would arrange with your printer to furnish us with the material we need to do our book edition and would pay for same. My letter spoke of furnishing 1000 copies to you at cost plus 15% for handling charges and royalty free. May I point out that this number of copies was suggested by Mr. Jones in an interview with me. If any further questions arise in connection with this proposition, let's discuss them and proceed with the matter.

Cordially yours,

Bernard B. Perry

Bernard B. Perry
GENERAL MANAGER

BBP:PC
CC: Arthur B. Spingarn

Memo

[naac]

From: **WALTER WHITE**

To: Messrs. Du Bois ✓
Dudley
Jones

1/7/48

Here is an opinion from Mr. Spingarn.

23-28-27

ww;emw

MEMORANDUM

TO: NAACP
FROM: W. E. B. Du Bois
SUBJECT: Finance
DATE: January 9, 1948

For extra clerical assistant in my office.

October 1-15	$39.75
October 15-Nov.1	$45.25
Nov.1-15	$32.75
Nov. 15-Dec. 1	$28.75
Dec. 1-15	$39.00
Dec. 15-Jan. 1	$28.00
	$213.50

COPY

W. E. B. Du Bois, Director

Department of Special Research

83C-36-34

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. White, Mr. Spingarn, Mr. Bernard B. Perry

From: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Subject: Petition (NAACP U.N. document of October 23, 1947)

Date: January 9, 1948

With regard to the publication of our petition to the United Nations by Current Books, Inc., A. A. Wyn, publisher:

1. The pamphlet with the petition is already in print and press work nearly finished. It ought to be in our hands this week or early next week. This changes the situation somewhat.

2. The petition is, of course, not large enough to make a book of regulation size which could be sold for $2.00 or $2.50; but there are ways in which the volume could enlarged so as to be attractive to the reading public.

   (a) There could be a supplementary chapter of appendices which would be a short factual history of the migration and growth of the American Negro population, and of the chief incidents in its history, with graphs, tables, and charts showing the growth of the Negro population, the status of health and education, maps showing the distribution in the country, and in the leading sections and cities.

   (b) There might also be added a list of persons of Negro descent who have been distinguished in American history with a sentence of explanation. This total addition could be from 20 to 25 or to 50 pages.

   I think with these additions you would have a book that would be in considerable demand.

3. The volume would be principally a petition with such supplementary facts as many readers would want to know. I would be glad to prepare such a manuscript and submit it to the publishers.

23-36-18

Attached to Memo to Mr. White, Mr. Spingarn, and Mr. Bernard B. Perry
Date of January 9, 1948, re: Petition (copy sent to Mr. White only of this sheet)

[Enclosure]

APPENDIX

1. Growth of the American Negro Population	1 page
2. Distribution of the American Negro by States, and Larger Cities, With Maps	2-3 pages
3. Statistics of Education, Health, Economics, Status, etc.	3 pages
4. Chronology of the History of Negroes in America	10 pages
5. Biography of Americans of Negro Descent, now dead, Who Have Influenced national history and culture	10 pages
6. Possibly: Types of American Negroes--page pictures of 10 to 20 living American Negro lecturers, artists, etc.	

23-36-19

!!

lecture - Smythe

January 14, 1948

Mr. George Tucker
110 New York Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Tucker:

This will confirm the telephone conversation of Miss Parker with Mrs. Tucker in which it was stated that Dr. Hugh Smythe, assistant to Dr. Du Bois of this office, would appear on April 8th, 1:00 P.M., at the William J. Gaynor Junior High School.

If there are any further details Dr. Smythe should have concerning the meeting, I trust you will let him know direct at this address. A biographical sketch will be forwarded to you in a few days by his office.

We are glad to be of service to you in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Madison S. Jones, Jr.,
Administrative Assistant

MSJ:dp

January 15, 1948

23-19-13

Dear

We are enclosing a printed copy of the petition presented to the United Nations by the NAACP, entitled AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD. May we ask your attention to it and some notice of the volume in your review section?

Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:

A Copy of this letter was sent to each of the representatives of the Little Assembly of the United Nations (Interim Committee)

January 22, 1948

22-35-06

Dear

We are enclosing a copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, which is, in printed form, the petition formally presented to the Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on October 23, 1947.

Because of the nature of this document and its significance for international peace, we are interested in having it circulated and made available to people in other countries. In this regard, would you please inform us whether you could arrange to have it printed in (language) and published in your country?

This petition was conceived and prepared with the purpose of having this matter it treates discussed and acted upon by the United Nations. We feel that it is a step in the right direction that will have positive ramifications for the good of oppressed people throughout the world. We would like to know if you would be willing to recommend to the proper authorities of the United Nations that the subject of this petition be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next meeting?

May we hear from you at your convenience? Please accept our thanks and appreciation for your courtesy and assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:LM

Enclosure

Re MR. White

January
27th
1948

MEMORANDUM TO DR.DUBOIS FROM MADISON JONES:

23-36-24

In checking over notification of appointment of Board members and staff to committees by the Committee on Administration and the Board of Directors, I find that at the October 27, 1947 meeting of the Committee on Administration a matter was discussed relative to additional space for the legal department. An extract citing the discussion and subsequent action by the Committee is enclosed.

As far as I know you have not been approached on this matter and I must apologize to you for being so tardy in getting this informato you. There has been no meeting of the committee and to my knowledge no action has been taken by Judge Delany who is chairman. I have today written to the Judge asking him if he would like to call a meeting of the committee and on his recommendation as to date and time the committee members will be notified.

MSJ:dp

[N.A.A.C.P.]

23-36-33

January 27, 1948

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MADISON JONES:

At the October 27, 1947 meeting of the Committee on Administration a matter was discussed relative to additional space for the legal department. An extract citing the discussion and subsequent action by the Committee is enclosed.

[N.A.A.C.P.]

MEMORANDUM

To: ~~Madison Jones~~ The Secretary - Board of Directors

From: W.E.B. Dr. DuBois, Director of Special Research

Subject: Memorandum from Madison Jones of January 27.

Date: January 28, 1948

22-40-25

Replying to ~~your~~ the memorandum of January 27, let me say:

1. When I came to join the NAACP in 1944, it was the ~~clear~~ understanding that I should have two offices, one for myself and ~~my~~ books, and one for my Research Assistant.

2. When I arrived at 69 Fifth Avenue, it had been found impossible to assign me more than a small space, about ~~9' x 12'~~ 8' x 12', ~~next to Secretary's office, but~~ the Secretary promised that he would soon find me more suitable quarters outside the building. ~~Nothing was done until~~ the Secretary went ~~on his trip~~ to the East, ~~when~~ I was given the use of his office, ~~with my smaller office for my assistant.~~

3. I had ~~bookcases made and~~ my books moved into ~~the Secretary's~~ this office ~~and was comfortable during the time that he was away. The~~ when the Secretary returned without notice to me, rather suddenly, so that I had to give up the office, and the books ~~that I was using,~~ and confine myself to the smaller office again.

4. I protested and asked for offices outside, but none could be ~~found. Finally, the situation got so difficult, and~~ work in the smaller office ~~so~~ impossible, ~~that~~ I found office accommodations at 52 West 42nd Street. When I gave notice of this to the Secretary, he objected to my moving and was upheld by the Board. I had, therefore, to pay the rent for two months ~~for this new office,~~ and ~~also~~ the expense of moving in and moving out, a total of about $400.00, ~~which has never been refunded by the Administration. Director I was moved into my office at 69 Fifth Ave.~~

5. When the new offices were opened at 20 West 40th Street, ~~again~~ I asked ~~for two offices, or~~ for one large office which could be divided into two. It was found impossible to arrange this. I therefore took the small office which was offered to me, and have since tried to accommodate myself to it. If now, the Board wishes me to occupy offices outside of this building and in any place where I can be accommodated with reasonable comfort, I shall be very glad to comply. I shall always insist, however, that I was unfairly treated in the refusal of the Board to pay for the office space which I was compelled to have in 1945.

my present office is 12' x 20'. It houses 3 workers, 2500 books, 2 desks + a lying table, a dictaphone outfit + 6 four drawer files cases. Most valuable material is also in the basement. Much of my own work is done in my apartment where I have available (at my own expense) a desk, dictaphone + typewriter.

22-40-26

I ~~hate to~~ can't refrain complain about office space, for I ~~do~~ realize that th[illegible] accommodate me was not necessarily personal, but due to the fact [illegible]he space available for ~~offices~~ the Research was too small. As I said to the staff [illegible]erence in October, 1947, the ~~office~~ association needs at least twice the space it now occupies to prevent unsanitary overcrowding, and lacks ~~xxxx~~ privacy ~~xxx~~ for work and consultation. ~~I have never been able to understand how anyone could have xx-~~ ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ ~~conceived that the work of this organization could have been crowded into two floors at 30 W. 10th Street.~~ A larger part of the office space at 69 Fifth Ave., ought to have been ~~kept~~ retained, and only important parts, such as planning and research functions should have been moved ~~to 30 W. 10th St.~~ The small increase in space which will be gained by eliminating my quarters will make very little difference in the long run. By another year the overcrowding will be just as ~~great~~ great as it is now.

MEMORANDUM

To: The Secretary and Board of Directors
From: W. E. B. DuBois, Director, Department of Special Research, NAACP
Subject: Memorandum from Madison Jones, Administrative Assistant, of January 27.
Date: January 28, 1948

Replying to the memorandum of January 27, let me say that I would be willing at any time to move to any suitable offices to relieve the ~~organisation~~ congestion here. However, since the subject has been brought up, I think that the whole matter of my office accommodations deserves review.

22-40-24

1. When I came to join the NAACP in 1944, it was the understanding that I should have two offices, one for myself and books, and one for my research assistant.

2. When I arrived at 69 Fifth Avenue, it had been found impossible to assign me more than a small space, about 8' x 12'. The Secretary promised that he would soon find me more suitable quarters outside the building.

3. When the Secretary went to the East, I was given the use of his office. I had my books moved into this office. When the Secretary returned, I had to give up ~~the~~ office and ~~the~~ books, and confine myself to the smaller office again.

4. I protested and asked for the promised offices outside. Finally, work in the small office became impossible. I found office accommodations at 52 West 42nd Street. When I gave notice of this to the Secretary, he objected to my moving and was upheld by the Board. The Administrative Assistant was given my office, and I had, therefore, to pay rent for two months, and the expense of moving in and moving out, a total of about $400.00, which has never been repaid.

5. When the new offices were opened at 20 West 40th Street, I asked for at least one large office which could be divided into two. It was found impossible to arrange this. I, therefore, took the small office which was offered to me and have since tried to accommodate myself to it. My present office is about 12' x 20'. It houses three workers, 2,500 books, 2 desks, ~~7 chairs~~, a typing table, a dictaphone outfit, 6 four-drawer file cabinets. Much valuable material is still in the basement. Much of my own work is done in my apartment, where I have installed at my own expense a desk, dictaphone, and typewriter.

6. I did not complain further about office space, for I realized that the failure to accommodate me was not necessarily personal, but due to the fact that the total space available for the Association was too small. As I said to the staff conference in October, 1946, "The Association needs at least twice the space it now occupies to prevent unsanitary overcrowding and lack of privacy for work and consultation." A larger part of the office space at 69 Fifth Avenue should have been retained, and only important parts of the Association, such as planning and research functions, should have been moved. The small increase in space which will be gained by eliminating my quarters will make very little difference in the long run. By another year the overcrowding will be just as great as it is now.

7. If now, the Board wishes me to occupy offices outside of this building and in any place where I can be accommodated with reasonable comfort, I shall be very glad to comply. I shall always insist, however, that I was unfairly treated in the refusal of the Board to pay for the office space which I was compelled to have in 1945.

[Naacp]

memo from walter white 1/30/48

TO: DR. DU BOIS

Yesterday I sent down to you a copy of the Report of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations and I believe Mr. Madison Jones sent you a few days ago a copy of the proceedings of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Prote ction of Minorities. I would be glad to your comment on this.

23-19-22

WW:emw

[n.a.a.c.p.]

MEMORANDUM

Ziff → Mr. White

To: Madison Jones
From: Department of Special Research, By Smythe
Subject: Letter from George H. Danton (attached)
Date: January 30, 1948

It would seem advisable for Mr. Danton to contact the following, noting his background and saying why he is anxious to make such a connection. It might be well to indicate in his letter that further data on him can be found in WHO'S WHO:

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dr. Harry W. Roberts, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia

Dr. Thomas Carter, Director, Department of Languages, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia

Professor V. V. Oak, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio

The President, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi

Director of Languages, Communication Center, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia

Director, Department of Languages, North Carolina College, Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Nathaniel Tillman, Director, Department of Language and Literature, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

President Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, Cheyney State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pa.

Attention Dr. Robinson, Principal, Colored High School, Phoenix, Arizona

Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Sedalia Academy, Sedalia, North Carolina

Mrs. Nannie Rice Burroughs, National Training School, Washington, D. C.

President Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana

The Mother Superior, Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana

Only schools that use mixed faculties are listed above. In each case Mr. Danton should point out fully and in detail what he has to offer and the arrangements he is willing to accept. He should point out just what Mrs. Danton can teach, but be sure and indicate that their dual acceptance is not mandatory but would be appreciated if Mrs. Danton's services can be used.

If other suggestions come to mind they shall be forwarded immediately.

33C-32-17

Notes for Dr. DuBois: Activities to be included in January Departmental Report

23-39-69

Speeches: CIVIL RIGHTS, Parkchester Rally, Parkchester, N. Y.

COLONIAL PEOPLES, Radio Broadcast, J. Raymond Walsh program, WMCA, in connection with a National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East

MEMORIAL TO F. D. Roosevelt, Baltimore, Md., P.C.A. speech

Other activities:

Chaired the opening public meeting of the National Conference on American Policy in China and Far East for the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, City Center Casino, New York City.

Article: "Race Prejudice and the CIO", for the FE News

Sent ~~xxxiax~~ copies of the printed edition of the NAACP petition, AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, to each representative to the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations (Little Assembly), with a covering letter requesting their help in getting it printed and circulated in each of their countries, and asking their attitude in helping the NAACP get the document placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next meeting.

Sent review copies of the printed edition of the NAACP petition to selected newspapers and periodicals, both colored and white.

(OVER)

Various organizations have used reprints of columns printed in the Chicago Defender. for publicity purposes.

Activities of Smythe:

Spoke on "The NAACP Petition to the United Nations," addressing the UPWA, CIO, Local 444, of Sydenham Hospital, New York City

Articles by him appeared as follows:
NAACP PROTEST TO THE U.N., Phylon, 4th Qtr. (December issue) published in January.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO CASE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS

PRESS REACTIONS TO THE NAACP PETITION

Both appeared in Race Relations, A Monthly Summary, Civil Rights Number, December-Jan.

File Copy

complete monthly record for year 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W. E. B. DuBois, Director

Monthly Report: January, 1948

During the month of January the Director made the following addresses:

1. CIVIL RIGHTS, American Jewish Congress, Parkchester, Bronx, New York, January 21. 500 people

2. COLONIAL PEOPLE, radio broadcast, Station WMCA, J. Raymond Walsh program, in connection with the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, January 21, N.Y.C.

3. MEMORIAL TO FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Baltimore, Maryland, January 30.

Other activities of the Director include:

1. Chairman, public meeting of the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, City Center Casino, New York City, January 23. Among the speakers were Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell of the University of Chicago, and Anna Louise Strong.

2. Wrote an article, "Race Prejudice and the CIO," for the FE News (Farm Equipment Workers union).

3. Sent copies of the printed edition of the NAACP United Nations petition, AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, to each representative to the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations (Little Assembly), with a covering letter requesting their help in getting it printed and circulated in each of their countries, and asking their attitude in helping the NAACP get the document placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next meeting. (In this connection, replies are beginning to come in.)

4. Sent review copies of the printed edition of the NAACP United Nations petition to selected Negro and white newspapers and periodicals.

5. Held interviews on South Africa with the Reverend Michael Scott, representative of the Herero People to petition the United Nations on their behalf, and other individuals from South Africa.

6. Wrote protest letters, on the neglect of the Schomburg Collection of the 135th Street Branch Public Library, which is causing the resignation of Dr. L. D. Reddick as Curator, to Mayor O'Dwyer, Ralph Beals, Director of libraries, and to the Editor, The New York Times.

The activities of my assistant, Dr. Smythe, include:

1. An address on THE NAACP PETITION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, before the UPWA, Local 444, CIO, Sydenham Hospital, New York City, January 18.

2. Articles by him were published as follows:

"NAACP Protest to the U. N." PHYLON, 4th Quarter, released in January (December, 1947 issue)

"The American Negro Case Before the United Nations," RACE RELATIONS, A Monthly Summary, Civil Rights Number, December-January, 1948

"Press Reactions to the NAACP Petition," RACE RELATIONS, A Monthly Summary, Civil Rights Number, December-January, 1948

25-2-168

Submitted: January 30, 1948

W. E. B. DuBois
By H. H. Smythe

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W. E. B. DuBois, Dir.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

35.2-387

A RECORD OF MOB VIOLENCE AND RACE CLASHES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1947

Prepared by the Division of Research and Information
January, 1948

(This report is not intended to be a comprehensive record of mob violence against Negroes in 1947. Rather, it is a recapitulation of 1947's most publicized cases.)

35-2-388

DEATHS AND SUSPECTED DEATHS BY LYNCHING, 1947

Feb., 1947: LIBERTY, S.C.: On February 16, 1947, Willie Earle, Negro truck driver, was removed from Pickens County jail by a mob of more than thirty persons. Two hours later his body, ripped by knives and buckshot, was dumped near a rural slaughterhouse. Earle, an epileptic victim, had been accused of robbing and fatally wounding a Greenville, S. C., cabbie. He was arrested on circumstantial evidence. (Metropolitan Press)

****

May, 1947: ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.: News of what was believed to be another lynching reached Washington, D. C., the week preceding May 28. According to a visitor from Rocky Mount, N. C., the body of Willie Pittman, a Negro taxi driver, was found horribly mutilated on the side of a country road near Rocky Mount. The head was bashed in, the legs and arms cut off and the body split open. Pittman's taxi was discovered parked in the woods nearby.
(Reported in the Daily Worker, May 28, 1947)

June, 1947: ATLANTA, GA.: Joe Nathan Roberts, 23, of Philadelphia, Pa., was shot to death by a mob in Sardin, Ga., because he refused to say "yes sir" and "no sir" to white inhabitants there. Roberts was a student at Temple University. The reported lynching was revealed in a letter to Mrs. Evonia Carn of Philadelphia from her mother who lives in Sardin. The parents of Roberts, also residents of Sardin, were spirited out of town.
(Released in the Afro-American, June 14, 1947)

Aug., 1947: PRENTISS, MISS.: The body of Versie Johnson, 35, ripped by bullets, was left at the scene of his murder near Prentiss on or about August 1. Johnson was shot dead by police for the alleged rape of a white expectant mother. According to Sheriff G. O. Berry, the prisoner was fired on when he suddenly attacked one of the three patrolmen responsible for his custody. A statement released by the sheriff's clerk indicated that a lynch mob had begun to gather round the jail soon after the prisoner was arrested and that, previous to the slaying, members of the mob had given Sheriff Berry an ultimatum to get Johnson's confession by 8 o'clock that evening. Johnson protested his innocence. He reportedly attempted to grab the gun of one of the officers.

Sheriff Berry, State Highway Patrolman J. S. Puckett and a patrolman named Kapkins were subsequently tried "merely as a formality necessary to clear their names."
(An A.P. release reported in the N. Y. Herald Tribune. Also reported in the Negro press)

Dec., 1947: LOWNDESBORO, ALA.: Elmore Bolling, 30, was found slain the week preceding December 20. His body was riddled by shotgun and pistol shots. More than one were believed, from the body's condition, to have figured in the slaying. Clarke Luckie, white, who alleged that Bolling insulted his wife over the telephone, was released in $2,500 bond. Real motive behind the slaying believed to be the fact that Bolling was too prosperous as a Negro farmer.
(Reported by the Negro press, December 20)

DUNN, N. C.: Charlie (Bud) Smith, 36, was found slain and his companion Daniel Bassford, who was left for dead, was found to be seriously wounded as the result of mob violence. Governor Cherry of N. C., declared the matter was no mystery as all parties to the affair were known. None were apprehended. The NAACP asked officials of Lillington and Harnet Counties to investigate. Local dailies called the incident an "ambush affair."

Dec., 1947: Carl Cameron, an innocent Negro bystander, was first attacked by the mob, but was released, unharmed. He was arrested and held in jail overnight.

MOB VIOLENCE RESULTING IN PHYSICAL INJURY, 1947

Jan., 1947: ATHENS, GA.: Golden Lamar Howard, 19, was beaten by two brothers, Bradley Verner, 36, and Tom Verner, 26, for refusing to divulge the nature of his testimony before a Federal grand jury investigating the Walton County lynchings of July, 1946. (Note: In June, 1946 Tom Verner was acquitted by a Federal jury and a mistrial was declared for his brother.)
(Negro and white press, January 2, 1947)

Feb., 1947: COLLINS, MISS.: Lawrence Calvin Jenkins, an honorably discharged Navy veteran of Collins, Miss., was attacked by a group of white men north of town, tied to a tree and castrated with a razor blade. Untied, he struggled to his home nearby where his mother found him lying on the porch. He was removed to a hospital in Jackson, Miss.

35-2-389

John Sandiford, Sheriff of Covington County, said there was nothing he could do because Jenkins would not name his attackers, one of whom was said to be interested in a Negro girl and resentful of Jenkins' attention to her. The sheriff found the rope and razor used in the attack after a brief investigation.
(Reported to National Office by Chicago Branch NAACP. Published in press release under date of February 28.)

Apr., 1947: DECATUR, GA.: Aggie Herndon, 46, and wife Lottie, 40, were severely beaten at their home near Lithonia by four unmasked white men who entered on the pretext of searching for stolen articles. The men took the victims into the woods, administered a brutal flogging to the man and shot the woman. Pistol, flashlight and blackjack were employed. Although De Kalb county police investigated, no subsequent reports were made to the press.
(Negro and white press, April 2.)

July, 1947: CHARLESTON, S. C.: Three white youths between the ages of 19 and 20 attacked a group of Negro boy scout campers at Camp Pinckney, S. C., the week of July 21, shooting and wounding three. They were apprehended.

Aug., 1947: JEFFERSON, S. C.: Four men were brutally beaten by a white mob, three for no obvious reason of any kind. Names of the victims were withheld for fear of reprisals. The trouble started when a white man attacked one of the four with a tire tool. His victim was arrested and lodged in jail. The victim's father and uncle went to the jail to learn the charges against the youth. The father was set upon by the mob and beaten. His brother received the same treatment.

(Later, the son of another man was met on the highway by the magistrate, according to reports, and was beaten.)

Several persons admitted seeing the Chesterfield County sheriff and the acting chief of police near the scene of the beatings, but the two made no effort to interfere.
(Afro-American, August 23, 1947)

LYNCHINGS PREVENTED, 1947

Feb., 1947: OSAWATOMIE, KAN.: George Miller, accused of killing the local chief of police, was rescued by sheriff's deputies and state patrolmen from a lynch mob that had already placed a noose around his neck.

Feb., 1947: Miller is reported to have slain the police chief when the latter attempted to arrest him on a warrant issued through his wife, charging him with beating her.

(Negro press, February 8, 1947.)

May, 1947: PELL CITY, ALA.: Robert Hunt, 28, charged with having attacked a pregnant white woman, was saved, May 1, from a mob of 300 by state highway patrolmen who arrived in time to prevent the mob from taking the prisoner from the sheriff.

Hunt was wounded by shots fired into the jail. He was transferred to Birmingham.

(Negro and white press, May 2, 1947.)

FORREST CITY, ARK.: Willie Lee Duke, 40, was captured by a sheriff's posse and held in an undisclosed jail because of crowds "gathering and talking trouble" in the community, according to Sheriff R. W. West.

Duke was seized in connection with the knife slaying of Mrs. Ethel Ellis Boyd, 35-year-old cab owner and driver.

(New York Sun, May 23, 1947)

RICH SQUARE, N. C.: Godwin (Buddy) Bush, 24, a Negro prisoner held in Northampton County jail was seized by a mob at daybreak on May 23. Bush broke away from the mob as they left the jail and dashed across the street. One shot was fired but missed him. He hid in the woods and dense swamp for two days and then crept to a farm house and asked for help.

Bush had been arrested in Rich Square and charged with attempted rape of a young white woman. After giving himself up to the FBI, he was placed in their custody.

(Metropolitan Press, May 23).

June, 1947: LASKER, N. C.: Another assault on a white girl by a Negro man was reported on June 1st at Lasker, N. C. Upward of a hundred men, many of them armed, fanned out over the countryside after the girl reported the alleged attack. Two Negroes found within two miles of her home were taken into custody and promptly rushed to an undisclosed jail for safekeeping.

(N. Y. Herald Tribune, June 1, 1947)

HURTSBORO, ALA.: Jimmy Harris, 18, was rescued by the mayor of Hurtsboro, Ala., from a mob that had placed a rope around his neck and stationed the victim under a tree in front of the home of a woman whom he was accused of attempting to rape.

Harris was first sent to Phoenix City and then to Kilby Prison at Montgomery for safekeeping. Reports conflict and range from being accused of entering the home of the woman to charges of being found in her kitchen with his arms about her.

(Metropolitan and Negro press, June 11)

CARROLLTON, GA.: A mob of 300 masked white men unsuccessfully attempted to storm the Carrollton County jail June 30 and remove Eddie Brown, Jr., 20, accused of murdering a white farmer. Deputy sheriff, local police and state patrolmen were effective in resisting the mob. Brown was secretly removed from the jail to Fulton Tower in Atlanta by State police.

(Metropolitan press, July 2, 1947)

July, 1947: KNOXVILLE, TENN.: John Fleming, a Negro, who was seen walking down the street with a white woman was placed in jail for safekeeping after being rescued from a mob of 150 men by police chief Elmer Kykes.

Fleming, 40, suffered the loss of an eyeball and several cuts and bruises.

(Metropolitan and Negro press, July 8)

25-2-390

LYNCHINGS PREVENTED, 1947

July, 1947: WINDSOR, N. C.: An unnamed middle-aged Negro suspect was arrested the week of July 11 and rushed to an undisclosed jail because of rising tension over an alleged attack upon a 55-year-old woman.

LEESBURG, GA.: Pfc. Herbert L. Archer, Jr., of Newark, N. J., was taken from a train at Albany, Ga., and arrested because he allegedly went to sleep in a lower Pullman berth reserved for a white woman.

The woman's complaint brought the conductor who suggested hanging Archer beside the track. The complainant intervened for the soldier. Archer was transferred from Albany as rumors spread that he had attempted to assault a white woman. The local sheriff told his father, after a visit to his son, to get to the next town for safety.

MARIETTA, GA.: Charles Mozley, 13, escaped, with police assistance, from a mob of about 300 white men armed with shotguns, rifles, pistols and clubs. It is alleged Mozley attempted to rape a 72-year-old grandmother who was picking berries with her two grandchildren.

Police indicated that the charge against Mozley would be assault with intent to murder.

(Metropolitan and Negro press, July 23)

35-2-391

Aug., 1947: COLUMBIA, N. C.: Seven southern-born whites and an American-born Japanese and two Negroes attending a student project were issued an ultimatum by a mob of 250 whites to leave the county within 24 hours for occupying the same residence.

The group had been working for two months on a project of building a cooperative store for Negroes in Columbia. The group leader revealed that the real reason behind the threats of violence was resistance by financial interests in the community.

(Negro press, August 30, 1947)

GADSDEN, ALA.: A mob of 75 on August 30 unsuccessfully attempted to find and lynch Art Hendricks, 15, accused of criminal attack upon a 41-year-old white woman.

Hendricks was arrested on September 15.

Oct., 1947: PERRY, GA.: A mob of ten (Negroes) demanded the custody of James Davis, a Negro, charged with criminal assault on a 9-year-old girl, July 18. The sheriff refused to surrender the prisoner.

(Negro press, October 25, 1947)

Nov., 1947: ELLAVILLE, GA.: Sheriff Edgar Duane announced that he had taken precaution to avoid mob violence against five Negroes accused of slaying a local farmer by hurrying the accused to separate undisclosed jails.

(World Telegram, November 5, 1947)

KINGSTREET, S. C.: Sheriff Peerless Lambert blocked attempts of an armed mob to remove prisoner Bennie Collins, held on charges of having raped a 15-year-old girl. Collins was removed elsewhere for his safety.

(Reported in Race Relations, Dec. - Jan., 1947-1948)

DANBURY, N. C.: Officers of Danbury refused, on November 11, to reveal the whereabouts of Harry L. Davis, a Negro who had joined an armed mob combing the hills to seize him.

He was arrested when a neighbor recalled having seen him in the area where an attempt was made to rape a young girl. Davis was taken to Winston-Salem and moved again to an undisclosed jail.

(Metropolitan and Negro press, November 11)

Jan., 1947: HOUSTON, TEX.: Bill Rudd, reporter for the Houston Chronicle, a witness to the following incident reported:

A man described by the arresting patrolman as "just one of those smart California niggers" was arrested on a charge of "loud talking" and was held for general investigation. Sergeant E. A. Hammett telephoned another officer, "I have a nigger on the way up. He is smart as hell and might give you a little trouble. You might give him a good bouncing."

After booking the prisoner, three officers started down the corridor toward the cells with him. Suddenly one struck him heavily in the back of the neck with his fist. The Negro plunged to the floor. All three officers started kicking and stomping him. He was badly beaten.

When Seargeant Hammett was informed of the beating, he remarked, "They shouldn't have carried it that far."

(Monthly Summary, Feb., 1947)

35-2-392

June, 1947: NASHVILLE, TENN.: Jesse Patton, 18, was beaten by city police in an effort to obtain a confession of robbery and safecracking. The nature of his injuries was submitted to persons investigating this brutality by the physician who treated his wounds.

(Pittsburgh Courier, June 28)

July, 1947: COLUMBUS, GA.: Sgt. Raphael Showell was viciously assaulted by two Columbus police officers, W. C. Sapp and J. H. Hawkins, because an Army bus, of which Showell was in charge, collided with a civilian car. Showell, declaring himself the officer in charge, was then set upon by the police.

(Chicago Defender, July 19)

Oct., 1947: MONTGOMERY, ALA.: B. F. Feldey, 65, and his son, Robert, were beaten beyond recognition by C. F. Goolsby and J. R. Ingram on or about October 1. The assault occurred during a trip by the pair to visit Robert's sister, ill in the local hospital. Police stopped the car, ostensibly to search for liquor and guns. The elderly Feldey was beaten without restraint. His ribs were broken. Robert's skull was fractured, his arm paralyzed.

Goolsby admitted the incident. Both officers were suspended "for not reporting the incident."

Ingram, a week prior to the incident, beat up James Anderson, a Negro grocery clerk, because Anderson was, according to Ingram, "a smart nigger."

(Chicago Defender, October 11, 1947)

Nov., 1947: SLIDELL, LA.: A Negro officer, Lieut. Edward De Vaughn, and a sergeant were ordered out of a public pay station at gunpoint by a plainclothes policeman, and were later overtaken on the road by two plainclothesmen. They were forced from their jeep, arrested, beaten and jailed without medical aid.

Although charges of "insulting an officer" were lodged against the pair, the soldiers were subsequently released when arresting officers failed to prefer charges. Both victims were hospitalized following their release.

(Monthly Summary, Dec.-Jan. 1947-1948)

LOUISVILLE, KY.: Patrolman John R. Womack and a fellow officer entered a confectionery, accused George E. Kelly, a Negro, of creating disturbance, beat him unconscious when he attempted to knock a gun out of Womack's hand, and riddled his body with bullets as he lay senseless on the floor.

Local police termed the shooting necessary, although both the proprietor and other witnesses testified that Kelly had been model and discreet in his deportment.

(Monthly Summary, Dec.-Jan., 1947-48)

Mar., 1947: ATLANTA, GA.: The home of Reverend A. C. Epps, a Negro minister, was dynamited and partially destroyed as a result of terrorism by whites opposed to the presence of the newly moved Epps family into the neighborhood.

Mrs. Epps reported that prior to the dynamiting, ten white men had visited her and warned the family to move. Two other houses in the same vicinity were damaged by bombs the same week.

(Monthly Summary, April, 1947)

July, 1947: ATLANTA, GA.: The unoccupied home of Nish Williams, Negro, was bombed for the second time on or about July 12. Considerable damage was done to the structure. Neighbors reported seeing a white man toss a missile into the structure shortly before the blast occurred. No arrests were made although the same parties suspected in half a dozen similar bombings are believed to be guilty.

(Negro Press, July 19, 1947)

33-2-393

Aug., 1947: BIRMINGHAM, ALA.: The newly acquired dwelling of Samuel Matthews, a Negro miner, and his wife was dynamited by white terrorists. The blast caused the rear section of the building to collapse and tore off the front. At least six sticks of dynamite were used.

The home was unoccupied by the Matthews who had been reluctant to move in for fear of reprisals. They and others had received cross-bone threat notices.

(Negro Press, August 30, 1947)

Oct., 1947: MIAMI, FLA.: Mr. and Mrs. Ezekiel Woodard and their family barely escaped with their lives when their dual family dwelling was burned to the ground by terrorists. The area was one recently opened to Negroes. Two 5-gallon containers filled with gasoline were found on the premises by investigators.

The Woodards were among scores of Negro families recently evicted from the "Railroad Shop Addition" to make room for a new school for white children.

(Negro Press, October 25, 1947)

ATLANTA, GA.: An unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy the home of Mr. and Mrs. Oliver L. Cantrell with a home-made bomb containing five pounds of dynamite and nitro glycerine. The missile failed to explode. The bomb was taken to police headquarters where it was decapped.

ATLANTA, GA.: The home of Clifford L. Walton, 43, and his family was set afire by a group of white men who resented the entrance of the family into a so-called "white" residential area. No arrests were made.

Patrolman R. R. Bibb and his partner H. W. Bates, who were in front of the house when the fire started, stated that a white man inquired how long the officers planned to remain and declared that families in the area resented the Negroes' presence. "You may not want to stick around and see what will take place," he concluded. Shortly thereafter, the rear of the house burst into flames.

(National and Negro press, October 24, 1947)

Chicago's Race Clashes

During the summer months of June, July and August, Chicago experienced the worst wave of race violence since its memorable riot a generation ago. The Mayor's Committee on Human Rights cites records of 25 cases of vandalism and arson against Negroes including loss of ten lives by fire. Disturbance was instigated by white residents in efforts to dislodge Negroes from newly acquired homes in so-called "white" neighborhoods.

On June 5, approximately 500 whites gathered in front of

CHICAGO RACE CLASHES

of a three story building on Chicago's Southside in protest demonstration after a Negro family moved into a first floor flat. Before police squads arrived and dispersed the crowd, several members of the mob threw stones at the building, breaking several windows. Three who defied police were arrested. The building is located in an area bound by restrictive covenant agreements signed by members of the Park Manor Improvement Ass'n. The association filed an injunction suit to remove the Negroes.

Early in July a mob of more than 2,000 whites milled about and threatened violence and property damage to the newly purchased home of Cleo Byrd, Sr. The outburst was an effort to intimidate Byrd, who acquired the property in violation of a restrictive covenant agreement.

35-2-394

Within the week, Mayor Martin Kennelly met with a representative group of citizens to discuss the issue of violence against Negro home seekers. The group called the Mayor's attention to the then 19 cases of attacks against Negroes. Additional police protection was promised.

The following month white terrorists continued a five-day demonstration over the presence of Negro veterans in the Fernwood Veterans' Housing Project. Disorders first broke out after 8 Negro veterans and their families moved into the project along with 63 white veteran families. A crowd of 2,000 sought to storm the housing area. Four police were injured. Angered over failure to gain entrance to the project, the mob swept into adjourning streets and began stoning passing automobiles driven by Negroes. In three nights more than 100 cars had windshields and windows broken and damaged fenders and bodies. Some 50 Negro men and women were treated at various hospitals for injuries.

INDIVIDUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST NEGROES INDICATIVE OF LYNCH SPIRIT

Apr., 1947: SMITHFIELD, N. C.: Fletcher Melvin, 24, a Negro orderly at Provident Hospital, Baltimore, was shot and instantly killed by train conductor, C. A. James, while enroute to his native home in Dunn, N. C. According to Negro fellow-passengers, Melvin was asleep when James gave general orders for all Negroes to occupy the Jim-Crow coach. James stated that when awakened Melvin objected to the order. He stated that the shooting was in self-defense.

It was not made clear why eight or ten railway employees on the Atlantic Coast line train were not called upon to assist in subduing Melvin, if he had actually been disorderly. The conductor could not explain why he had failed to call upon the police in either Rocky Mount or Wilson, two large towns through which the train passed during the period.

(Negro Press, April 19, 1947)

June, 1947: LA GRANGE, GA.: Henry Gilbert, a 42-year-old farmer of Troup County, was reported slain by Police Chief Buchan of Hamilton, Ga., in Harris County jail early in June. Police had accused Gilbert of aiding the escape of Gus Davidson, charged with killing a white mill owner.

Investigation by Dan Duke, former state attorney-general, revealed that murder taking on the aspect of lynching had occurred.

(Negro press, June 14, 1947)

ATLANTA, GA.: Mrs. Lucy Pyron, 50, a passenger on a crowded streetcar was shot by a white man in a streetcar fracas on June 14. The dispute arose over occupancy of segregated seats. Mrs. Pyron was a bystander.

July, 1947: COVINGTON, TENN.: James Wade, 38, the father of eight, was slain by City Marshall Jim Scott. His bullet-riddled body was found near the scene of the slaying. Wade was charged with meeting a white woman. His wife claims he had only purchased some second-hand furniture from her.

INDIVIDUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST NEGROES INDICATIVE OF LYNCH SPIRIT

July, 1947: LOS ANGELES, CALIF.: Adolphus W. Burley, a veteran, was beaten by a white policeman participating in a road block. While waiting, Burley and his companion, turned on the car radio and laughed at some of the jokes they heard. The officer, nearby, wanted to know what was funny. When Burley explained, he called him a liar, ordered him off the road, assaulted him and put him in a patrol car where he again assaulted him. Burley was beaten unconscious.
(Negro Press, July 19, 1947)

Aug., 1947: NEW YORK, N. Y.: Francis Le Maire, a New York policeman, critically wounded Curtis Jones, a 29-year-old Negro and disabled veteran. Jones objected to Le Maire's language in telling him to move on. Le Maire attacked Jones with a nightstick. When Jones lifted his arms to protect his bleeding head, Le Maire shot him three times.
(Metropolitan and Negro press)

35-2-395

Oct., 1947: NEWARK, N.J.: The home of Robert Andrews was entered by a band of whites on August 23. Approximately 70 men stormed Andrews' apartment, damaging property and threatening the occupants. The daughter of the leader had reported to her father that three Negro youths had hit her over the eye.
(Negro Press, October 13)

CHICAGO, ILL.: Cleotho Macon, a veteran, was beaten by Police Lieut. Edward Barry in a tavern on October 2. Barry is reported to have been drunk and willfully beat Macon.
(Negro Press, October 18)

Nov., 1947: ST. LOUIS, MO.: Patrolman Henry Reed shot and killed Henry Black, an elderly Negro whom he had taken into custody on suspicion of theft. Reports state that the victim was halted in the street by the officer and questioned concerning a rug he was carrying. Black was then put under arrest, as his explanation seemed unsatisfactory, but broke free and ran as the officer was leading him toward a police call-box. Patrolman Reed testified that he fired two warning shots, followed by a third which wounded Black fatally in the head. A coroner's jury returned a verdict of "justifiable homicide." The NAACP is preparing Black's case for the grand jury.
(Monthly Summary, Dec. 1947-Jan. 1948)

The Anguilla, Georgia Prison Camp Massacre

On July 11 the Associated Press reported that five Negro convicts had been shot to death and eight others wounded, two critically, in an escape attempt at a Georgia state highway camp, according to information released by Warden W. G. Worthy. He gave this account:

A group of new prisoners joined the camp yesterday and were sent out to work on the Jesup Highway. The new men refused to work and were brought back to the camp about 4 p.m. They would not get out of the trucks when ordered and Worthy called the county police. Chief of Police Russell B. Henderson of Glynn County talked to the prisoners and told them to do what the warden ordered and "cut out that foolishness." The men left the trucks and were lined up in the prison enclosure. When the police chief finished his talk they broke, ran to the barracks and dove under the building. Others crawled and ran toward the fence enclosure.

Officers then opened fire with shotgun and rifles. Five were killed and eight wounded. Fourteen came back and surrendered.

NAACP investigators were rushed to the death camp immediately following the shooting. They worked quietly to assemble the actual facts leading up to the mass murder and uncovered several details of a sensational nature. A summary of their report includes the following:

Six Negro prisoners were killed outright and seven

The Anguilla, Georgia Prison Camp Massacre

seriously wounded. There was no sit-down strike as originally reported. The men simply refused to go into a rattle-snake infested swamp without boots. They demanded a meeting with the warden where they could explain their objections but this demand was refused by armed guards who were in charge of the work gang. When the men refused to enter the swamp they were told to sit in the road while one of the guards returned to the camp to report the situation to the warden. Only two guards remained with the men who were perfectly aware of the fact that there were fifteen heavily armed guards back at the camp. It was pointed out to the investigators by one of the prisoners, that if an escape had been contemplated it would have been more feasible with only two guards over them than later, when they'd been returned to camp in trucks, under the guns of seventeen guards.

The trucks carrying the prisoners back to camp was followed by the warden, who requested county police who were met on the road, to follow the caravan.

25-2-396

The Negro prisoners were unloaded in front of the barracks where the warden ordered five prisoners to "step out". This the men refused to do when it was obvious to the tightly packed group that the warden was reeling drunk. The warden then ordered 'Pee Wee' Willie Bell to step out "because I'm going to kill you," When Bell refused this order the warden sent for some pick handles. A few minutes later the intoxicated warden spoke to County Police Chief Henderson, who got into his car and drove to Brunswick, sixteen miles away, returning with a sub-machine gun. During all of this time the prisoners made no attempts to escape.

When the police chief returned with the machine gun, the warden reeled into the packed prisoners "holding his pistol with both hands" to get Pee Wee. A few minutes later the shooting began. The survivors insisted that the police took part in the shooting. This has been denied by the police. One investigator was certain that the machine gun had been used against the helpless prisoners.

Published reports reaching the outside world from the death camp gave a considerably different picture from the NAACP findings. One of the first versions appeared in a local paper where it was reported..."When Warden W. G. Worthy of State Highway Camp No. 18 strode into a group of unruly Negro convicts at about 4:30 o'clock yesterday afternoon, Willie Bell, a long-timer and reported trouble-maker lunged at him. The warden shot Bell with his pistol and immediately half a dozen other armed prison guards opened fire on the convicts with shotguns and pistols.

"A few seconds later the firing had ceased and five of the colored convicts lay dead, eight others were wounded, one dying during the night at the city hospital. Bell received only a minor wound in the leg.

"Witnesses said at the first shot by Warden Worthy, the prisoners broke in all directions, men scrambled under the nearby bunk house. Three of the dead Negroes lay where they fell in front of the bunk house. Another was killed under the house and had to be dragged out, and the fifth managed to crawl under the house to a 10-foot wire fence on the other side. He was shot climbing the fence and fell dead on the outside.

"The wounded lay where they fell, some under the bunk house building, others sprawled in front of it. Fourteen of the group of 27 prisoners in the group were not hit by the bullets and crouched or lay still on the ground as guards rounded them up and herded them into the bunk house.

Although the Anguilla Camp was ordered closed by Georgia's State Board of Corrections, and an investigation into the responsibility of prison officials was made, none were convicted.

(NAACP Investigators and Negro Press)

[naacp]

TO: THE NAACP

FROM: W. E. B. Du Bois

SUBJECT: Finance

DATE: February 2, 1948

For extra clerical assistant in my office.

January 1--15	$40.00
January 15-February 1-	36.75
	$ 76.75

Department of Special Research

February 3, 1948

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

Miss Baxter:

Would you please be good enough to send to:

Dr. Jacob Ter Meulen
Director-Librarian
Library of the Palace of Peace
The Hague, Belgium

all materials that the association issues without cost? We are writing Dr. Ter Meulen that this request has been passed along and that he may look forward to receiving such material.

With thanks for your help, I am

H. H. Smythe
For the Department
of Special Research

23C-45

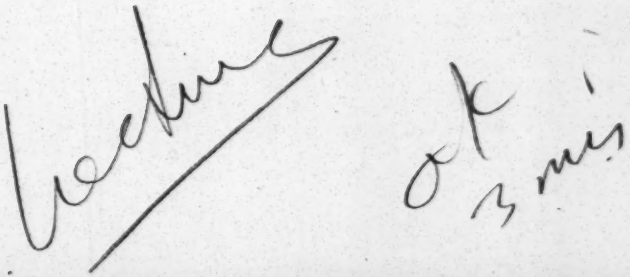
Feb. 5, 1948

Miss Merriam, United Electrical Workers, called and asked that you please let them have a copy of your speech which is to be broadcasted over WOR on February 11. They need it as soon as possible, in order to prepare reprints for distribution.

Also, she mentioned that the program planning necessitated your holding your script to 3 minutes.

Smythe

23C - 38 - 22



[n.a.a.c.p.]

file Tolland

February
9th
1948

MEMORANDUM TO DR. SMYTHE FROM MISS BRANCHE:

Please have Mrs. Murphy report to Mrs. Outlaw at 9 A.M. February 10th to receive instructions on the teletype. All of the secretaries send their own telegrams as a rule. If they are terribly rushed, Mrs. Outlaw will pinch hit for them but it is not one of her regular duties.

If Mrs. Murphy does not feel sure of her knowledge after Monday, Mrs. Outlaw will instruct her further until she has learned to operate the machine.

In the future, anything you or Mrs. Murphy wish to know, please ask me and not other members of the staff.

22-29

BB:RJW

cc: Mrs. Outlaw.

NAACP - Corresp. Branches

22-34

February 9, 1948

Mr. Donald Jones
1718 Jackson Street
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Jones: Dr. DuBois asked me to inform you that he shall be lecturing in Texas during the week of March 21.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

COPY

Feb 9, 1948

Invite. for lecture

February 9, 1948

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MADISON S. JONES, JR.

23-29-40

Last Friday Mr. Murray Eisenstadt, a teacher in an evening class of adult education at Brooklyn College, called in an endeavor to get a speaker for the May 4th session of the course in "FILM FORUM: UNDERSTANDING WORLD PROBLEMS". He wishes to obtain the services of someone who could interpret this question adequately. The class is in the evening from 8 to 10 P.M.

Would you be interested in addressing this class at Brooklyn College. Mr. Eisenstadt may be reached at the Midwood High School, Department of History, Bedford Avenue and Glenwood Road, Brooklyn. If you can not take the engagement would you please let me know as soon as possible and I shall endeavor to get someone else.

MSJ:dp

February 11, 1948

Mr. Murray Eisenstadt
c/o Brooklyn College
Bedford Avenue & Avenue H
Brooklyn 10, New York

Dear Mr. Eisenstadt:

There seems to be some mistake about our telephone conversation concerning the meeting of May 4th. I indicated I would try to obtain the services of Dr. DuBois. I have inquired to that end and find that he will just have returned from an extensive speaking tour and will not be able to accept the engagement. However, I am endeavoring to get another speaker for the occasion and assure you I will let you know who this person will be just as soon as I have definite word.

Sincerely yours,

Madison S. Jones, Jr.,
Administrative Assistant

MSJ:dp

TO: MR. WHITE
DATE: FEBRUARY 11, 1948

I shall be out of town lecturing on the following dates;

February 15, Boston

February 19, Colby College, Maine

February 25, Stowe College, St. Louis

February 27, Book Lovers Club, St. Louis

March 5, Oakland, California

March 7, San Francisco, California

March 9, Stanford University, California

March 11, Sacramento, California

March 14, Los Angeles, California

March 24, Paririe View College, Texas

62-95-16

[NAACP]

WESTERN UNION

N256 DL PD-New York, NY 13 705p

Dr. Clyde Miller, League for Fair Play, 11 West 42nd Street
February 13, 1948 PM 8

42/66/6

Opponents of full democracy for all Americans have launched a vicious attack on the President's Civil Rights message to Congress. It is important that you know that one strong motive back of this message was a conviction on the part of the President that America was handicapped in its international relations by the existence of a double standard of citizenship affecting a tenth of the American population. The critics of the President think more of their prejudices than they do of the prestige of America among the nations when the peace of the world is at stake.

If your organization as a member of National Emergency Committee against Mob Violence has not already done so, will you telegraph your support to the President and urge your local units to do so? Will you also urge upon Senators and Congressmen of both parties to give non-partisan, non-sectional support to legislature. (Signed) Channing H. Tobias - Walter White

February 26, 1948

Dr. Channing Tobias
Phelphs Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dr. Walter White
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I have your telegram of February 13th urging full support of the President and his announced program of civil rights. If I had any faith that this program were anything more than words to woo the liberal vote I would be inclined to do everything you ask in your telegram.

Actions, however, speak louder than words. Mr. Truman, if he choose, could end discrimination in the armed forces by a stroke of the pen. If he chose he could take measures immediately to end the disgraceful conditions of segregation and discrimination in Washington, D.C. If he chose he could also end a foreign policy which seems to have the backing of most anti-democratic groups in America and every anti-democratic nation in the world.

I suggest you send for the Kiplinger Washington Letter for January 31st and read there the appraisal of Mr. Truman. It is an appraisal which says in effect: "Don't worry about Mr. Truman's liberal words. He is just trying to court the liberal voters."

It is my observation that the Kiplinger Letter appraisal is correct. Actions do speak louder than words.

Sincerely yours,

Clyde R. Miller
Associate Professor of Education.

W. E. B. DU BOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

Feb. I3, I948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Please copy the enclosed with corrections. Sign

Robeson, Yergan, Stevens, Riddle, Collins Bishop and Du Bois in that order. Send copies to this committee and to Hunton.

Get hold of Hunton and say this should go to:

~~Committee~~
Members of Council
Press

Tell him to get in touch with Robeson and see how best to do this

Sincerely

WEBD

23-26-7

Earlier version corrected

At the beginning of its eleventh year of work, the Council on African Affairs is asking the friends of the African peoples to join in its work and program. Its objects today are the same as those which we laid down at our organization in 1937. The truth and sincerity of this program can be judged by what has been accomplished:

1. Protested against international sanction of Italy's rape of Ethiopia.
2. Called for a concrete statement of peace aims with respect to Africa, including recognition of Ethiopia's claims to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.
3. Attempted to have the United Nations play an effective role on behalf of the subject peoples of Africa.
4. Pressed United Nations action against South Africa's vicious color bar system and its attempt to annex South West Africa.
5. Pointed out the consequences of America's foreign policy upon the struggle for Africa's freedom.
6. Exposed the wholesale exploitation of African labor and resources ~~by aliens~~.
7. Rallied American support for the rights of African workers on such occasions as the general strike which took place in Nigeria in 1946, and the strikes of 60,000 gold mine workers in South Africa in 1946.
8. When famine struck thousands of Africans in the Cape Province of South Africa, the Council initiated a campaign for the collection of canned food and cash, together valued at ~~[illegible] to~~ $14,000 for their relief, the only relief sent to Africa from any place in the world.

23-26-1

These and other issues affecting the people of Africa have been brought before the American public by the Council, through thirty-seven public meetings, fifty-one issues of the monthly bulletin, NEW AFRICA, ~~and various pamphlets~~, and forty-three copies of pamphlets and other material issued by the Council.

What we have done in the past is proof of what we aim at in the future. And the need of this work in greater and more extended form is painfully clear today. Just when Asia is fighting and struggling toward the light, to rid itself of colonialism, with its compulsory poverty, ignorance and disease; at this very time there is renewed effort to fasten colonial slavery and exploitation on Africa; to suppress and hush its struggle for freedom and autonomy; to

23-26-2

monopolize its gold, diamonds, copper, tin, and uranium, its cocoa, coffee, vegetable oils and spices; to restore and perpetuate slavery and serfdom, and make this continent the new base of a restored imperialism.

Small wonder that at such a crisis, the forces of reaction, warmongering, and gambling in food should discover, in any effort to protect, defend and uplift Africa, indications of subversion and revolt. We are not disturbed nor diverted by these attacks. We remember that in these days of hysteria and witch-hunting, not a single forward movement nor effort for social uplift in any direction has escaped besmirching by anonymous attack and public innuendo. This is but the proof of the threats, fear, and timidity of our day. The only answer to it, is work and more work; effort and greater effort; ideal and higher ideal to rid the world of oppression, exploitation, and slavery.

The Council on African Affairs, therefore, proposes to begin the new year with increased effort, widened program and greater efficiency toward the same objects for which we stood in 1937, and for which we still stand today.

COPY

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23-26-5

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23-26-6

[1948]

Memo . . .

To Dr. Smythe

from

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Feb. 14

Before acting on my letter in re Council on African Affairs, get in touch with Robeson thro' Hunton. Tell Robeson that I'm sure Yergan will doctor the minutes. If so we are helpless and can only appeal to the Council. Perhaps then we'd better withhold the statement from the Press until we get the minutes. Unless the minutes sustain us as an Executive Committee with power I am disposed to resign

WEBD

23.26-8

Robeson Lehigh: 4-0317
22 East 89th St.
% McGhee

SCHULTE PRESS, Inc. CHelsea 2-0326 0327 119 W. 23rd ST., NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

W. E. B. DU BOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

Feb. I6, I948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

23-14-12

Please write the members of the Council of African Affairs that I cannot get back to N.Y. in time for the Friday meeting. Say that if the minutes sustain our status as an executive committee with power, I am willing to continue to serve, although I shall be out of N.Y. until April. But if the minutes sustain Mr. Yergan's contention that we are only a committee of enquiry, then I shall resign. Send copies of this letter to Hunton, Doxey Wilkerson and Shirley Graham.

Penn Sta. 8:50 PM 1st class
11:30 - St. 10:15 PM
G. central

Write Mrs. Curtis of St. Louis and tell her the time and place of my arrival. In case of bad flying weather will you look up possible trains late on the night of the 23rd

I arrive Saturday at 7:30. Please phone me at my appartment about 9 a.m. I may need you at the office.

23-14-13

Enclsed is a check for Hinckson manager of 409. Ask him kindly to pay for my laundry which arrives Friday morning.

I shall want the chart for my novel to take west with me. Also a new ribbon for my portable

Sincerely yours

W.S.B.

Ask for copies of the minutes of the last Board meeting

23-20-23

February 16, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
30 Peacevale Road
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Doctor:

I received both of your notes today. In accordance with instructions, I proceeded to make copies of the corrected version of the statement to be released to the press re the Council on African Affairs.

However, before proceeding further, other than mailing out the copies to the Committee, I tried to contact Mr. Paul Robeson. He had left the city for Washington and would not return until sometime tonight. Consequently, I contacted Dr. Hunton and he came over to our office. I showed him your note and he asked me to tell you that in regard to the Committee, regardless of what Mr. Yergan might do, the verbatim reports of the meeting would support the Committee. Also, Dr. Hunton said he would send you a memo to this effect. Because of your second note, however, we both interpreted your instructions to mean that it would be best to hold up sending out the the statement to the press. He indicated he thought this the best course to follow, in as much as there is to be another meeting of the Council this coming Friday at 3:30 P.M. I told him I believed you would be in town for the meeting. Consequently, I have just sent the copies of the statement to the committee members but have not proceeded any further. Dr. Hunton said the matter not being too pressing could wait your return.

MASSES AND MAINSTREAM, the periodical on which Mr. Aptheker works, wrote and called asking me to see you about serving as a contributing editor. I told them they would have to talk with you about this upon your return.

All goes well here. Your Benson and Hedges await you. Good luck and a pleasant trip. Please give my regards to Dr. Flechtheim.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

February 24, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Mrs. M. B. Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Doctor:

Just a brief report since your departure:

1. Dr. Hunton of the African Council came by and picked up the letters to be sent to the Executive interiam Committee (interim Executive Committee, rather).

2. Will you please let me have your answer concerning this permission for Doubleday & Company. I am enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope for your convenience.

3. This is a reminder about the book review you are to do for the American Association for the Advancement of Science, IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES. The deadline for this is March 1.

4. Miss Mae Owings brought in the enclosed envelope and asked that it be sent to you immediately.

5. The copy of the enclosed wire from Mr. Lochard is self-explanatory. I am acknowledging the wire and telling him that the information has been passed along to you.

6. The enclosed WINDS OF TIME clipping is being sent just in case you should wish to you use it in connection with the Richmond, Virginia, lecture on April 11.

7. Miss Branch has been asked about the files and says we may be able to get them within a week or two.

8. Mrs. Murphy was out today because of illness in her immediate family. She phoned the office about this.

Best wishes for a happy and pleasant trip.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

W. E. B. DU BOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

Feb. 24, 1948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Please bundle up all my dinner stuff (except the embroidered placque by Mrs. Myrdal) and rush it to me in St. Louis.

Sincerely,

W.E.B.D.

Telegrams
Letters
Programs
DC

33a-14

Mrs Wm Marshall
1838 Druid Hill Ave.

[NAACP]

MEMORANDUM

To: Miss Branch

From: Department of Special Research, by H. H. Smythe

Subject: Office of the Departmental Director

Date: February 24, 1948

1. Dr. DuBois is greatly in need of another four-drawer filing cabinet. Would you please let me know whether you can secure this equipment for him and how soon we can expect it? He would appreciate receiving this information by the end of the week in order to continue with plans for some of his work.

2. Would you be good enough to instruct the individual responsible for cleaning the offices of the Association to please give some attention to Room 402. The wastebaskets have not been emptied for nearly a week, and the place has not been swept for an even longer period.

Thank you for your courtesy in regard to these matters.

22-29

February 25, 1948

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DUBOIS:

Attached is letter I received from the State Department requesting that the Association designate two persons to represent the organization at a conference to be held on March 4th. On receipt of this I called Dr. Smythe to learn that you will be in Oakland, California on this date. I, therefore, took it up with the President and Chairman of the Board and upon my recommendation it was decided to ask Dr. Rayford Logan to join me in representing the Association.

I would like to have whatever suggestions you may have.

ww/mdj
Attachs:

23-36-22

[Enclosure]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

February 13, 1948

Dear Mr. White:

I am writing to invite your organization to designate one or two persons to represent your organization at a Conference on Human Rights and Freedom of Information to be held at the Department of State on Thursday, March 4, 1948. If your organization cannot be represented, you are invited to express your views in writing on the topics listed in the enclosed agenda.

The purpose of this Conference is to afford an opportunity for officers of the Depa rtment of State to consult with organization representatives on the Geneva Draft of the International Declaration on Human Rights and the Covenant on Human Rights. Part of the conference sessions will be devoted to freedom of Information questions which are of current interest in view of the World Conference on Freedom of Information which is being convened by the United Nations Economic and Social Council at Geneva on March 23.

23-36-23

Those who attend the March 4 sessions will have opportunities to express and explain their views. The record of the Conference will become a part of the working papers of the delegation and advisers representing the United States on these matters.

Your cooperation in completing the enclosed form and returning it to me by February 23 will enable the Department of State to plan adequate meeting facilities for those who attend the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

s/s/ Francis H. Russell
Director
Office of public Affairs

Mr. Walter White, Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People,
20 West Fortieth Street,
New York 18, New York.

from W. White

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

22-40

February 25, 1948

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO THE STAFF:

At the meeting of the Committee on Administration held on February 24, 1948, upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED that the following resolution passed by the Board of Directors of the Association at its meeting on March 13, 1944 be sent to each staff member in order to emphasize the Association's position with regard to political activity on the part of individual staff members:

> "Employed Executive Officers of the NAACP are prohibited from any partisan activity. They may not sign or issue statements in support of party candidates or party policies and programs. They may not speak at meetings called by partisan political groups.
>
> "The National Office of the NAACP may not officially support any political party or take any action which can be interpreted as support of a political party."

Please acknowledge.

ww/mdj

1912
1916
1920
1924
1928
1932
1936
1940
1944

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

February 25, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
4459 Enright Avenue
c/o M. B. Curtis
St. Louis, Missouri

Smythe

23a-14

Dear Doctor:

I received your letter this morning, and under separate cover have mailed you, first class, the material you requested from the Birthday Dinner. You referred to our retention here of the embroidered plaque from Mrs. Myrdal. Neither Mrs. Murphy nor I can recall the article or having seen anything from Mrs. Myrdal. We wondered whether you were referring to the decorated photo folder from Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Dover containing their pictures done by Aaron Douglass; it was highly decorated on the cover. We have held this here under the impression that that is the article you were referring to.

The enclosed letter from the Langdon Posts is self-explanatory. I have written them that you have already left but that the letter is being forwarded as they requested.

If you have the time, sign the enclosed note for this little high school boy in Florida. His teacher told him to write you so he could read your letter to his classmates and keep it for a historical memento of having actually heard from you.

The enclosed copy of a wire from Mr. Jenkins in San Francisco and my reply is for your convenience.

The office goes well. Mr. White's office asked for your St. Louis address since they wanted to send you an air mail special. Although I am not supposed to know its contents I believe he is apprehensive that you might say something concerning Wallace on the tour. This is purely conjecture on my part but based on the local "grapevine." Such notices are to be sent out to all executives of the NAACP to reaffirm the organization's non-political policy.

When you write, let me know whether we are to forward all future greetings on your birthday. Continued good wishes for a happy and pleasant trip. Mrs. Murphy always sends best regards.

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

1948

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

to Dr. Smythe:

I. Please have a small white card printed (100 copies) with this message:

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois appreciated deeply your greeting on his eightieth birthday, February 23, 1948.

New York, March 1, 1948

and mail, first class, to persons in package A.

2. Mail me, California, other messages received, including a bunch left in my apartment

3. In my apartment are (A) a chair, yellow, with green cu cushions; and(B) a yellow foot-stool or small serving t table. I want the wood-work of both of these lacqu quered black. Can you get someone to do this?

Perhaps Hinkson can advise

4. Package B is for filing (will be mailed later)

5. Enclosed is a final, carefully revised version of my birthday talk. Copy and file several correct versions and destroy all others.

6. I meant Mrs. Cedric Dover, not Myrdal. Letter sent the Florida youth, with note on spelling!

7. Mail enclosed letter to Mae Owings

W.E.B.D.

23-18-21

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

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20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

23-14-19

February 26, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Mrs. M. B. Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Doctor:

This morning, in reply to your communication, Dr. Fred McQuistion of the General Education Board called and asked me to confer with him, as your representative, concerning the Encyclopedia of the Negro matter about which you wrote him. I believe the following is a reliable summary of our conference.

1. The project which President F. D. Patterson, of Tuskegee Institute, has proposed is not in conflict with the Encyclopedia of the Negro of Phelps-Stokes sponsorship, and the G.E.B. has insisted that this be made clear and understood by Dr. Patterson.

2. The Patterson project is something on the order of the NEGRO YEAR BOOK.

3. Although the Patterson project is still being considered and explored, the G.E.B. is not yet convinced that it should receive G.E.B. support.

4. Even if the G.E.B. were convinced that it should support the Patterson project, it would want first that the difficulties among its sponsors, the expected contributors, and any other interests involved be satisfactorily resolved.

5. Actually, the present situation of the Patterson project with the G.E.B. is that the project is resting in what might be considered an "inactive state."

6. The G.E.B. has never released any statement to the public concerning the Patterson project. It is not the Board's policy to release such publicity, rather they customarily follow the procedure of referring inquiries to sponsors of a project.

7. The amount of funds involved, or which has been discussed in connection with the Patterson project, is around $40,000 or $50,000. Nothing like $100,000 or $250,000 have been considered.

Dr. McQuistion will be glad to talk with you upon your return whenever it can be arranged at a mutually suitable time. He leaves New York about April 8 to be gone for six weeks or more.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

February 26, 1948

[n.aacp]

TO: Miss Branch:

The file has arrived. Thank you for your attention to our request.

Hugh H. Smythe

Department of Special Research

HHS:LM

COPY

22-39

[N.A.A.C.P.]

February 27, 1948

St. Louis, Missouri

22-40-51

Dear Mr. Spingarn:

Walter White has sent me a memo. reciting the action of the Board of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1944, forbidding political activity on the part of any member of the paid staff. I am enclosing a memo. in answer. I would like your reaction and criticism. In case you agree with it, should it be sent to the next Board meeting or distributed to members by mail? Address your answer to me at the office and Dr. Smythe will forward it.

I cannot tell you how thankful I am for your service at the dinner.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

MEMORANDUM [Encl.] 4

Memo to the Board of Directors:

Subject: Partisan Policy From W. E. B. DuBois

Date:

The Secretary has just sent me a copy of a resolution passed by the Board, March 13, 1944, forbidding employed Executive Officers of the NAACP from partisan activity in political campaigns.

I fully appreciate the necessity in an organization as large as ours, comprising such diverse points of view, of guarding against the possibility of having any officer or official presume to speak officially for the whole organization. I have sought to avoid that in the past and will certainly do so in the future.

22-40-52

But I assume that the Board could not possibly have meant to forbid any individual in his capacity as a private citizen, from casting his ballot as he pleased or of defending his convictions and candidates publicly. To do this would be seriously to interfere with that political freedom for which this organization has fought for nearly forty years.

I am aware of how critical an election is upon us and how bitter the feelings are that have been aroused. I know that for the future of this organization, how careful all of us must be to do no harm to its unity and efficiency. But on the other hand, the liberty, honesty and integrity of the individual must not be forgotten. I have taken part in nine presidential elections. I have never been a member of any party organization, nor taken the stump for any candidate. But I have in each election let it be known by written and spoken word, whom I supported and why. I do not believe that the Directors would want me to do any less in this my tenth presidential campaign. I shall certainly exercise the utmost care to make it at all times clearly understood that in political matters I am speaking as a private individual and not presuming to speak for the NAACP; and in any case where there is any doubt as to this being understood, I shall refrain from speech or action.

With these limitations, I shall assume, unless otherwise informed, that my right to my own ideas as a private citizen is not questioned.

W. E. B. DuBois

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
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20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

February 27, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Mrs. M. B. Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Doctor:

A report of a few activities that have been carried on since your departure.

1. The enclosed letter to you re the General Education Board is self-explanatory. I have sent him, a copy of this letter, as I told him I would make a record of our conference and let him see it. He was asked to make any corrections, if he felt my report to you did not cover accurately our meeting.

2. Please make a notation on Mrs. Harris' letter and I shall be glad to answer it.

3. The Richmond people wrote that April 11 is the regular communion date and they would like you to appear on April 4. I wrote them that date was taken, and informed Mr. Ealey that April 25 was the only date open, or else he might consider the Sundays in May of 16, 23, [redacted]. The other two Sundays in May are already booked for you. Please let me have your reaction to this. I have informed Mr. Ealey that my information is only tentative and dependent upon my hearing from you.

4. I am enclosing Dr. Charles Wesley's letter---it is self-explanatory. I have written him, however, that you are not available, since you will be on the West Coast lecturing at that time.

5. Dr. Tobias' letter is being forwarded to you at his request.

6. The following checks have been received: The Chicago Defender, and Atlanta University.

7. The columns, WINDS OF TIME and PAN AFRICA, have been posted for this week. I shall see that these go out on time and let you know in sufficient time to prepare others as needed.

8. Please make out a pay check for Mrs. Lillian Murphy for $30.00.

From time to time, when you land on the West Coast, if you wish, of course, please let me have your speeches, the titles of them, for March. I will need these in making out the March Departmental Report. I sent in the February report today.

Continued best wishes for a pleasant trip.

P.S. In order not to overload yourself, it might help to return the letters I send you to be filed here.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

to Dr. Smythe: 1948

I. ok for Mrs. Murphy. Send bill to NAACP for 2 checks paid her this month

2. Good work on ecyclopaedia. Send copies of interview to Logan and Thompson of Howard, marked confidential

3. I have answered Harris letter

4. Tell Richmond only date this season

5. Cannot go to Wilberforce

Am in good health and rested. Spoke at Stowe on "Negro and United Nations". At Booklovers on "Color and Democracy ". Regards!

(2)

23a-14

1- Mrs Murphy Round check
2- Brief for clerical cent to NAACP - 2 chks
3- Thirteen copies sent to Byars Thyssen & Howard U, marked confidential
4- Richmond informed & data.
5- Wilberforce informed of your movements
6- Mrs Shaw Ainey letter posted
7- Other Greetings mailed
8- Hunter - Bishop booked and + wire to Mrs Ashmore
9- Advise me on pictures & data for EBONY article.
10- Shall I send A. D. Stokes a copy of my interview with McCuistion?
11- Cards of ~~birthday~~ greetings for both Tommy & Sammy being picked
12- Other greetings ~~sent~~ in
13- Send copies of your Exports under from the revised copy you sent
14- Mrs Peck of DCA sent check for $42.60 of his item acknowledged
15- The letter re Teachers Union is self-explanatory you spoke for Richard in Chgo on April 16.
16- will send report later on articles to be acquired in your department

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(30)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1948 FEB 28 PM 44

N97 PD=STLOUIS MO 28 1210P

=DR HUGH H SMYTHE===

:ROOM 402 20 WEST 40 ST:

lecture 1948 ~~1947~~ completed

=RUSH ME MANUSCRIPT ON ECONOMIC ILLITERACY USED IN WILMINGTON=

=W E B DUBOIS=

28-38-103

Miss sent air mail Special
3-1-48

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

Petty Cash

Received:			
November 15, 1947	$10.00	10.00	$10.00
Expenditures for November	5.09		
Expenditures for December (to Dec. 15)	5.48		
Total expenditures to December 15	$10.57		$10.57
Received:			
December 15, 1947	10.00	10.00	
Cash on hand December 15 Deficit of 12-15	.57		9.43
Expenditures to December 30, 1947	2.15		2.15
Balance on hand December 30			7.28
Cash on hand, January 1, 1948	7.28		7.28
Expenditures through January 31, 1948	6.47		6.47
Balance on hand January 31	.81		.81
Received:			
February 2, 1948	9.75	9.75	9.75
Cash on hand, February 2, 1948	10.56		10.56
TOTAL PETTY CASH RECEIVED as of February 2		29.75	

(Period covered: November 15, 1947 to February 2, 1948)

W. E. B. DuBois

W. E. B. DuBois

23-39-70

File Copy

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W.E.B. DuBois, Director

Report: February, 1948

The activities of the Director for the current month include the following:

Lectures:

"The Fight for Freedom in Education." Jefferson School Dinner, Hotel Commodore, New York, N. Y.

"The Negro and American Labor." United Electrical Workers Union, Broadcast over WMCA-MUTUAL, New York, N. Y.

"Missing Pages in American History." Finer Arts Exhibit of the Academy of Dramatics and Classical Dancing, Anna Bobbitt-Gardner sponsor, Boston, Massachusetts.

"Civil Liberties and Race." Colby College, Waterville, Maine. The second lecture of the Gabrielson Lecture Series.

"De Senectute." Eightieth Birthday Anniversary Dinner of W. E. B. DuBois. Hotel Roosevelt, New York, N. Y.

"The Negro and the United Nations." Stowe College, St. Louis, Missouri

"Color and Democracy." Book Lovers Club, St. Louis, Missouri.

Miscellaneous:

Conferred with representatives of the National Alliance of Postal Employees and discussed their working with the NAACP to help bring the Association's petition to the United Nations before the General Assembly in 1948.

Served on a committee set up to help reorganize the Council on African Affairs.

In connection with Negro History Week, gave an interview to the representative of the UNION VOICE, organ of the Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union, CIO. Interview published under title of "History Lesson for the World," February 15, 1948.

The activities of the Assistant to the Director for the current month include:

Lectures:

"American History: A Picture Out of Focus." Negro History Week Celebration, Mamaroneck Branch NAACP, Mamaroneck, New York.

"Some Contributions of the Negro to American Culture." Negro History Week Celebration, South Huntington High School, South Huntington, L. I., New York.

"The NAACP Petition to the United Nations." Department of Public Welfare, Non-resident Service Division, New York, New York.

"The Negro Before the United Nations." Harlem Teachers Union, Local 555, CIO. 136th Street Library, New York, New York.

33-2-169

[N.A.A.C.P.]

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

March 1, 1948

Dear Professor Miller:

I am acknowledging on behalf of myself your letter of February 26th and I am sending copy of your letter and this reply to Dr. Tobias in the event he should wish also to write you.

As you well know, I have the most profound respect for your opinion. But I trust you will permit me to express disagreement with your conclusions, entirely divorced from Mr. Truman as an individual or as a prospective candidate. It is easy enough for us to sit off from a distance and say what the President can or cannot do. But the blunt truth is that in the appointment of the Committee on Civil Rights in 1946 and in his message to Congress of February 2nd, President Truman went infinitely further than any other president in the history of the United States. It is because of this that the most determined lynching bee in American history is now being waged against him by the Southern Democrats, reactionary Republicans and by some of the supporters of Henry Wallace.

I have definitely disagreed with the President on a number of issues such as the aid to Greece and Turkey program. But for us who call ourselves intelligent liberals to join in the manhunt is to me beyond comprehension. This applies to Mr. kiplinger and anyone else, including Governor James E. Folsom of Alabama and Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution, who repeated yours and Mr. Kiplinger's statement that Mr. Truman's "liberal words" are cynically political. I just don't believe it and I base this belief upon first-hand acquaintance with the fact that in the appointment of the Committee on Civil Rights, in the address to the NAACP convention in Washington at Lincoln Memorial last June and in his address to Congress of February 2nd and in the executive order against discrimination in government, including the armed services which will shortly be issued, it is distinctly inaccurate, in my opinion, to charge him with insincerity. Can you name any other president in history, including Franklin D. Roosevelt, who ever went half so far? I enclose self-explanatory copy of a column I wrote recently for the Herald Tribune and other papers in which I told a part of the story of what Mr. Truman has done as well as said.

The enemies of democracy are pouring billingsgate of the most filthy sort upon the President. If we who disagree with some of the other things the President has said and done do not voice support of the decent things he has done, then I don't see much hope for what we call the liberal cause in America.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White,
Secretary.

Professor Clyde R. Miller
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, 27, New York

42697

March 1, 1948

[n.a.a.c.p.]

Ireland

TO: Miss Branch

Please order 1,000 envelopes for Dr. DuBois, printed as the attached sample indicates.

On our last order we received only half of the supply with his name inscribed and just found that the others are NAACP envelopes.

We would appreciate your rushing this order since we have only about 25 envelopes left.

22-29

[N.A.A.C.P.]

March 1, 1948

Dr. Louis T. Wright
218 West 139th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Wright: The enclosed memorandum is self-explanatory. Dr. DuBois has asked that it be passed along to you with the notation that it has been sent to the President of the Board of the NAACP for comment. The memorandum is only tentative.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

March 1, 1948

TO: Mr. White

During the month of March I shall be lecturing as follows:

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco, Labor School

Oakland, Public Forum

Pasadena, Stanford University

Sacramento, Public Forum

Los Angeles, Public Forum

Part of the month I shall be in Texas, lecturing and writing.

23-36-4

[D.aacP]

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN
COUNSELLOR AT LAW

36 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

March 2nd, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

Your letter of February 27th with its enclosure has just reached me.

23-28-2

The memorandum which Walter White sent to you was, as you probably know, sent to all Executive Officers of the Association, at the direction of the Committee on Administration.

The question is an important and difficult one and I am not prepared without further consideration and discussion to answer it now, but I recommend that you send a copy of your memorandum at once to the Board (not to its individual members), so that it can be considered at the next meeting of the Board on March 8th.

Very sincerely yours,

Arthur B. Spingarn

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

Dr. Smythe:

1. 100. Cigarettes to San Francisco. Let B & H. ship.
2. Package by Railway Express, Collect, sent: Contains letters which I have answered & memoranda for filing; a few letters to be addressed & mailed
3. Notify when petty cash is exhausted

230 - 14

4. Speech at hand.
5. Careful of manilla envelopes — they break at edges.
6. Send me Copies of Nation & N.R. in batches of 3 or 4.

W.E.B.D

2 Mch. '14

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

March 2, 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR

ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Palace Hotel
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-18-26

Just a report of things on this end to keep you informed:

1. The book review, IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES, has been typed and sent in.

2. The copy of your speech, Economic Illiteracy, was posted to you via air mail special immediately. It was sent to St. Louis.

3. Mrs. Murphy deposited on March 1, 1948, $1,542.66, and secured vouchers.

4. The enclosed copies of letters are self explanatory.

5. The memorandum was sent off immediately to Mr. Spingarn, and copies posted to Dr. Wright and Miss Graham.

6. At the request of Mrs. Van Vechten, we sent 4 copies of your speech to her. A copy was also given to Mr. Berry, reporter for THE WORKER.

7. John Hope Franklin, Howard University, sent a copy of his speech, THE ASCENT OF CLIO, for your files.

8. Miss Graham said she found a telegram from Jo Davidson asking you to serve on the Wallace Committee. She wanted you to know that she had wired acceptance for you.

9. Your pay check was received and deposited. Mrs. Waring informs us that according to the information on your withholding statement, which we filed with her after you had signed it claiming three dependents. There will be withheld from your monthly check $23.90.

10. Mr. Cedric Dover, of Fisk, stopped by to see you. He said that his wife had spent a long period of time working on your 80th anniversary gift, that she was anxious to have a photostatic copy of the cover and the message she and Mr. Dover had inscribed. Although Mr. Dover offered to pay for the photostats, we knew you would not want him to do this. Consequently we have gone ahead and had them made (3) pages and are sending them to him today.

11. In regard to the mirrow for your apartment, I checked with Macey's

and they can supply it for about $2.00 less than the price quoted by Bloomingdale's. They are to call me when they are ready to check over the specifications in your apartment and to confirm the deal. They indicated that it would take from three to four weeks before the job could be completed. Miss Graham has been informed of this and will be there with me to supervise the installation of the mirrow.

12. Dr. Hunton of the African Council, would like you to review Goshal's-- PEOPLE IN COLONIES for the next issue of NEW AFRICA.

13. As your representative, I went to attend a meeting of the Interim Executive Committee of the African Council yesterday in the Council's office. Unfortunately,Hope Stevens, without authority from anyone, called up and said there would be no meeting. However, Mrs. Osborne, Mr. Collins, Dr. Hunton, and your representative had not been notified so we were present. Dr. Hunton assumed that Dr. Yergan was not present because of Mr. Stevens' action. Rev. Bishop, who is acting as temporary chairman of the Executive Committee in your absence, and had promised Mrs. Osborne on Saturday, after an hours' conference with her, that he would be present, failed to show up, or notify anyone. Dr. Hunton and Mrs. Osbourne tried to reach him several times by phone but he refused to talk with them and had his secretary say that he was asleep, and resting since he did not feel well.

Another meeting has been called for Friday at 2:00 p.m., and to make sure that Rev. Bishop follows through on this matter Dr. Hunton and Mrs. Osborne prepared the notices for this meeting so that all Rev. Bishop would have to do is sign and post them. I delivered them to his secretary personally, yesterday on my way home.

14. We have written Dayton, Ohio advising them of your availibility at the time you suggested.

This is all for now. Hope you are enjoying the sunshine , and continued good wishes for a pleasant trip. Mrs. Murphy sends regards.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-18-27

[D.aa.cP.]

March 3, 1948

Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn
36 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Spingarn:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 2 re Dr. DuBois' memorandum. I am forwarding your communication to Dr. DuBois.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

H S:LM

33-38-26

MY HOME ADDRESS: 2225 5th Ave., Apt. 2-C, New York 35, N.Y.
If you have anything that needs my urgent attention after Friday, contact me at home. The NAACP is closed on Saturdays.

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

March 3, 1948

Dear Doctor:

I am rushing this to you because of Mr. Spingarn's letter. If you wish, a wire to me about the Board letter will inform me to prepare the memorandum for the March 8 Board meeting.

I have received the packages you sent and am attending to matters on this end. A longer letter will be sent later with a report on work here in the office. All goes well here, however.

Continued wishes for a grand and pleasant trip. Mrs. Murphy has received her check, sends thanks, and joins me in regards.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

23a-14

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(08)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1201

f origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

28-14-21

N193 PD=SANFRANCISCO CALIF 4 145P

1948 MAR 4 PM 5 10

DR HUGH. H SMYTHE=

=2225 FIFTH AVE APARTMENT 2C=

=PREPARE MEMORANDUM FOR BOARD MEETING ARRIVED SAFE AND WELL=

=W E B DUBOIS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Smythe

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

March 4, 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Palace Hotel
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

By way of report from your office in New York:

1. Mrs. Murphy received her check and sends her thanks.

2. A bill for clerical assistance has been sent to the NAACP, as you requested.

3. Copies of my interview with Mr. McCuistion have been sent to Dr. Logan and Dr. Thompson, marked personal and confidential as you instructed.

4. Richmond has been informed as you advised.

5. Wilberforce State College has been informed of your unavailability to speak on March 19.

6. Mrs. Mae Owings' letter has been posted.

7. At your request other greetings on your birthday have been mailed to you.

8. Dr. Hunton stopped by yesterday. He said that Rev. Bishop has refused to speak directly with any member of the committee and has "backed out of" the chairman ship of the Interim Executive Committee. He refused to mail out the notices of the meeting on Friday March 5, but with Mrs. Osborne serving as chairman, the committee will meet as scheduled. Dr. Hunton suggested that it would help if you would be good enough to wire Mrs. Estelle R. Osborne--540 West 148th Street, New York City, that it is your desire that the committee continue to meet during your absence. He would like to have her have this message as soon as possible.

9. I have written Mr. Burns of EBONY that you are out of the city, but I have forwarded his communication to you. Please advise me as regards pictures and data for this article. Perhaps you will want to write out something about yourself at the age of 20, or if you wish you can advise me on getting material from DUSK OF DAWN, or WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, and I shall be glad to write up a short piece for your approval. Would it be possible to secure any pictures of you at the age of 20 by writing to Yolande?

10. Shall I send Anson Phelps-Stokes a copy of my interview with Mr. McCuistion?

232-14

I have written Mr. Stokes that you would not be in New York the first week in April.

~~iix~~

11. The job for the 100 cards, of your appreciation for greetings on your 80th birthday, has been let out.

12. Other birthday greetings have been air mailed to you.

13. As you instructed, several copies of your 80th birthday anniversary speech, De Senectute, have been made from the revised manuscript you sent. All other copies have been destroyed.

14. Miss Peck of PCA has sent the check for $42.60 in payment for your Baltimore engagement for January 30. It has been acknowledged.

15. The letter re TEACHERS UNION and a copy of my reply are self explanatory. You know that you speak for Dr. Metz Lochard in Chicago on April 16.

16. I will send a report later on the articles to be attended to in your apartment.

17. Will you please send me the address of the address of the AMERICAN VETERAN COMMITTEE, and the mane of the man in charge of the banquet, on April 12, honoring you as "man of the year of 1948". You have his letter stapled to the list of your itinerary----it is the very last letter in the bunch. Mr. Dover heard about this and would like to attend this affair honoring you. He will be in Washington at the time and will come if invited.

18. I talked with Miss Graham on the phone today and she told me she was to consult with Mr. Spingarn on Monday.

All goes well at the office. Mrs. Murphy joins me in best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

P.S. I am enclosing some postage and a self-addressed envelope for returning material, and for your convenience.

HHS:LM

23a-144

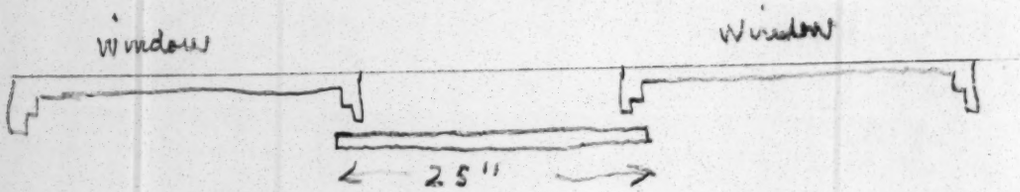
Read 3-5-48

Memo to Dr. Smythe:

Letters and dinner material received with thanks

I. Enclosed is a letter to Arthur Spingarn. Copy it for the files and send the original. Copy the enclosure and send copy to Spingarn, Dr. Wright, [redacted] Shirley Graham, [redacted] saying that this is tentative and has been sent to the president of the Board for comment

2. Enclosed is a letter and check for Blumingdales for a mirror. Please check with Macy's and see their price for a mirror of first quality. Then order for one or the other and see it installed. What I want is a mirror between the two west windows in the living-room, so as to give the impression of one continuous space. You will have to arrange to be there when it is delivered and perhaps Shirley Graham will give advice



23-38-67

3. Send Mr. White memo of my lectures in March:
Stowe college, St. Louis
Booklovers, "
California Labor School, San Francisco
Public Forum, Oakland
Stanford University
Public Forum, Sacremento
" Los Angeles

Balance of month in Prairie View, Tex., writing on my book

4. Write Dayton and say I lecture in Chicago, April. Might stop in Dayton on way out or back. $150

Everything going well. Regards for Mrs. Murphy

WEB

$300 on check.

D

Department of Special Research, NAACP
For Public Relations Department, NAACP

March 5, 1948

1. Volume on THE WORLD AND AFRICA, by W. E. B. DuBois, was published by The Viking Press, 1947.

2. Spoke on "Emancipation of the Colonial People," with special reference to Africa, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

3. Served as chairman of the Interim Executive Committee of the Council on African Affairs.

4. Was asked for and gave to THE CHICAGO DEFENDER an opinion on the newly formed Liberian Company, known as the Stettinius Associates, formed in the United States to explore and invest in Liberia.

5. Lectured at the New School, New York City, on "The African Slave Trade" and Colonial Imperialism" with specific reference to Africa.

6. Spoke on "Color and Democracy" in Des Moines, Iowa, with references to the African colonial situation.

7. At the request of the American Jewish Congress, conferred by wire and phone from Iowa and Chicago with the United Nations Liberian Delegation in reference to the Palestine partition plan.

8. Spoke on "The Present Status of Colonialism," with reference to Africa strongly emphasized, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

9. Prepared a survey article on "The Struggle for Colonial Freedom," emphasizing, among others, the movements in all parts of the African continent.

10. Attended the dinner meeting honoring Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, petitioner to the United Nations for the Ewe people of West Africa and questioned the petitioner concerning conditions there and how our association could function to aid his cause.

11. Carried on correspondence with the Pan-African Congress in London.

23-39-71

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

March 5, 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

23-14-18

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Palace Hotel
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

By way of report from your office:

1. Your wire was received and we are glad you arrived safe andwell.

2. The memorandum to the Board, re political activity of executive officers, has been prepared. An original copy, with a covering letter asking that it be presented to the Board at the next meeting on March 8, has been sent to Mr. Spingarn and to Dr. Louis T Wright. This was done to insure it being presented to the Board on Monday.

3. As your representative, I attended a meeting of the Interim Executive Committee of the Council on African Affairs, which was held in the Parish House of St. Phillips Church today at 1:00P.M. Mrs. Osborne acted as chairman and others present included Dr. Hunton, Rev. Bishop. Minutes of the meeting will be sent to you at a later date.

4. The enclosed material, re African Council is self explanatory. Mr. Hinkson, of 409, has agreed to secure someone to do the job on the chair and the foot stool in your apartment 13 H.

5. In regard to the Bethune dinner last night, we just found out that there were available 3 tickets from the Association, that a memorandum had been sent around to this effect, but it was never brought to the attention of this office nor the Legal Department. As a consequence one of the tickets was unused. While Miss Byers, who finally received them, had to take her roommate. I thought you would like to know this. I have been asked by Dr. Hunton to call you at his expense, concerning the meeting of March 12, which Mr. Yergan is calling.

6. Dr. Hunton sent out your preliminary statement to the press.

I shall try to reach you by phone this evening.

Best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Type only Dr B memo [N.A.A.C.P.]

March 5, 1948

22-40

Mr. Arthur Spingarn, President
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
36 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Spingarn: Upon instructions from Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, I am sending you the enclosed memorandum and asking that you please present it to the Board of Directors of the NAACP at the next meeting of the Board on March 8, 1948.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

[n.a.a.c.p.]

March 5, 1948

Dr. Louis T. Wright
218 West 139th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Wright:

I am sending you the enclosed memorandum which has been drawn up by Dr. DuBois. It is his wish that the memorandum be presented to the Board of Directors at its next meeting on March 8, 1948, for consideration.

A copy of this memorandum has been sent to Mr. Arthur Spingarn, President of the NAACP, with similar instructions. I have done this, since in your absence the matter can be attended to should your duties make it impossible for you to attend the meeting.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Summer 3-6-48

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

to Dr. Smythe:

The enclosed speak for themselves.

Send the resignation to Yergan or whoever Hunton suggests. Send the explanation to each of the persons mentioned

Memo of March 4. received

I. Washington address is Carl Gebuhr, Americans Veteran Committee, 808 17th St., N.W., Washington,6, D.C.

Ask him to invite Dover and his wife as my guests

2. Tell Ebony will furnis short article May I. $25.

3. Send McQuistion interview and letter to Stokes.

All is well here: spoke to 600 in Oakland last night "Color and Democracy".

Best regards,

WEBD

March 6, 48

23-18-29

MEMORANDUM

To: The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

From: W. E. B. DuBois, Director, Department of Special Research

Subject: Policy on Political Activity of Staff Members

Date: March 8, 1948

22-40

The Secretary has just sent me a copy of a resolution passed by the Board, March 13, 1944, forbidding employed Executive Officers of the NAACP from partisan activity in political campaigns.

I fully appreciate the necessity in an organization as large as ours, comprising such diverse points of view, of guarding against the possibility of having any officer or official presume to speak officially for the whole organization. I have sought to avoid that in the past and will certainly do so in the future.

But I assume that the Board could not possibly have meant to forbid any individual, in his capacity as a private citizen, from casting his ballot as he pleased or of defending his convictions and candidates publicly. To do this would be seriously to interfere with that political freedom for which this organization has fought for nearly forty years.

6

I am aware of how critical an election is upon us and how bitter the feelings are that have been aroused. I know that for the future of this organization how careful all of us must be to do no harm to its unity and efficiency. But on the other hand, the liberty, honesty, and integrity of the individual must not be forgotten. I have taken part in nine presidential elections. I have never been a member of any party organization, nor taken the stump for any candidate. But I have in each election let it be known by written and spoken word whom I supported and why. I do not believe that the Directors would want me to do any less in this my tenth presidential campaign. I shall certainly exercise the utmost care to make it at all times clearly understood that in political matters I am speaking as a private individual and not presuming to speak for the NAACP; and in any case where there is any doubt as to this being understood, I shall refrain from speech or action.

With these limitations, I shall assume, unless otherwise informed, that my right to my own ideas as a private citizen is not questioned.

SIGNED:

W. E. B. DuBois

MEMORANDUM

To: The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

From: W. E. B. DuBois, Director, Department of Special Research

Subject: Policy on Political Activity of Staff Members

Date: March 8, 1948

The Secretary has just sent me a copy of a resolution passed by the Board, March 13, 1944, forbidding employed Executive Officers of the NAACP from partisan activity in political campaigns.

I fully appreciate the necessity in an organization as large as ours, comprising such diverse points of view, of guarding against the possibility of having any officer or official presume to speak officially for the whole organization. I have sought to avoid that in the past and will certainly do so in the future.

But I assume that the Board could not possibly have meant to forbid any individual, in his capacity as a private citizen, from casting his ballot as he pleased or of defending his convictions and candidates publicly. To do this would be seriously to interfere with that political freedom for which this organization has fought for nearly forty years.

I am aware of how critical an election is upon us and how bitter the feelings are that have been aroused. I know that for the future of this organization how careful all of us must be to do no harm to its unity and efficiency. But on the other hand, the liberty, honesty, and integrity of the individual must not be forgotten. I have taken part in nine presidential elections. I have never been a member of any party organization, nor taken the stump for any candidate. But I have in each election let it be known by written and spoken word whom I supported and why. I do not believe that the Directors would want me to do any less in this my tenth presidential campaign. I shall certainly exercise the utmost care to make it at all times clearly understood that in political matters I am speaking as a private individual and not presuming to speak for the NAACP; and in any case where there is any doubt as to this being understood, I shall refrain from speech or action.

With these limitations, I shall assume, unless otherwise informed, that my right to my own ideas as a private citizen is not questioned.

SIGNED:

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Board of Directors:

FROM: W. E. B. DuBois

SUBJECT: Political Policy

DATE:

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[n.a.a.c.p.]

March 8, 1948

TO: THE NAACP

SUBJECT: Finance

For extra clerical assistant in my office.

February 1-15	$36.50
February 15-March 1	30.00
	$66.50

Department of Special Research

9-22

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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ROOM 402 20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

SHALL BE HERE UNTIL MARCH 15=

W E B DUBOIS.

23-14-14

15.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Letter sent 3-10-48

mail to Burrows Hedge sent

to Mr. Snyder to

Dr. John Summerville,

2104 S. Harrod Blvd

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

March 9, 1948

Smythe

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
c/o Dr. John Sommerville
Los Angeles, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter received with enclosures. Here is a report from your office in New York:

1. Copies of your letter of explanation were sent to members of the Interim Executive Committee, and other interested persons.

2. Your resignation from the Interim Executive Committee, of the Council on African Affairs, was sent to Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director. A note to this effect was appended to your letter of explanation to the committee members, the original of which was sent to Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman, Council on African Affairs. The letter to Mr. Robeson was sent in care of Dr. W. A. Hunton, who is acting for Mr. Robeson during his absence. To be specific, the notice of your formal resignation was appended only on your original letter of explanation sent to Mr. Robeson. It was not noted on the copies of your letter of explanation sent to the committee members and other interested persons.

3. The Dictaphone Corporation has sent a bill for $31.50. This is to cover maintaince on your machine for one year. The enclosed invoice is self explanatory. If you will send me a check, plus the invoice, I ~~shall~~ will be glad to take care of this for you.

4. Please let me know what to say to the Dayton Council on World Affairs. I am enclosing their letter for your convenience.

5. The enclosed letters, re Council on African Affairs, are self explanatory.

6. Dr. Aptheker phoned this morning and asked me to remind you that the deadline for the two books, FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM, by John Hope Franklin, and Mr. Aptheker's book, is march 25. If you send these I will be glad to take care of the matter.

7. The American Association for the Advancement of Science wrote they had received your book review and appreciated your sending it. They noted that they had to delete a few quotations because of space limitations.

330 - 14

8. Your No. 1 Gold Fifties, Benson & Hedges, were sent off today. We had the store mail them directly to you, c/o Dr. John Sommerville in Los Angeles, as you advised.

9. Petty cash doing all right so far, will notify you when funds get low.

10. Will take note of your advice concerning manila envelopes.

11. A check for Mrs. Murphy, the sum of $40.00 for the two week period ending March 15, will be due Monday. I think she would appreciate it if she could receive it at the close of this week on Friday.

12. We are cataloging and shelving the books that were on your desk.

13. Will send copies of NATION and NEW REPUBLIC in quantities you suggested.

14. The enclosed letter from President Patterson, of Tuskegee, is self explanatory.

15. The copy of my interview with McCuistion, and the copy of the letter from Mr. McCuistion to you have been sent to Mr. Stokes.

16. The signed letter to Dr. Yergan was sent to him special delivery this morning as soon as it arrived in this office.

17. Another package of Benson & Hedges has been sent to your Los Angeles address.

18. The Railway Express package arrived today. The details are being taken care of.

19. I have written the American Veterans Committee about inviting the Dovers.

20. Ebony has been informed about the article.

21. I again wrote Mr. Wilkerson about the fee for the Jefferson School Dinner.

Please send me at intervals the title, place, and number of people in the audience where you speak. I need this information to keep your records up to date and to have material for the monthly departmental reports.
Mrs. Murphy joins me in regards and continued good wishes for a pleasant trip.

Sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

P.S. 1- Please drop Mr. Lochard a direct reply, as he requests. Thank you.

HHS:LM

HHS:LM 2- P.S. This Richmond letter arrived just as I was sealing up this note to you. The two dates mentioned are on Sundays. You have no engagements at all after May 9, until the Rosenwald affair in Chicago on May 28. Please advise what to write Richmond.

93a-14

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
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NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

March 10, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
The Palace Hotel
San Francisco 19, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your wire just arrived. Unfortunately, we have followed the dates on your travel schedule, and since we noticed you were due in Los Angeles on the 12th, we have mailed your cigarettes and sent all of your mail to the home of Dr. John Sommerville in Los Angeles. We are sorry this conflict developed.

We are writing Dr. John Sommerville, air mail special, asking him to send to your San Francisco address all first class mail. We hope this will rectify matters.

I am enclosing a copy of the letter from Richmond, Virginia, the original of which was sent to you in Los Angeles. Will you please let me have your reaction.

I am enclosing a card which just came. Since it has no address or name, and is only initialed, it is something only you can handle. Please advise me what to do about this matter. (I notice that a letter has come from Miss Helen Boardman and can see that the card comes from her. If you will tell me where the manuscripts are I will send them to Miss Fisher. I am writing Miss Boardman that you are out of the city but I have forwarded her communication to you.)

You received an invitation to attend a dinner honoring Alexander S. Panyushkin, the new Russian Ambassador to the United States, at the Hotel Commodore on March 23. I have written Mr. Howard Melish that you appreciate the honor but being absent from the city will be unable to attend.

If there is any further matters that demand your attention we shall write you again today. With best wishes, Mrs. Murphy joins me in regards.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-40-53

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20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

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11th
March
1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your memorandum to the Board of Directors of March 8th, 1948 was carefully considered and discussed at the Board meeting of March 8th. At the conclusion of the discussion it was voted that the Board uphold its ruling of 1944 which was quoted in my memorandum sent at the instruction of the Committee on Administration of February 25th, and that no exception be made to that ruling.

I would like to add that the Board's position is in accordance with the mandate upon it of the 1946 Cincinnati and the 1947 Washington Annual Conferences.

Ever sincerely

Walter White
Secretary

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

WW:emw

[N.A.A.C.P.]

March 12, 1948

TO: Miss Branch

Would you please order some SANFORD's LIQUI-STICK glue for us. The stock-room man says the supply is exhausted but he will be glad to get some if You give him an order for it.

Thank you.

Hugh H. Smythe

22-29

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Labor Secretary
Walter P. Offutt, Jr.
Church Secretary

12th
March
1948

23-36-27

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am sorry you were unable to give Dr. Rayford Logan and me the benefit of your thinking before we went to the conference called by the State Department on March 4th. It was quite a large and impressive affair but the bulk of the State Department thinking seemed to consist of speculation as to how strong a document would get by the U. S. Senate.

A very considerable amount of pressure will be necessary, Dr. Logan and I are convinced, to force the State Department and the American delegation to take a more forthright position.

We are therefore preparing jointly a memorandum which must be submitted by the middle of March for the record. Here is a memorandum from Dr. Logan. Would you be good enough to read this and let me have by return airmail in the enclosed self-addressed envelope your suggestions so that we may incorporate them in our memorandum. We both feel that such a document is necessary if only for the record to prove that a more courageous program was urged upon the American delegation.

We have also had a request from Mrs. Dorothy Norman, Editor of TWICE A YEAR, asking permission to reprint the articles by Milton Konvitz and Leslie Perry from the NAACP appeal to the United Nations.

I have written to Messrs. Konvitz and Perry to ask their individual permission and placed the request on the calendar of the Committee on Administration for Association approval. Do you approve? It seems that the more circulation we can get for any part or all of the material in the petition, the better.

Ever sincerely

Secretary

23-36-28

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o Dr. John Sommerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

WW:emw

Memorandum to Mr. Walter White on the Geneva Draft of the Declaration on Human Rights and the Draft of the Covenant on Human Rights

By Rayford W. Logan

22-38

1. Although the Declaration will not, of course, have the force of law, the effort should be made to have it as strong as possible. Mrs. Roosevelt and several government officials emphasized the necessity of not putting into the Covenant clauses that would cause rejection by the Senate. But if certain clauses are omitted from the Declaration, it would be all the more difficult to have them added later to the Covenant. We should especially insist upon the retention in the Declaration of article 20 which provides for the right of petition to the United Nations. We should also insist upon the retention of article 21 in the Declaration. Mr. Plaine pointed out that the UK opposed this latter article because it would mean the right of suffrage for colonials. I think that we ought to urge the inclusion of these two articles in the Covenant so that we can settle, if necessary, for inclusion in the Declaration.

2. You recall my suggestion that article 27 of the Declaration should stipulate equal access to fundamental education. We did not have time to discuss whether this article should be included in the Covenant. I would suggest that as a matter of general strategy we urge the inclusion of as much as possible in the Covenant, despite the frequently expressed views of many government officials. We did not have time to discuss article 31 of the Declaration in our panel nor was any reference made to it by the rapporteur for panel no. 1. In view of the difference between my view and that of Bill Dean's, it might be well to await the final draft of this article and in the meantime examine its implications.

3. A great deal of concern was expressed about the words, "public emergency", in article 4 of the Covenant. Quite obviously, many States which declare a public emergency when the government is in danger of being overthrown even by peaceful means could easily evade its obligations. A case in point is the recent trouble in the Gold Coast where Britain could easily proclaim a "public emergency". I suggest consultation with Roger Baldwin on this particular point.

4. I suggest a private talk with Wilfrid Benson about the wisdom of leaving out a positive definition of "forced or compulsory labor" in article 8 of the Covenant.

5. Article 24 is difficult in view of the federal form of government in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and other States. It was explained in our panel that this formula was used by the United States in joining the ILO.

6. The danger in article 25 was recognized by officials from the State Department. Roger Baldwin submitted for the record the statement from a group which had discussed this article in New York prior to the meeting. He had only one copy. I suggest that you ask him for a copy.

7. Upon further study I may have other observations to submit. I hope that you will include this subject on the agenda for the proposed meeting on March 27.

(signed) Rayford Logan

Agreed
W. E. B. Du Bois

Rec'd 3-19-48

March 15, 1948

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

Dear Doctor:

Please let me know what to say to the Afro-American. I shall send them a picture and some data, if you instruct me to that effect. I have written the Afro people that you are on the West Coast but that their letter has been forwarded.

23-38-65

Smythe

Have written saying I would prefer not to be included in the series

WEBD

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
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DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

23-39-118

March 15, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
c/o Dr. John Sommerville
Los Angeles, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

By way of report from your New York office:

1. The enclosed letters are self explanatory. Please let me know what replies you would like to have me send out. It may be that you might want to consider the University of [redacted]'s request, since you will be in Chicago on April 16 speaking for Mr. Lochard. Or again, it might help you to come to some decision to know that you will be in Chicago again on May 28 for the Rosenwald Fund.

2. The check from the Jefferson School arrived.

3. The Chicago Defender check arrived.

4. Your salary check was received today.

5. Dr. Hunton called on Friday, March 12, and said Dr. Yergan had postponed the Council meeting until March 25, when Paul Robeson is expected to return to New York.

6. I believe that the EBONY matter was confused. I have written Mr. Burns to help clarify things for him. His letter to me is enclosed. I believe that the letter you asked me to write him was meant for Mr. Pressley who had asked you to do the article in the youth series that the NEGRO DIGEST plans to run this fall. At any rate, I am writing Mr. Pressley stating the terms you mentioned in the May [redacted] date by which you said you would have the article ready. Mr. Burns, for the EBONY feature, seems to be interested purely in securing a picture of you at the age of 20; he does not want you to write an article for them.

7. Miss Cromwell's letter is self explanatory. I am assuming that you would want her to have the McCuiston memorandum and his letter to you. Consequently, I am sending her a copy of each.

8. I am writing to Dr. Reese, concerning his letter to you about the Gandhi article. Also, I am informing him that you will not return to New York until April 15, but I will let him have a reply as soon as I have heard from you.

9. You will know best how to answer Miss Hubbard's letter from the Azores.

10. I am enclosing a letter from the Schroeder Foundation. You will note from the contents that I sent him the material that Mr. Schroeder requested in his previous letter, which you asked me to answer. Also I am enclosing a sheet of paper of the dimensions he requires, on which you are to write the inscription which he notes in his letter, and which I have typed out for you for the sake of clarity. However you will notice that you do not need to use this inscription, that you are at liberty to write whatever you please. I am sending Mr. Schroeder a list of other Negro writers, whom he may contact.

11. Please send me a check for $2.60, to pay for the volume, 1,000 AMERICANS, by Seldes, which you ordered from the CRISIS bookshop and which was delivered today.

12. I am enclosing one of the cards, and envelopes, we had made up for you to acknowledge birthday greetings. These are being sent out to the people you mentioned, excepting those you wrote to personally. Please send any other names you would like to have receive these cards.

All goes well here. Please let me know several days in advance when you plan to leave for Texas so that I may have your mail keep up with you. Mrs. Mruphy joins me in best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

23-39-119

HHS:LM

P.S. We have columns of PAN AFRICA through April 5. Please send me column material for April 12.

As regards WINDS OF TIME, we have material through April 2. We will need column material for April 9, 16. I mentioned this since you will not return until the middle of the month, and on April 16, you will be in Chicago. You can see you will have very little time here in New York between the time you return and the time you leave for Chicago to speak on the 16th. You will not want to burden yourself with so much work in such a short space of time, I believe.

Enclosures:

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(48)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

23-14-15

N264 PD=WR LOSANGELES CALIF 16 1246P 1948 MAR 16 PM 4 50

DR HUGH SMYTHE=

RM 402 20 WEST 40 ST=

:TELL WHITE I AGREE WITH LOGAN MEMORANDUMM STOP HOLD ANY DEFENDER ARTICLES TOUCHING POLITICS UNTIL I SEE THEM AGAIN STOP LETTER FOLLOWS=

:W E B DU BOIS=

W E B DU SG PPC=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Rec'd 3-18-48

Los Angeles, March I6, I948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

I have just caught up with my mail. I wired you today asking you to notify Mr. White that I agreed to Dr. Logan's memo. I asked you also to hold up any Defender articles which were political so I coudl consuder them in the light of the gag-law.

In addition note these matters:

I Notify White that I agrre to reprinting any parts of the U.N. petition, with of course consent of the authors

2. I have wired Lochard agreeing to come to Chicago April I6. As to Dayton I am writing to say I can come June 25; but $200. To Richmond I'm writing I would accept May 23, but $ I50. I dont want further engagements this Spring unless I'm well paid

3. Enclosed is a check for $40 for Mrs. Murphy; also check for $500 to be deposited to my account.

4. The NAACP attends to the upkeep of dictaphones and typewriters; I'm enclosing bill with O.K.

5. Both boxes cigarettes on hand.

6. Notify Aptheker that my reviews cannot be written until I return. Sorry.

7. As to lectures: the audience at Stowe, St. Louis, was 800, not 400. In California: Oakland, March 5, "Color and Democracy", 600; San Francisco, dinner, "The Workers" 400; March 9, Palo Alto High School, sponsored by persons from Stanford University and community, "Negro and United Nations", 500; March II, Sacremento, sponsored by nine groups of clubs and labor unions, "Economic Illiteracy", 500; March I4, San Francisco, Jones Methodist Church, "Minorities and Colonies", 300; (Reception by NAACP at Richmond, no speaking, no fee) March I2, University of California, Whittier Hall (University auspices) "My War Experiences" 700.

I am quite well and enjoying the sun and flowers of Los Angeles.

Sincerely yours,

W E B Du Bois

R-1 3-19-48

Los Angeles, March 16, 1948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

I just sent off a letter when yours of March 15 arrived. I offered Richmond, May 16 instead of 23rd. Please rush a photograph to Herbert Wright, Box 94, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N.M. I speak there March 22.

I shall leave here the 21st. Write me at Prairie View from the 21st to the 31st.

Enclosed is the check for $2.60 for the Seldes' book The reply cards were all right. I'll send you soon some more columns. I have a picture of myself at 20, but it cannot leave my possession.

I'm writing the University of Ill., offering April 15, 19 or 20 . The charge would be $100. I've also written Reece. Please note on my calendar this article for May 15.

Tell Miss Hubbard when she calls that I hope to see her when I return, April 15. I am a little suspicious of the Shroer Foundation. I shall write no further. You might try to get a line on him.

I speak for the P.C.A, Los Angeles, Thursday night, March 18. I may also speak in Phoenix. Tell Mrs. Hurley that the Youth branch at U. of New Mexico are asking me to speak I am charging them a pro rata part of my travel expense.

Sincerely

W.E.B. DuBois

23-38-63

March 16, 1948

TO: WALTER WHITE

Dr. DuBois has just wired, asking me to convey to you the following message:

"I AGREE WITH LOGAN MEMORANDUM."

By Smythe

HHS:LM

COPY

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

March 17, 1948

23-39-115

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. John Sommerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

By way of report from your office in New York:

1. The enclosures are self explanatory.

2. We received a request from the University of New Mexico to send them a photograph. Assuming that you were lecturing there we sent them one.

3. The CHICAGO DEFENDER corrected your income statement.

4. Mr. Carl Van Vechten called this morning to make an appointment with you for the end of April. He wanted to write directly, so we gave him your address.

5. We have withheld sending PAN AFRICA material, since THE PEOPLE'S VOICE is 5 weeks behind in payment. We wrote Mr. Brooks a letter more than a week ago about this matter but received no reply. We shall hold up material unless we receive other instructions from you.

6. We received your wire with instructions to inform Mr. White that you agreed with the Logan memorandum. We informed him at once.

7. Also, in re your wire we are making note of columns containing political material. However, a column with such material will probably be published this week by the CHICAGO DEFENDER since it was mailed to them on March 5. All other WINDS OF TIME data refers to the Human Rights Commission at Geneva.

8. I mention again that we shall need WINDS OF TIME material for April 9, 16.

9. We are mailing out the "Thank You" cards to people who wrote you on your birthday.

10. Miss Graham plans to go up to your apartment this week. If there are any other birthday greetings there, she is to bring them to the office and I shall mail them to you.

I hope you are enjoying the new cilmate of Los Angeles better than the mist and fog that is said to obtain in San Francisco. All is going well here. Mrs. Murphy joins me in regards.

Sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

23-39-116

HHS:LM

Enclosures:

To: Mr. White

March 18, 1948

Dr. DuBois has just written and asked that you be informed that he agrees to the reprinting of any parts of the NAACP United Nations petition, AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD (as printed), with, of course, the consent of the authors.

23-36-11

By Smythe

Memo to Dr Smythe: Rec'd 3-19-48

These articles are, I think, together in the top left-hand drawer of my desk. They are in a pile at the bottom, as I remember. Send them to Miss B. with apologies for my absense

WEBB

23.38-64

Mo 2-2454

1- "
2- " Why I am a Communist "

NATIONAL OFFICERS

President
Arthur B. Spingarn
Chairman of the Board
Dr. Louis T. Wright
Acting Chairman
Hon. Charles E. Toney
Vice-Presidents
Mary McLeod Bethune
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Rev. A. Clayton Powell
A. Philip Randolph
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25

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

Official Organ: The Crisis

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Walter White *Secretary*
Roy Wilkins *Assistant Secretary*
Editor, The Crisis
Madison S. Jones, Jr.
Administrative Assistant
Thurgood Marshall
Special Counsel
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Labor Secretary
Walter P. Offutt, Jr.
Church Secretary
Henry Lee Moon
Director of Public Relations

W. White

This is to be a SURPRISE!

19th
March
1948

MEMORANDUM TO MEMBERS OF THE BOARD
AND JUNIOR AND SENIOR EXECUTIVES:

Because of a previous engagement which Mr. and Mrs. Spingarn had made, we shall not be able to hold the surprise birthday party for Mr. Spingarn on March 28th. We also learned that temporarily Mrs. Spingarn is not permitted by her doctors to accept evening engagements.

23-36-21

We have therefore decided to have a little surprise party for Mr. Spingarn following the Board meeting on Monday, April 12th. We urge as large attendance as possible as well as keeping this confidential. Will you arrange your schedule, if possible, to remain for the party from 5 to 7 PM. We shall expedite the Board meeting as much as possible to complete the meeting by 5 PM.

After discreet inquiry, we find that what would probably please Mr. Spingarn most is a figurine by Richmond Barthe which will cost approximately $350 to cast in bronze. Several members of the Board have voluntarily sent in contributions of $10 each for the dinner. It is left to each member of the Board as to whether he would like to contribute and the size of his contribution to cover the cost of the statue and the party.

Walter White
Secretary

WW:emw

Doctor:— You might want to send greetings, so I sent this to you. You will be in Washington, D.C. on April 12.

W. E. B. Du Bois

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

March 19, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Doctor:

A weekend report from your office in New York to keep you posted of developments:

1. All of your various air mail letters have been received and instructions noted.

2. Mr. White was apprised of your affirmative response to the Logan memorandum immediately. We told Mr. White this before he left for Atlanta, where he is speaking today, Friday, March 19.

3. As regards political material in your column, only that which was sent in on March 5, concerning Truman, will appear. This was done prior to the NAACP Board meeting on March 8, and long before your wire instructing me to hold further material. All other columns contain no such material---most of it is on the Geneva meeting of the Commission on Human Rights.

23-39-112

4. PEOPLE'S VOICE has stopped the "Pan Africa" column. They did not print the last one we sent, nor did they ever reply to our letter requesting your checks. I am writing them again today about the matter of payment to you. You are now due one month salary from them.

5. Mr. White was notified as you instructed concerning the printing of parts of the NAACP United Nations petition, with the consent of the authors.

6. Your instructions concerning engagements for the spring are kept in mind. Any requests shall be forwarded to you for action.

7. Mrs. Murphy's check received. She has been off for two days, March 18 and 19.

8. The check for $500.00 from San Francisco has been received. It shall be deposited next week, along with other checks here, and a statement of the amount of deposits sent to you. If there are other checks you wish to send from your other California engagements, please send them and I shall deposit them to your account immediately. I mention this, in case you do not wish to be traveling around with too large sums on your person.

9. Mrs. Waring has been given the dictaphone bills to take care of. She informed me to bring them to her for action.

10. I informed Mr. Aptheker by phone today, when he called, concerning your instructions about the book reviews. He says that will be all right but they simply must have them by April 21 at the very latest, and that he will appreciate your keeping this date in mind.

11. Mr. Aptheker asked me to remind you about an article you are to do for them--- "Your Reminiscences on Sixty Years as an Independent in Politics." I worded this title, so do not know whether it is correct. He said you would know about it. They are most anxious to run it shortly, for the April number if they could have it, but he did not insist on this, but merely asked that you be reminded.

12. Thank you for sending the information on your speaking engagements. Please send other material during March. I shall draw up the monthly report about the 25th, but shall hold it until the 30th for any additional information you send.

13. Prior to your letter this morning, on March 17 I sent a picture to the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque. I had a wire from them to this effect and sent the picture, so it arrived in plenty of time for their use.

23-39-113

14. Mrs. Hurley was informed about your appearance at the University of New Mexico for the university NAACP branch. She had just received a letter from Herbert Wright to this effect. She thanks you for informing her directly, however.

15. I just talked with Mr. Henry Lee Moon, the new publicity director of the NAACP. He said he would appreciate your sending him any information you wanted to send about your speeches in the field; that he would appreciate doing releases on them each week. He sends out weekly reports. Knowing this I called him to find out whether he would like to have such information and he said yes indeed. When you get time, or if you have any time, please let me have such data. This part of the country needs to know, too, what you are telling the other part!

16. I have noted on your calendar the Gandhi article for UNITY, Dr. Curtis Reese in Chicago. From time to time I shall remind you of this.

17. Miss Hubbard shall be informed that you are away but that you hope to see her when you return to town.

18. I shall see what I can find out about the Schroeder Foundation.

19. The Workshop for Cultural Democracy was informed you could not attend a meeting on March 22, that you were still away lecturing.

20. Will you please send me a check for $5.75 to pay for additional charges at Bloomingdales for the mirror. Yesterday, I went up to the apartment and supervised the measuring by the man. Because of the way the window frames jut out it is necessary to build up behind them and attach this built-up work to the back of the mirror, this being necessary in order to install the mirror and to prevent distortion. I gave the man permission to go ahead and promised to send him the check, since I wanted the work done before you returned. Make the check out to BLOOMINGDALE'S, or to me, whichever you prefer. I hope this was all right.

21. I prodded Mr. Hinkson again about doing the maple chair and small table. He said he would attend to having these articles lacquered black, as you asked. I shall call him again on Monday about them and proceed to get somebody else to do it unless he has something definite to report.

22. The Cincinnati NAACP wanted you to speak for them on April 18---Mr. Current's secretary brought the wire, which asked for Mr. White, Mr. Marshall, or you. The other two declined for various reasons, and I told the secretary that you were speaking in Chicago that weekend. Since you speak for Mr. Lochard on the 16th, I did not think you wanted to rush back to Cincinnati on the 18th. Was this all right?

23. The enclosed letter from the AFRO-AMERICAN about your book is self-explanatory. You will notice that I noted on the letter that I have sent them a picture for use in connection with the book. This has nothing to do with the Schmidt Baking Company advertisement matter, about which you wrote them not to use your photo.

23-39-114

24. Please send check for $8.26 to pay for your light and gas bill. The notice is enclosed and I have retained the stub to mail with your check. You might like to return this notice for your files.

25. Miss Diggs sent a check for $40 to cover the period, as she noted, February 11-20, and February 20-March 16. You will understand these dates, I presume. This is the way she noted them on a card. I am acknowledging receipt of the check.

26. Please list other people who are to receive the 80th Anniversary thank you cards.

27. After some searching I found the Boardman articles---they were in another drawer in your desk. I have sent them back to her with your apologies, as instructed.

28. The column to THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, "Winds of Time," is going off regularly.

29. In view of what I said in item 4, above, you need not worry about writing any more PAN AFRICA columns until we hear from PEOPLE'S VOICE. As it is, we have enough to last until you return.

30. Under separate cover I am sending a few more NATIONS and NEW REPUBLICS.

This about covers everything for the time being. If there is anything you would like me to do, just send instructions. Hope you are well, enjoying the changing scenery, and taking good care of yourself. Best wishes for a continued pleasant trip.

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:self

Enclosures

P.S. I have enclosed an envelope in which you can return material. Let me know if you would like to have any postage.

23.39-117

2225 Fifth Avenue, 2-C
New York 35, New York
March 20, 1948

Dear Doctor:

Dr. Hunton sent these to my home by special delivery this morning, instructing me to pass them along to you. He mentioned sending this material to you at your Los Angeles address but was not sure it would reach you in time. I am mailing this to your Texas stopping place. I believe that Dr. Hunton would like to have your reaction and especially your proxy before the meeting on Thursday, March 25.

No doubt you got my long letter which I mailed yesterday.

At the end of the month, please let me know your Atlanta stopping place. As it is, the only address I have for you is Wheat Street Baptist Church. I shall write you care of Dr. Banks until March 31, as advised by you.

Thurgood Marshall is somewhat upset by the fact that President Clement, and now Patterson and Gray of Tuskegee and Florida A & M respectively, have been meeting with the Southern governors in regard to the regional university compact. You know our association is fighting this.

All is well. Continue to enjoy yourself, but please do not overwork yourself. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

March 23, 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Just bringing to your attention some matters for your disposal:

23-39-110

1. I am enclosing your New York State tax returns. I went over them and filled out the statement, based on the information I have here. I then let Mabel (my wife, who does tax returns professionally) look them over and she reduced the tax to be paid to the barest minimum possible based on the data we had. I am enclosing the return completely filled out, and needing only your signature, with a self-addressed envelope for mailing it in. You will notice that your total New York State income tax for 1947 is $10.71. The check for this amount is to be enclosed with the return. We have kept a copy of the return here for your records. I hope that you will find the return satisfactory.

2. Today I forwarded you a letter from Miss Helen Boardman. She sent it this morning and asked that it be sent to you at once.

3. The enclosed letter from Henry F. Pommer is self explanatory. You can see from the enclosed copy that I thought it advisable to send along his request to the National Headquarters of Mr. Wallace.

4. Please send me a check for $12.80, made out to "The A. N. Marquis Company. This is to pay for your volume of "Who's Who in America," which has already been received. The bill from them is enclosed.

5. We received your letter containing columns for WINDS OF TIME and PAN AFRICA. Incidentally, I wrote Mr. Deton J. Brooks, of THE PEOPLE'S VOICE, yesterday, in regard to the four (4) payments due you for PAN AFRICA. Since the paper has not been printing your column of late, you need not bother to write any more PAN AFRICA columns.

6. The EBONY letter, enclosed, is self explanatory.

7. The Civil Rights letter, which is enclosed, is self explanatory.

8. Please send me the titles, places, and size of audiences where you spoke after March 14. I have your record straight up to and including that date.

9. Mr. Jones just reported that the matter of additional space for us and the Legal Department came up for further discussion in a meeting of the Administrative Committee. The situation is the same as before; Mr. Hammond, however, promises to put forth serious effort to find available space.

Hope all is going well and that you are enjoying your stay in Texas.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

23-39-111

HHS:LM

Enclosures:

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

March 24, 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just had a long distance call from Dr. Bloom of Philadelphia, who has been trying to get you to appear for his Forum series for sometime as you know. He asked if it would be possible for you to speak for him on May 23.

In checking your calendar, I notice that you have an open date on May 23. Since you have written him several times that you would be glad to appear on his Forum, I thought you would like to know that you could appear on this date. I made Dr. Bloom no definite promise, but told him I would write you and let him know whether you would accept the engagement. I did say to him, however, that I knew you would be glad to come if you could possibly do so, and that you did appreciate his interest.

I am rushing this to you in the hope that I may have your answer by Saturday or Monday at the latest, since Dr. Bloom asked me to let him know by the first of next week.

23-39-109

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

Home address: 2225 Fifth Ave.,2-C
New York 35, N. Y.

HHS:LM

March 24, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just had a long distance call from Dr. Bloom of Philadelphia, who has been trying to get you to appear for his Forum series for sometime as you know. He asked if it would be possible for you to speak for him on May 23.

In checking your calendar, I notice that you have an open date on May 23. Since you have written him several times that you would be glad to appear on his Forum, I thought you would like to know that you could appear on this date. I made Dr. Bloom no definite promise, but told him I would write you and let him know whether you would accept the engagement. I did say to him, however, that I knew you would be glad to come if you could possibly do so, and that you did appreciate his interest.

I am rushing this to you in the hope that I may have your answer by Saturday or Monday at the latest, since Dr. Bloom asked me to let him know by the first of next week.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[n.a.a.c.p.

TO: Miss Julia Baxter

March 25, 1948

Will you please send two copies, with bill, (AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD), to:

Mrs. Mollie Dunlap
Richard B. Harrison Library
Raleigh N. C.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

By Smythe

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

March 25, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Doctor:

Since the NAACP is observing Good Friday as a holiday, I am sending you a weekend report today.

1. Your wire to Dr. Hunton was received and delivered in good time. Mrs. Murphy delivered to him personally.

2. The enclosed letter will show that the Richmond lecture is off. I have made note of this on our calendar.

3. The Mark Twain Society letter is enclosed. It is self-explanatory. I wrote Mr. Clemens, however, that you would be glad to inscribe their copy of SOULS OF BLACK FOLK if they sent it to you. Also, that you would be pleased to receive a copy of the Society's biography of Twain.

4. Mr. Herbert T. Miller, Executive Secretary of the Carlton Avenue YMCA of Brooklyn, wanted some material to write a story of your 80th anniversary dinner for the Sigma Pi Phi Boule journal. I sent him the usual biographical data, plus a copy of the story from the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, and a picture, which he requested.

5. I sent a copy of the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE story to Yolanda to give to Mrs. DuBois. I believe Mrs. DuBois wanted to see a report of it from the New York papers.

6. I am enclosing several copies of THE NEW REPUBLIC and THE NATION.

7. May I use the book review of RACE AND NATIONALITY, by Fairchild, that you did for SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY, and which Miss Jessica Smith, the editor, returned, for publication in a newspaper, CONNECTICUT CHRONICLE? I know the editor quite well and he said he would appreciate carrying anything from you and could use the review in the book section of the paper. It is a young but good newspaper, much on the order of THE NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE, but more integrated and not a completely Negro paper. I told him I would approach you about it, since you were so busy now and would not have time to do a special review for him just now.

8. The package from California arrived. The material is being sorted and filed.

23a-14

9. WINDS OF TIME is being mailed tomorrow, as per schedule.

10. As yet, we have had no word from Mr. Cooks of THE PEOPLE'S VOICE, although I sent him a registered letter two days ago. I shall let you know what he says when I haar from him. Currently, we are not sending in any more PAN AFRICA columns.

This is all for now. Should you need me, my home address is 2225 Fifth Avenue, Apartment 2-C, New York 35, N. Y. In a big emergency you can call me at a friend's number---Adirondack 4-3705---which is located in the building. The phone is listed in the name of Eugene O. Hoskins, same address as mine.

Continued best wishes for a pleasant trip.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:

Enclosures

23a-14

Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College
Prairie View, Texas

March 26, 1948

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

23-18-24

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Room 402
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Smythe:

I have received your letters of March 15, 17, 19, 20 and March 23. I have answered that of March 15th in part. I think I sent you the check for $2.60 for the Seldes book.

I spoke at the University of New Mexico on March 22. There was an audience of about seven hundred and the reception was very excellent.×

I believe, too, that I have not reported about the meeting in Los Angeles. There was a luncheon in my honor at Pilgrim House March 18 with about fifty prominent persons present. I did not make any speech. On the 19th I spoke at Zion Hill Baptist Church to about six hundred people on the subject, "My War Experiences." Attorney General Kenney was there and several prominent colored people. Most of the audience was colored, although there were a number of whites.

I then flew to Albuquerque, as I have said, and then afterwards to San Antonio and then here to Prairie View. I shall fly from here the 7th to Atlanta, and there my address will probably be in care of Dr. E. C. Bowden, 223 Boulevard N. E., Atlanta. If this address is changed, I shall let you know. I shall probably have one or two lectures while at Prairie View. I shall let you know about that later.

I have written Carl Van Vechten and made an appointment to dine with him April 19.

I have sent you several articles for "Winds of Time."

Enclosed are checks for two hundred and fifty ($250.00) dollars for deposit.

I am enclosing a check for five dollars and seventy five cents ($5.75) for Bloomingdales. I wrote the Afro-American declining to appear with the Baking Company advertisement. (Thanked him for Novel award)

× Subject: "My War Experiences"

5.75
12.80
18.55
8.26
26.81

23-18-25

Enclosed is a check for eight dollars and twenty-six cents ($8.26) for light and gas. I have received no copies of the Nation and New Republic as yet. Printed matter gets through with great difficulty. Perhaps you had better not try sending any more. I am returning the New York State tax returns to you with the check for ten dollars and seventy-one cents ($10.71) enclosed. Please mail it in on time. I am also sending a check for twelve dollars and eighty cents ($12.80) for the volume Who's Who in America.

I cannot speak for Dr. Bloom. Also I offered the University of Illinois April 15 but I have not heard from them and must cancel it. Unless some very unusual call comes, I shall accept no more speaking engagements this spring and summer.

Very truly yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:elh
Enclosures

P. S. Please secure for me round trip Airplane passage to Chicago as noted below.

I think the TWA is best but you might inquire. As soon as you get the reservation, let me know and I will send you the check.

Send me some blank checks.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

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29th
March
1948

12-40-58

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On March 11th I wrote you as follows:

"Your memorandum to the Board of Directors of March 8th, 1948 was carefully considered and discussed at the Board meeting of March 8th. At the conclusion of the discussion it was voted that the Board uphold its ruling of 1944 which was quoted in my memorandum sent at the instruction of the Committee on Administration of February 25th, and that no exception be made to that ruling.

"I would like to add that the Board's position is in accordance with the mandate upon it of the 1946 Cincinnati and the 1947 Washington Annual Conference."

As yet I have received no reply to this letter.

In the New York Times of March 26th appeared a story headed "Committee to Set Third Party Conclave", telling of the formation of a 700-member organization for Wallace in which is included your name identified as "research director, National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People.

Will you kindly advise me by return airmail for the information of the Board of Directors whether you consented to serve on this committee for Wallace and if so, whether this consent was given before or after you received my letter of March 11th.

Ever sincerely

Walter White
Secretary

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Prairie View, Texas

Prairie View, Texas, March 31, 1948

Dear Mr. White:

Answering your letter of March 29, may I say that I did not sign the manifesto to set a Third Party nor have I seen a copy of it. Moone had authority to use my name. I endorse Mr. Wallace for President but since the decision of the Board I have followed its directions, and refrained from organized political activity.

Very sincerely,

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

March 29, 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter of March 26 with its enclosures has just arrived. I am reporting as follows:

1. The check for $2.60 for the Seldes book has been received and turned in to the CRISIS book shop.

2. Although Mr. Hinkson promised nearly three weeks ago to have the two articles lacquered black in your apartment, I had not heard from him. I wrote him last Tuesday about the matter, since I had been calling him weekly, but could get no response. This morning he called to tell me, in reply to my letter, that he would be unable to have the job done, since the man he had counted on doing it was still very ill. I shall do my best to try and find some one to do the work, but I do not know how successful I will be. I would very much like to have it done before your return.

3. I am noting the information concerning your speaking engagements for our monthly report.

4. The Atlanta University check has been received.

5. THE CHICAGO DEFENDER check through March 27 has been received.

6. We have had no word from THE PEOPLE'S VOICE.

7. Mrs. Murphy learned from one of their P.V.'s reporters, that although Mr. Brook's name is still carried on the masthead, he has been fired from the paper, and that Dr. Yergan is in full control.

8. Please send a salary check, made out to Lillian Murphy, for $44.00 to cover the period ending March 31.

9. The African Council material enclosed is self-explanatory. I believe the first page contains the information you will want to know.

10. Your New York State tax return, with the enclosed check to cover your taxes, has been mailed.

11. I airmailed you some NATION and NEW REPUBLIC issues on Thursday.

12. I have noted Dr. Bowden's Atlanta address. I am noting that you will remain in Texas until April 7.

13. Please send check for your round trip Chicago flight on April 15, returning April 18, for $100.28. This must be here, if possible, by April 1, since I must pick up your reservation on that date. However, I shall try to extend the time if it is not here by then.

14. I have noted your dinner engagement with Carl Van Vechten on April 19.

15. I have received the checks for $250.00 for deposit. You will be sent a statement of the amount deposited to your account after Mrs. Murphy goes to the bank on April 1.

16. I have received your check made out to me, for $26.81, which is to cover Bloomingdale's, Who's Who in America, and gas and electric at 409. These are being taken care of today.

17. I am informing Dr. Bloom of your decision.

18. The Southern Negro Youth Congress material enclosed is self-explanatory.

19. The Southern Pacific Company letter is self-explanatory.

I am rushing this off to you in order that it may reach you as soon as possible, so that you may send me the airline check for $100.28. Please make this out to me to facilitate matters in securing the reservation. I shall, of course, obtain a receipt for you. Mrs. Murphy joins me in best wishes.

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosures

23a-14

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

March 31, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Here is a report from your New York office:

1. The enclosed letters are self-explanatory.

2. Please send me a check for $19.00 to pay for the lacquering of the chair and other article in your apartment. I hope this will be completed before you return, but I am not sure. However, I shall rush it all that I can.

3. I am enclosing also some material from Dr. Alexander. It is self-explanatory.

4. Enclosed are two letters sent to your from Cedric Dover.

5. Please indicate others to whom you would like to have sent 80th birthday greetings appreciation cards.

6. There was deposited to your account today $1,575.60. This includes y your salary check.

7. I am mailing in the check for $57.00 to cover the rent of your apartment in 409.

8. Please send me a check to cover the enclosed telephone bill.

9. Miss Graham was in today and asked for a copy of your WINDS OF TIME of March 20. We have sent this off to her.

10. I sent you via airmail a book of checks.

Hope everything is going well.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM
Enclosures

Copy

Smythe

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

March 31, 1948

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c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

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7. I am mailing in the check for $57.00 to cover the rent of your apartment in 409.

8. Please send me a check to cover the enclosed telephone bill.

9. Miss Graham was in today and asked for a copy of your WINDS OF TIME column of March 20. We have sent this off to her.

10. I sent you VIA air mail a book of checks.

Hope everything is going well.

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosures

233-14

Prairie View, March 31, 1948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Enclosed is the check for the Chicago trip, $100.28; also the check for Mrs. Murphy for $44.

Best regards,

W. E. B. Du Bois

23a-14

March 31, 1948

TO: MR. WHITE

Dr DuBois' current address is:

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

He can be reached here until about

April 5.

By

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

March, 1948

W. E. B. DuBois, Director

During the month of March the activities of the Director include:

Lectures:

"Color and Democracy," Oakland California.

"The Workers", Dinner of the California Labor School, San Francisco, California.

"Negro and the United Nations," Stanford University and community groups. Palo Alto, California.

"Economic Illiteracy," nine club groups and labor unions. Sacramento, California.

"My War Experiences," University of California at Los Angeles. Los Angeles, California.

"Minorities and Colonies," Jones Methodist Church. San Francisco, California.

"My War Experiences," University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. (NAACP Youth Branch sponsorship).

"My War Experiences," Zion Hill Baptist Church, Los Angeles, California.

Miscellaneous:

Book Review, IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES, by R. M. Weaver. To appear in THE SCIENTIFIC MONTHLY.

Wrote letter to NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, concerning the neglect of the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library. It was published in the March 7 issue (Sunday).

Given a reception by the NAACP of Richmond, California.

Attended a luncheon in honor of the director, Pilgrim House, Los Angeles, California (Honoring W. E. B. DuBois).

The activities of my assistant, Dr. Smythe, for March, include:

Lectures:

"Race and Nationality from a Sociological Point of View." The Graduate School Sociology Club, New York University, New York, N. Y.

"Some Suggestions for Easing Tension Between Jews and Negroes." Jewish Center of Highbridge, Bronx, New York.

Miscellaneous:

Articles: "The NAACP on the Denial of Human Rights and the United Nations." JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION. Winter Issue, 1948.

Book Review: NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1947. For the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

Book Review: RACE AND NATIONALITY, by H. P. Fairchild. CRISIS.

25-2-171

W. E. B. DuBois
Director

By H. H. Smythe

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

April 1, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Just a few reminders:

1. Please send the check for $100.28 for the airlines reservation, round trip Chicago, April 15, April 18 flight.

2. The enclosed telegram from Carl Gebuhr is self-explanatory. I have written him, and am enclosing a copy of my letter. In checking your calendar I notice that you do not have an engagement for May 15. This day falls on a Saturday in May.

3. The other enclosed material is self-explanatory.

4. Please send me a check for $19.00 to pay for the refinishing job on the articles in your apartment.

All goes well here. Mrs. Murphy joins me in regards.

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosures

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

23a-14

April 2, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The letter with the checks was received this morning. Mrs. Murphy thanks you for hers.

The enclosed letters are self-explanatory. Please send me the title of your Cleveland speech for May 9.

We are securing the Chicago reservations today.

All goes well here. Mrs. Murphy joins me in regards.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosures

Praireie View, April 2, I948

Memo. to Dr. Smythe:

I. Copy inclosed letter. Send original to Mr. Spingarn and copy to Dr. Wright.

2. I leave here April 7, at 2 p.m. I shall be at the Bowdens' Atlanta, until the morning of April IO. April IO and II, in Baltimore.

3. Enclosed is a check for $I9 for chair and stool; and check for $6.58 for telephone

4. Please send birthday appreciation cards to those whose letters are inclosed.

I received your book of checks. I hope you have my check for Chicago trip.

All is well. I have a dictaphone and am cooking up trouble for Mrs. Murphy

W E B D

230-14

[N.A.A.C.P.]

COPY

Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas
April 2, 1948

Dear Mr. Spingarn:

Frankly I am bewildered. Consider the following facts:

22-40-53

1. Before I left on this lecture trip, I wrote several columns for THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, one of which was on Wallace and other candidates. This was long before I had any knowledge of the Board action on political activity. I wrote my assistant to hold up any matter touching politics until I had looked it over. But this column had already been mailed.

2. Mr. White has written me, saying my name was signed to a call for the Third Party convention. I replied that I had signed no such call and indeed had not seen it. I presume that since I had long ago endorsed Wallace and was a Vice-President of the PCA, they felt justified in assuming I would sign the call. But under the Board decision, I would not have signed had I known it. In replying to Mr. White, I said that since I received notice of the action of the Board, I had taken no part in organized political activity.

3. But this does not settle the matter. For instance in this morning's mail come the following requests:

   a. From Madame Sun Yat Sen, to become an honorary member of her China Welfare Fund

   b. From the American Council for a Democratic Greece, to become a Co-Chairman, with Louis Adamic and Carey McWilliams, in a proposed National Conference.

      Ordinarily, I should not hesitate to assent to both these requests. But both are in a sense "political." Does it mean that hereafter, I must not thus express my ideas? Once in 1909, at a similar request, I served on a committee of 100 which resulted in the NAACP.

   c. I have delivered, since February 15, 12 lectures in 5 states. In no case was the occasion political; but also in every case I discussed subjects which had political implications; indeed how can anyone speak of current topics and avoid politics? My interpretation of the Board's ruling was that, the occasion must not be a political rally for a party candidate; and even on other occasions, the talk must not be aimed at asking support for a particular political candidate. But am I right in this conclusion?

For instance: again before I had notice of the Board action, I accepted an invitation to address the Chicago Forum, April 16, on "What the Negro Wants in 1948." I addressed this forum in 1947, and

I accepted this invitation. But I wrote to Lochard, who runs it, after receiving White's letter, that I understood this was not a political meeting but a forum; and gave the reasons. Now I am wondering: Shall I be discussing Civil Rights, Poll Tax, Segregation, etc. The city will be Wallace-conscious from a recent convention. Even if I avoid mentioning candidates, suppose a question comes from the floor? Does this make the meeting "political"? Must I, to follow the Board's ruling, hereafter refuse to address forums?

A forum in Philadelphia, headed by Dr. S. S. Bloom, 606 Mediaal Arts Building (16th and Walnut Streets), has asked me repeatedly to address them. I have refused for lack of time and strength. Today comes another invitation: "We need him so badly here that our committee urges me to write once more...We planned on having Mr. Rainey with him. You know that the Progressive Party is running Mr. Rainey for Congress and his chances are good."

I have refused to go, since the meeting is evidently political. And yet in what position does this leave the NAACP, in the case of a prospective congressman who is a member and officer of the Association?

You will realize the dilemmas in which I find myself; they will increase as the present crisis continues. What I must ask myself is, how narrowly is this Board ruling to be interpreted? Is the interpretation outlined above valid, or if I continue to discuss current topics in non-political meetings; and if I continue to write on current political and social problems, am I going to face sudden loss of bread and butter?

When you and Louis Wright urged me to return to the NAACP, there was no warning that my usual freedom of expression was to be curtailed, except of course general conformity with the NAACP program, and (as I myself insisted) no attempt on my part to make its policy. Certainly, if I had thought that re-joining the NAACP, meant an end of my writing and speaking I would never have come back. Hitherto, in my books, articles and talks, I have heard no criticism that I was going contrary to your general policy. This makes it all the more difficult for me to interpret this latest order, which, broadly interpreted, I willingly assent to; but narrowly applied, practically closes my mouth and stops my pen, with about the sharpest threat a man can face at the end of his life.

This letter requires no answer. I realize that you are not in much better position to answer it than I, myself. I simply want to make myself clear for the record when clarity is demanded.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. DuBois

P.S. Two other cases occur to me: On February 9, I was asked to attend a civil rights banquet in Washington and receive from the American Veterans Committee an award as "AVC Man of the Year for 1948." I accepted. The dinner is April 12. (Since changed to May 15). Is this political? Again I have just been asked by the Southern Negro Youth Congress to be a sponsor for the Conference for 1948. I spoke for their 1946 conference and my speech was published (10,000 copies). In a certain sense this movement is political. I have not yet replied.

22-40-59

April 2, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The letter with the checks was received this morning. Mrs. Murphy thanks you for hers.

The enclosed letters are self-explanatroy. Please send me the title of your Cleveland speech for May 9.

We are securing the Chicago reservations today.

All goes well here. Mrs. Murphy joins me in regards.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosures

TELEPHONE EVERGREEN 7-8794

223 GRAHAM AVENUE, BROOKLYN 6

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

WILLIAM J. GAYNOR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
PUBLIC SCHOOL 49, BROOKLYN

LAZARUS D. ROSS, PRINCIPAL

April 4, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe,
c/o National Association For The
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th. Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

230-45

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Just a line to remind you of your plan to visit our school on Thurs. April 8 at 1 P.M. to talk to a group of about 250 boys on the topic "Contributions of the Negro to America." Boys will average about 14 years of age, & talk will have to be suitable for that age level. Talk to be about 30 minutes, followed by a short question period, if agreeable to you.

If you desire further information you can contact me at Slocum 6-9460 daily after 5 P.M.

I am looking forward to your visit with much pleasure.

Sincerely,
George F. Tucker

(110 N.Y. Ave.
Brooklyn, NY.)

W. E. B. DU BOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

April 4, 1948

23-18-23

Dear Dr. Smythe:

I speak in Cleveland on the "Marshall Plan" Please buy for me the last issue of Fortune with the article on the economic development of Texas around Houston. Get it new or second hand, or if necessary subscribe Mail card and put this on my calendar

Try Newsstand on other side of Park or go up to Radio City - TIME, LIFE, FORTUNE Bldg - next to skating rink (sunken garden)

Received 4-7-48

April 5, 1948

TO: NAACP

SUBJECT: Finance

For extra clerical ssstant in my office.

March 1-15	$40.00
March 15-April 1	44.00
	$ 84.00

Depratmaet of Special Research

April 5, 1948

[N.A.A.C.P.]

Dear Mrs. Waring:

I am enclosing a check for $21.50 and cash of $1.50. My expenses in connection with my attendance of the New England Conference came to $23.50. However, since I did not know the transportation charge to the airport in Worcester, I was unable to include the extra $2.00 in the statement of expenses to the New England Regional Conference, NAACP.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosure

P. S. You will recall that I drew $25.00 for expenses for this trip.

23-20-84

C 8684

Date 4/5/48

Dr. Smythe

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People acknowledges with appreciation receipt of $ 1.50

for Refund Travel

Mary W. Ovington

Treasurer

HEADQUARTERS: 20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

71-232

Receipt for $1.50 sent to Secy New England Conf.

April 5, 1948

[N.A.A.C.P.]

TO: Mr. Marshall

Mr. John R. Lopez, Secretary of the New England Regional Conference of the NAACP, talked with me when I was in Worcester, Massachusetts yesterday. He asked me to convey to you the following information, that he has written Congressman Martin, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Caroll Reece, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Senator McGrath, Chairman of the Democratic Committee, concerning the enforcement of the second section of the 14th amendment to the United States Constitution.

Mr. Lopez would appreciate hearing from you about this matter in regard to what has been done by the National Office, and advising him about further steps to take.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-20-15

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

April 5, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. E. C. Bowden
223 Boulevard, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I received your letter of April 2 with its enclosures. We have mailed the original letter to Mr. Spingarn and sent a copy to Dr. Wright.

I have received the check for $19.00, for work being done on the chair and stool. It has been endorsed and sent on to The Ambassador Furniture Sales, 302 West 124th Street, New York City.

Thank you for the $6.58 check to cover the telephone bill. Mrs. Murphy posted it immediately.

We have secured your plane ticked for the Chicago trip.

The letter from Neil Scott is self-explanatory.

I am enclosing the telegram from the American Veterans Committee indicating shifting of the banquet date to May 15, and my letter to Mr. Gebuhr.

The individuals are being sent birthday cards as you instructed.

Mrs. Murphy turned into Mr. Wilkin's office the financial statement for $84.00. This covers two periods.

The Fisk Alumni letter is enclosed for your consideration.

Mrs. Murphy said she got your message about "cooking up trouble," but says she will be here waiting to be "cooking with gas" for you when you return.

After this heated exchange, she joins me in best regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

P. S. I have heard from Dr. Banks. Thank you for talking with him, and you know Mabel and I always appreciate your interest in our behalf.

HHS:LM

230-14

NATIONAL OFFICERS

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Chairman of the Board
Dr. Louis T. Wright
Vice-Presidents
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25

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 3-6890
Official Organ: The Crisis

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Henry Lee Moon *Director of Public Relations*

Mr White

Dr. DuBois

5th
April
1948

MEMORANDUM TO MEMBERS OF THE BOARD AND STAFF:

At the cocktail party following the Board meeting on April 12th at which a token of our appreciation will be presented to Mr. Spingarn in celebration of his 70th Birthday, your wives (or husbands) are very cordially invited to be present.

23-36-20

We shall commence the Board meeting promptly at 3:30 and finish promptly at 5 PM. Wives or husbands of Board and staff members are requested to be present at 5 PM.

We hope you will arrange your schedule to be free that evening at least until 7 o'clock so that we can have a good time.

Walter White
Secretary

WW:emw

Prairie View, April 7, I948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

I leave here this afternoon. I speak in Atlanta tomorrow night, stopping at the Bowdens. I leave for Washington Saturday the IOth. I shall not stop in Washington, but take the train to Baltimore arriving home about 5 p.m. I shall stay there until Monday or Tuesday. If urgent, you might telephone me there or at the apartment late on Tuesday. Otherwise let me rest until Wednesday when I'll phone you.

I've sent you, by prepaid railway express, a box of dictaphone cylinders. They are numbered consecutively. Mrs. Murphy can begin on them. They are insured for $500. Let's hope they'll arrive intact. If not, preserve pieces carefully.

Sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois

230-14

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

April 7, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. E. C. Bowden
223 Boulevard, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

23-14-8

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have received your letter of April 4.

We have sent in the card to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and noted the dinner date on your calendar.

We have secured a copy of FORTUNE, with the article you mentioned.

The enclosed letter is self-explanatory. I am enclosing an envelope for your convenience in sending in your answer to the P. E. N. Club.

Dr. Aptheker called today and wanted to know if you would serve as a sponsor for a mass meeting on June 3. He explained that this is to be purely a protest mass meeting of cultural people against America's trend toward war. He said other sponsors include individuals such as; Langston Hughes, Shirley Graham, Paul Robeson, and other individuals from the Arts and Sciences. He would like to have an answer at your earliest convenience.

All goes well here. Mrs. Murphy joins me in regards.

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosures

April 8, 1948

20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

TO: Mr. George F. Tucker

The enclosed memorandum is self-explanatory. I enjoyed talking to your students, and hopw that you will continue with the good work that your are doing. You may rest assured that we will be glad to help all that we can.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

April 8, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o Dr. E. C. Bowden
223 Boulevard, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing a few letters, from the PCA and Paul Robeson, which I thought you should have. You will see that I made a note on the PCA letter to help you in making a decision. I am enclosing a clipping on the Council on African Affairs from the HERALD TRIBUNE, which I thought you ~~should~~ would like to see.

All goes well, Mrs. Murphy joins me in regards.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosures

23a-14

April 8, 1948

[N.A.A.C.P.]

TO: Miss Julia Baxter

Would you be good enough to send whatever free literature the Association has available to Mr. George F. Tucker, William J. Gaynor Junior High School, P. S. 49, Brooklyn, 223 Graham Avenue, Brooklyn 6, New York.

I visited this school recently and Mr. Tucker, who is in charge of guidance there said that he thought that material such as we have would be of aid to him in helping to curb delinquency among the students.

Thank you for your cooperation and courtesy.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

CC: George F. Tucker

23-20-46

[N.A.A.C.P.]

MEMORANDUM April 9, 1948

FROM THE DESK OF

GLOSTER B. CURRENT

DIRECTOR OF BRANCHES

TO: DR. DU BOIS AND STAFF

23-2-3-9

You are cordially invited to attend the Eastern Leadership Training Conference to be held in the Willkie Building, 20 W. 40th Street beginning at 9:00 A.M. on April 10, 1948.

Various phases of the NAACP program will be discussed by Mr. Leslie Perry, Mr. Jesse O. Dedmon, Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Mr. Henry Lee Moon, Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Miss Lucille Black and Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry.

Attached is a copy of the program for your information.

GBC/cs
Attachment

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

23-14-20

April 9, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your airmail from Texas arrived this morning. The contents have been duly noted. Unless there is some emergency, you will not be bothered.

The enclosed letter from the Illinois Civil Rights Congress is self-explanatory. I will be glad to answer it, if you will let me have your decision.

The checks have been received from THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, covering the period through April 10, and from the NAACP for clerical assistance.

I am enclosing a letter from the Baltimore Department of Education, which I found in some material you had brought to the office from 409, and which we were filing today. I thought you would want to decide about it while you were there.

Mrs. Murphy joins me in best regards to you, Mrs. Du Bois, and Yolande.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:IM

Enclosures

P. S. "Winds of Time" went off on schedule.

The People's Voice has folded - 'tis rumored that Julian, "The Black Eagle," is trying to buy it!...Deton J. Brooks, is reported to have misused the funds of the paper.

[n.a.a.c.p.]

April 9, 1948

TO: Miss Baxter

The attached letter to Mr. McNutt was sent in response to your memo this morning.

H. E. Smythe

COPY

23-20-70

HES:LW

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

April II, 1948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

$51.87 tot

Am at home and all is well. Will you find the best air route to Cleveland and the round-trip rate? You cna have the information when I return. I arrive Tuesday at 2.p.m. I'll phone Wednesday.

Sincerely,

W.E.B.

P.S. Rush enclosed to Loohard; I cant find his Chicago address.

If not too late change Cleveland address to "What the Negro wants in 1948"

23-18-22

Duncan
7:30 AM
12.00
12:15 PM
4:56

air mail special to
Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham
8401 Cedar Ave, Cleveland 3, Ohio

4-13-48 Smythe

51.87 including tax

United
LV
9 00
1 15
4 00
6 15

ARR.
11:50
4 05
6:40
9:30

5:45 - 9:10

Eastern, United

[N.A.A.C.P.?]

April 12, 1948

TO: Mr. James W. Ivy

Attached is the review of Dr. Oak's book. He has been sent a copy and instructed that we have asked you not to print it unless you receive an OK from Oak himself that it is all right to publish it.

Hugh M. Smythe

23-30-73

HMS:LM

(COPY)

Minneapolis 8, Minn.
April 14, 1948

Mr. Walter White, Secy.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York, New York

My Dear Mr. White:

I am aware of the fact that you and every educated American Negro are conscious of the Present Political muddle which exists throughout the country today. Especially so in the deep south. It is the duty of every true American to assist in whatever legitimate manner he deems best to "clear up" or to straighten out this Political tangle.

I see no reason why the National Office for the N.A.A.C.P. should not go on record and ask every American Negro to go all out for the support of President Truman's nomination and election.

Everyone is aware of the fact that President Truman has gone further upon this so-called race problem than any other President since Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation; when he took a solid stand behind the Civil Rights Commission report on un-American Practices, and the failure of our law makers to enact legislation that will remove all economic and Political discrimination from our shores.

When a President is out-spoken and says to these United States of America that:

> "Every American Citizen is entitled to and should enjoy equal opportunities as set forth in our federal constitution."

This declaration is "predicated upon the proposition" that all men are equal in our democratic form of government.

I am well past the half century mark and in thirty-five years of voting, I have never in the past voted a Democrat ticket for the President of my country; But when Mr. Truman comes out in the open in the above cited declarations: Especially his defiance, as to the southern Democrat Party's rebellion, has caused this writer to think. And after a careful study of his pronouncements I concluded: I SHALL SUPPORT MR. TRUMAN AND HIS PARTY IN THIS NOVEMBER ELECTION:

I also believe that the "spokesmen" of our race should

(COPY)

say to Mr. J. Howard McGrath, the National Democratic Party Chairman: If your Party fails to nominate Mr. Truman at your July Convention: That every American Negro will vote solidly for the Republican nominee. * * * not only should we make this statement; but we should organize the Negroes into a solid block, even if it cost us $20,000,000 to keep that pledge, and make it known at the polls in November.

Mr. Randolph's recent declaration before the Senate Armed Service Committee: "That we should refuse to fight or enlist or register in our fighting forces, until the War Department has stricken segregation and discrimination from the Army and Navy:" I am giving the matter some study: but I am not so sure that this is the best procedure that we should follow to gain our objectives.

Martin Brown

Martin Brown
Good Will Ambassador
3954 Third Ave. So.
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota

MB:k

To: Miss Julia Baxter

April 19, 1948

Will you please be good enough to send material that we have for free distribution to:

Mrs. Grace Proctor
2814 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

She is in need of data on segregation of Negroes and other minorities, and would appreciate your courtesy in this request.

Thank you.

By W. T. Smythe

22-39

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

23-32-8 Wallace

April 21, 1948

Miss Shirley Graham called this morning and asked that you please send a congratulatory telegram to Julian Rainey in Philadelphia. He is being given a big banquet tonight to launch publicly his candidacy for Congress from Pennsylvania. The wire should be sent to:

Mr. Julian Rainey
c/o Mrs. Goldie Watson
Wallace Committee
1622 Columbia Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa.

Miss Graham mentioned that Paul Robeson would be there, as well as other Wallace people.

TO: THE NAACP

FROM: W.E.B. Du Bois

SUBJECT: Finance

DATE: April 30, 1948

For extra clerical assistant in my office.

April 1,--15	$44.00
April 15, 30	30.00
	$74.00

22-29

Department of Special Research

Year 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W. E. B. DuBois, Director

Monthly Report - April

During the month of April the Director has delivered three lectures, one at the Texas State University for Negroes in Houston; one in Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, and a third at the Chicago Forum, Chicago, Illinois. These lectures finished the tour which was undertaken beginning February 15.

During these two and a half months, the Director traveled over thirty states and spoke in eight of them. Among the speeches, six were addressed to colleges, four of these being white institutions. He traveled 10,457 miles and spoke to audiences numbering 9,100 persons, of which about 5,700 were colored and 3,400 white. By means of this tour the Director has gotten a pretty clear idea of the present political and social situation in the United States.

The subjects of the lectures treated American Negro History, Color and Democracy, the Negro and the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, Workers' Education, Economic Illiteracy, My War Experiences, Minorities and Colonies, and What The Negro Wants in 1948.

The Director has tried to integrate this information with the past and to put in the form of fiction an extended study from 1876 to 1946. He hopes in this way to interpret the activities of both white and colored Americans in their intercultural relations. Except for a few lectures in May, he hopes to devote the next eight months to the writing of this book.

Other work during April has included the writing of a book review, "Is Man Free," (review of Ideas Have Consequences, by R. M. Weaver), The Scientific Monthly, and contributions to newspapers and periodicals. A lecture by the Director before the American Education Fellowship, "No Second Class Citizens," delivered last fall, was published in Progressive Education, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 10-14, 21, 1948.

33-2-173

During this month the assistant to the director gave the following lectures: "Some Contributions of the Negro to American Life," William J. Gaynor Junior High School, Brooklyn, New York; "Problems of Minority Groups of the World: The American Negro, " The New England Regional Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Also, he had an article published, "Problems of Minority Groups of the World: The Negro, " his complete speech delivered at the above mentioned regional meeting ran as an editorial in The Connecticut Chronicle, April 9, 1948. He reviewed A Centenary of Marx, by Samuel Bernstein and others, for The Pittsburgh Courier, and contributed to newspapers.

Submitted:

April 29, 1948

W. E. B. DuBois

By H. H. Smythe

COPY: Original filed in Mr. Wilkins's office

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

Office of Pre-Social Work Counseling

May 18, 1948

File Smythe

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Assistant Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

May I take this opportunity of thanking you for arranging to have Dr. Hugh Smythe from your staff, speak to our students on the 17th of May.

His disucssion was very fine and met with great enthusiasm by the students, I am sure they have benefited from his talk on the problems of leadership.

Your efforts were greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Herbert H. Stroup

HHS/ha

230-14

Mark Ethridge [NAACP]
NAACP — PUBLICITY

To Mr. Henry Lee Moon

May 26, 1948

The attached report was sent to us with the following information:

"You have my permission to have my report published by the NAACP and by the press."

William N. Smith
Counselor
Shaw University
Raleigh, N. C.

COPY

over
We thought you might want to look/the report with the view of doing a news release on it.

Since it is the only copy we have, please return it as soon as it has served your purpose. You are at liberty, however, to copy it, if you wish.

By H. H. Smythe

P.S. Mr. Moon borrowed Dr. DuBois' copy of the magazine '48

[N.A.A.C.P.]

LOUIS T. WRIGHT, M. D.
218 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK

May 28, 1948

22-40-69

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Doctor DuBois:

(11) The Administrative Committee, on May 24, 1948, directed me to write you that, as a paid Executive of the Association, it disapproved your being an initiating sponsor of the March on Washington Movement for Civil Rights on June 2.

The Committee voted that paid Executives did not and should not have the right of independent action, in areas in which the Association works, without clearing such action beforehand with the Association.

Your name has received, in this connection, much publicity and has caused confusion among Association members because they felt that you voiced the opinion of and represented the Association. This was not so.

An Executive of the Association can not invite the Association to participate in a movement that the Association did not inaugurate. Actually, the Association began and fostered its own civil rights program.

The Committee recommended that this matter be presented to the Board of Directors at their next meeting to the end that the Board will decide as a matter of policy what Executives can do.

A conflict exists here and, fortunately or unfortunately, your name as an Executive of the Association can not be separated from your activities as an individual, and the Committee feels that you, therefore, should not

LOUIS T. WRIGHT, M. D.
218 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK

22-40-20

act in any way that would be harmful to the best interests of the Association.

In this specific instance the call for a March on Washington Movement was considered by the Administrative Committee to be badly timed, contrary to the Association's strategy, and that it will be harmful to the achievement of the aims stated.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Louis T. Wright

Louis T. Wright, M.D.

ED

[NAACP]

Eff 1 48

Year, 1948

Letter to N.Y. Post Nov 48 was it published?

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W.E.B. DuBois - Director

Monthly Report - May

During the month of May the activities of the Director included the following:

Lectures:

"Color and Democracy: A Challenge to World Peace." For the East-West Association and delivered in Baltimore, Maryland, Sharp Street Baptist Church. Audience of 600.

"Education for Democracy." Dunbar Junior High School, Baltimore, Maryland. Audience:800.

"What the Negro Wants in 1948." St. James Forum, Cleveland, Ohio. Audience: 500.

"Race Relations in the United States: 1917-1947." Julius Rosenwald Fund Dinner, Chicago, Illinois. Audience 300. Dr. Gunnar Myrdal was the other speaker. In the afternoon, a symposium on Dr. Myrdal's AN AMERICAN DILEMMA was conducted by the Director and Dr. Myrdal. These activities commemorated the closing of the work of the Rosenwald Fund.

"Save Palestine, Save the United Nations." American Jewish Congress, Riverside Plaza, New York, New York. Audience: 1,000.

Miscellaneous:

Article, "Gandhi," for UNITY magazine, published in Chicago, Illinois.

Article, "The Case for the Jews." This was written on the ethics of the Palestine problem and was published in THE CHICAGO STAR, May 8, 1948.

Book Review, "Freedom's Partisans," a review of TO BE FREE, by Herbert Aptheker, a study in American Negro history. Published in the June issue of MASSES AND MAINSTREAM, pages 76-79.

On May 15, the Director, along with Senator Wayne Morse, received a citation from the American Veterans Committee as "A.V.C. Man of 1947." The citation was presented at a banquet held in the headquarters of this organization in Washington, D. C.

Professor Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University, but now visiting professor at Cambridge University, England, in an article in the magazine '48 for May entitled, "The Men Who Make Up Your Mind," naming the sixty-one persons who control America "through the influence they exercise on our minds and characters," designated the Director as one of these persons. who made America think during the last 200 years.

The Director was guest at the annual ceremonies of the East-West Association when its first annual medal was awarded to James Yen, on May 25.

Attended the annual ceremonial of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, New York City, May 21.

The Director is still working on his interpretation of the activities of the American Negro from 1876 to 1948.

The activities of the Assistant for the month of May consisted of the followings:

Lectures:

"Race and Religion." The Baha'i Assembly of New York, New York, N. Y.

"The Problem of Leadership for Negroes." The Film Forum. Delivered at Midwood High School, Brooklyn, New York.

"Types of Negro Leadership." Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York.

Miscellaneous:

Article, "Race and Nationality from a Sociological Point of View." To be published in the summer number of the Lincoln University RESEARCH BULLETIN, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Book Review, CASTE, CLASS, AND RACE, by Oliver C. Cox. To be published in the Lincoln University RESEARCH BULLETIN, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Guest editorials for the CONNECTICUT CHRONICLE on the meaning of the Italian elections, the Supreme Court decision on racial restrictive covenants.

Book Review, PEOPLE vs. PROPERTY: RACE RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS IN HOUSING, by Herman H. Long and Charles S. Johnson. Reviewed for and published in THE CRISIS, May, 1948, p. 153.

Book Review, UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY: THE PRINCIPLES OF DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY, by Howard W. Odum. Reviewed for and published in THE CRISIS, May, 1948, p. 154.

W. E. B. DuBois
Director

By H. H. Smythe

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE NAACP

FROM: W. E. B. Du Bois

SUBJECT: Finance

DATE: June 1, 1948

For extra clerical assistance in my office.

May 1,--15	$40.00
May 15,-31	44.00
	$84.00

22-84

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

Africa

22-31

June 2nd, 1948

Dear Mr. Seldes:

I am referring your letter of May 30th to Dr. DuBois of our Special Research Department. Dr. DuBois has more information on Africa than any person I know.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Mr. George Seldes, Editor
IN FACT
280 LaFayette Street
New York 12, N. Y.

ww/mdj

[N.A.A.C.P.]

TO: Walter White

June 4, 1948

Attached is a chronology of our petition to the United Nations. I thought you might like to have it for your files.

A copy of the complete file has been sent to M. Ernest G. Chauvet, Haitian delegate to the United Nations.

FBC - 36 - 11

memo from **walter white** 6/7/48

TO: DR. DUBOIS

Will you please give me your opinion re the attached letter from Edgar Draper.

23-36-12

WW:emw

PARISH PRESS, Inc., 333 Hudson Street, New York 13, N. Y., WAtkins 4-7580 • Printers • Lithographers

memo from **walter white** 6/9/48

TO: DR. DUBOIS

Thank you very much for sending me the chronology of the Petition to the U.N. I am very glad to have this for our files.

23-36-26

WW:emw

PARISH PRESS, Inc., 333 Hudson Street, New York 13, N. Y., WAtkins 4-7580 • Printers • Lithographers

MEMORANDUM

File

To: Mrs. Waring

From: H. H. Smythe

Subject: Trip to Whitesboro, N. J., June 8-9.

Date: June 9, 1948

Attached is an endorsed check for $15.00, which I am returning from the expense funds granted me for the trip to Whitesboro, New Jersey, to speak to the local NAACP branch. As you know, a total of $25.00 was advanced -- $15.00 check (dated May 24, No.35038, which I am returning endorsed) and $10.00 in cash received directly from Mr. Current. The trip consumed $15.00, leaving a balance of $10.00. This is being returned, plus $5.00 from the Whitesboro Branch, the latter money was given me to defray my return expenses to New York.

330-14

Hugh H. Smythe

cc: Mr. Gloster Current

TO: MR. WHITE

DATE: June 9, 1948

SUBJECT: Mr. Draper

The statement of Mr. Edgar D. Draper is an excellent one with which I would agree. I do not, of course, know him personally, but if he is the right sort of person and it could be arranged, it would be excellent to have him represent us at meetings of the Trustee Council.

WEBD:lm

NAACP Dr. Du Bois

June 14, 1948

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE FROM MR. MARSHALL:

In your memorandum concerning Mr. McGee's letter of June 3rd, he requests information as follows:

> "Would you please inform me of the action of the National Executive Board on the resolution adopted by the Conference last year changing the makeup of the Nominating Committee. Was it ever submitted to the Branches for final action?"

The particular section of the resolutions adopted at the 1947 Conference on this point is as follows:

> "Changes in National Constitution: The National Board of Directors is instructed to amend Article II, Section 3 of the National Constitution so that the Nominating Committee shall consist of seven members, five to be elected by the Convention and two by the National Board of Directors."

The Constitution of the NAACP (blue book) provides in Article IX under the heading "Conventions" that "All actions of the convention on the question of policy and program, which are not contrary to this Constitution, shall be binding on the Board of Directors, officers, branches and other subordinate units of the Association except as hereinafter provided; ..." (Underscoring added).

The Minutes of the Board of Directors at its September 1947 meeting show that the following action was taken:

> "2. Changes in National Constitution: With reference to the resolution passed by the Annual Conference requesting that the National Board amend Article II, Section 3 of the National Constitution so that the nominating committee shall consist of seven members, five to be elected by the convention and two by the National Board of Directors,
>
> "Upon motion by Mr. Spaulding, duly seconded, it was VOTED unanimously that whereas it has been requested of the National Board of the NAACP by the Annual Convention that there be a change in Article II, Section 3 of the National Constitution BE IT RESOLVED that this Board, after due consideration, shall not take any action on the suggested change in the Constitution at this time."

In order for action of the Convention to be binding upon either the Board of Directors or other units of the Association, it must first be not contrary to this Constitution. The NAACP Constitution provides that "The said Association shall have a Nominating Committee consisting of seven (7) members of the Association, three (3) to be elected by the delegates to the Annual Convention, three (3) to be elected annually by the Board of Directors from its own members and the Chairman of the Board of Directors." The Convention realized that the proposal was contrary to the Constitution and as a matter of fact in the resolution "instructed" the Board of Directors to amend the Constitution.

In the structure of the NAACP, the Constitution may only be amended by action of the Board of Directors (Article XIII). The Board of Directors in the lawful exercise of its powers took the action that they would not amend the Constitution at that time. This, of course, leaves open the possibility of amendment by the Board at any future time, providing the Board follows the procedure set out in the Constitution.

TM:GS

June 15, 1948

TO: Mrs. Waring

[redacted]

DATE: JUNE 15, 1948

SUBJECT: WITHHOLDING

I think that under the new income tax laws for 1948, my withholding should be reduced, on account of the fact that both myself and Mrs. Du Bois are over 65 years of age. Will you kindly look this up and see if it is true?

I shall be greatly obliged.

WEBD:LM

23C-36-30

N.A.A.C.P.

23-36-37

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

TO: MRS. WARING

DATE: June 29, 1948

SUBJECT: Suscription

Since I have been here, we have suscribed to the periodical AFRICA, as noted within. Could I have the suscription renewed for 1948 ?

35457

WEBD:lm

Draw check for 5.00 to International African Institute

[NAACP]

TO: THE NAACP

DATE: June 30, 1948

SUBJECT: Finance

For extra clerical assistance in my office.

June 1,--15	$44.00
June 15,--30	38.00
TOTAL----------	$82.00

Department of Special Research

Office copy

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W. E. B. DuBois, Director

Report: June 1948

During the month of June the activities of the Director consisted of the following:

Lectures:

"What the Negro Wants in 1948." Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP, Jones Tabernacle, Philadelphia, Pa. Audience of 500.

"How Can We Make the United Nations Charter Effective?" Town Hall, for The Church Peace Union. New York, N. Y. Audience:500. The address was broadcasted via Radio Station WMCA.

Miscellaneous:

Served as Chairman of the first session of a National Conference called by The American Council for a Democratic Greece, Capitol Hotel, New York, N. Y. Audience of 400.

Attended the luncheon meeting of the American Christian Palestine Committee, Hotel McAlpin, New York, N. Y.

Attended the seminar meeting of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, Hotel Biltmore, to discuss means to check the present trend towards war. Meeting was called by Professor Albert Einstein.

At the invitation of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, met with the United States delegation to the United Nations to discuss human rights. Conference was held in the headquarters of the delegation, 2 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Harper & Brothers, New York, 1947, published for the Council on Foreign Relations The Foreign Affairs Reader, edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Its purpose: "To mark the review's 25th anniversary, the Editor has selected from the thousand or more articles which have appeared in its pages this group of contributions of permanent historical importance." Chapter VI, "Worlds of Color," by the Director, was first published in 1925.

An article, "Gandhi: The Greatest Man in the World," was published by the magazine Unity, in its May-June issue, volume CXXIV, No. 2.

An interpretative discussion of the Director's autobiograhpy, Dusk of Dawn, was published in the volume Witnesses for Freedom, by Rebecca Barton, Harper & Brothers, 1948 (released June 9 to the trade).

The Director is continuing to give most of his time to the recapitulation of the history of the American Negro from 1876 to 1947 in fiction form.

Aside from the general work of the Department of Special Research, the activities of the assistant to the director include:

Lectures:

"The Negro and the Fight for Civil Rights." Whitesboro Branch of the NAACP, Whitesboro, New Jersey.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: Its History, Organization, and Activities." Great Neck Long Island Branch of the NAACP, Great Neck, L.I., New York. At this affair Canada Lee was presented with an award, a gold statuette, for his work in bettering race relations.

Miscellaneous:

Book review: The Invisible Island, by Irwin Stark, Viking Press, 1948. A story of Harlem life centered around its schools. Reviewed for the Connecticut Chronicle.

Book Review: Prejudice and Property: An Historic Brief Against Racial Covenants, by Tom C. Clark, Attorney General of the United States, and Philip B. Perlman, Solicitor General of the United States, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C. Reviewed for the Connecticut Chronicle.

35-2-177

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Walter White

From: Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

Subject: Meeting with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt - NAACP Petition

Date: July 1, 1948

On June 30, I was asked to call on Mrs. Roosevelt at 2 Park Avenue, the offices of the United States Delegation to the United Nations. I talked with her for about one-half hour. She represented Senator Warren Austin, the head of the United States Delegation. What she said was in answer to a letter that I had written to Senator Austin on October 28, 1947. The essence of that letter was as follows:

> Replying to your letter of October 21, I am taking the opportunity of sending you a copy of our petition to the United Nations. I trust that you will do your best to have this matter put on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly, either this year or next. I think it would be an excellent thing if the United States was able to say to the world: We are perfectly willing to be criticized as to our democracy and to give the public a chance to know what that criticism is.

Senator Austin wrote: "Upon receipt of a copy of your petition, we will be glad to refer it to the Department of State for appropriate consideration."

Mrs. Roosevelt said that the State Department had communicated its decision, and as Mr. Austin was engaged on the Security Council, she was representing him. The Department of State was of the opinion that it would be unwise to put our Petition on the agenda of the next Assembly for discussion, since no good could come from such a discussion. On the other hand, the Declaration of Human Rights, and it was to be hoped also the Covenant, would come up at that session and be discussed and possibly assented to.

I replied that I realized that no international action on our plight was probable nor, indeed, exppoted; but that I thought that the world ought to know just exactly what the situation was in the United States, so that they would not be depending upon vague references concerning our race problem, but would have factual statements before them; and that if the United States was unwilling itself to put the matter before the Assembly, that one or two other nations had expressed the possibility of their doing this.

Mrs. Roosevelt thought this would be embarrassing; that it would be seized upon by the Soviet Government and others as an excuse for attacking the United States. Mrs. Roosevelt said that already, several times, she had been compelled to answer attacks upon the United States for its race problem by pointing out the fact that other countries had made similar mistakes. In case, therefore, the matter was discussed in the Assembly, she and her colleagues would be put in the unpleasant position of having to defend the United States. The situation then might be so unpleasant that she would feel it necessary to resign from the United States Delegation to the United Nations.

I expressed the opinion that the placing of facts before an international body need not of necessity be a matter of embarrassment. Naturally, it might be taken up by persons and organizations unfriendly to the United States; but that that was not a reason for suppressing the truth. That in the early days of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, when we proposed to expose the facts concerning lynching and discrimination, there were many good friends of the Negro race who advised against it and said that it would bring unfavorable criticism upon us. Nevertheless, we insisted and I think that we did right.

Mrs. Roosevelt asked that if any action was taken toward bringing the matter up for discussion before the Assembly of the United Nations, that she be notified as soon as possible, so that she could prepare to act accordingly. I promised that such notification would certainly be given to her.

35-2-316

Memo regarding Newspapers

7-2-48

Dear Doctor:

23-39-53

I have looked over the replies we have received from the papers we wrote. Eight have answered your statement and letter.

Of these 8, only one is a direct reply to the effect that he would be interested in participating in the plan. This is The Louisiana Weekly, published in New Orleans.

Unfortunately, of the 8, two are overlapping in control, so that actually leaves only 6 persons to deal with.

Under the circumstances it does not seem worth while to write the 32 papers again. You might consider doing a column for the Louisiana Weekly---the one paper that expressed positive interest in your proposal; and you might write Carter Wesley again, since he didn't say no but gave some long and lengthy involved idea about selling the plan to papers.

Sythe

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE

July 2, 1948

On the evening of June 30, at the invitation of Albert Einstein and Harlow Shapley, I attended a meeting at the Hotel Biltmore, where with a group of persons representing science and various social organizations, there was discussed efforts to keep this country from being involved in war. As a result of this discussion the attached statement was presented.

23-30-16

Persons attending were asked to see if their organizations would be willing to get signatures from their members for this statement. I explained that I was not representing the NAACP officially, but that I would be glad to place the matter before the Directors through the Secretary.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

[Enc.]

TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Twice this year our government has rejected Soviet offers to enter direct negotiations aimed at an understanding between the two nations. Such an attitude on the part of our government has many dangers; it may lead to a break with the Soviet Union; it may lead to so-called "preventive" war which would be suicidal war. The influence of our military men, encouraged by what is believed to be temporary military superiority, endangers the peace of the world. The cold war, with its militarization program and its attacks on our civil liberties, not only increases the threat of a real war but endangers the democratic institutions of our country.

The democratic tradition, however, is very much alive throughout this land, and the desire for a peaceful solution of the international problem is mounting everywhere.

23-36.17

Realizing that the American people must make their voices heard while there is still time, we, the undersigned

1. Advocate the calling of immediate conferences between the USA and the USSR to reach agreement on basic differences; we also advocate the resumption of conferences between scientific and cultural organizations of the USA and the USSR.

2. Insist that capitalism and communism can and must peacefully co-exist. USA-USSR cooperation won the last war, and abandonment of that cooperation led us to the present crisis.

In the coming elections, it is important that the American people judge candidates exactingly by their commitment to promote USA-USSR conferences and to lay foundations for a modus vivendi with the Soviet Union and subsequently for the establishment of a permanent peace.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Organization _____

Advisory Committee

Dr. Kenneth M. Appel, Dr. Ernst Boas, Dr. Allan M. Butler, Dr. T.H. Dobzhansky, Olin Downes, Dr. L. C. Dunn, Dr. Albert Einstein, Dr. Phillips P. Elliott, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Arthur Gaeth, Dean Christian Gauss, Dr. Michael Heidelberger, Lillian Hellman, Herman Kerry, Harry C. Lamberton, Dr. Duncan MacInnes, Dr. Clyde r. Miller, Dr. Philip Morrison, Prof. Carder Murphy, Dr. Otto Nathan, Prof. Erwin Panofsky, Dr. Edwards A. Park, Jennings Perry, Clarence E. Pickett, Bertha C. Reynolds, C. John Rogge, Dr. Theodor Rosebury, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Dr. Theodore Shedlovsky, Dr. Ernest Simmons, Dr. Maud Slye, Dr. Rexford G. Tugwell, Mark Van Doren, Mary Van Kleeck, Prof. Coleston Warne.

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

July 7, 1948

Dear Doctor:

Mrs. Murphy had some dental work done and was in no condition to come in today. Her husband called the office to this effect this morning.

I have gone to lunch.

Hugh H. Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

All the mail (one letter) is on my desk.

230-14

[N.A.A.C.P.]

MEMORANDUM

To: Madison Jones

From: Department of Special Research, by Hugh H. Smythe

Subject: Suggested individuals for proposed Life magazine series (by request)

Date: July 8, 1948

In response to your request of July 7, the following are suggested:

DR. LYNDON HILL - Medicine (surgery) 212 West 139th Street. Outstanding in surgery of the chest and abdominal region; writes profusely in the medical journals, especially those devoted to specialist surgery

DR. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN - History (special phases of Negro life) Howard University, Washington, D. C. Already accepted as the most promising scholar in his field. Has published profusely in journals of his special field of interest and has at least three volumes to his credit already, all of which have been well received. He is one of the few intellectual historians, Negro, turned out by Harvard University.

MR. LEON SELTZER - Geography (encyclopedic work) Columbia University Press, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. Is the editor-in-chief of the forthcoming Columbia-Lippincott World Encyclopedia. Was picked for this job over many other more mature and experienced individuals because of his exceptional abilities and qualifications for the job. Is probably the youngest person in the world to have ever held such a position, involving supervision of specialists from all parts of the world.

MR. OWEN DODSON - Drama (theatrical productions, playwriting, direction) Howard University, Washington, D. C. Home: 489 Quincy Street, Brooklyn, New York. Is expected to develop into the outstanding Negro dramatist and playwriter. Has had experience on Broadway, both acting and directing, has several plays written, published, and produced.

DR. J. ERNEST WILKINS, Jr. - Mathematics (application to physics) Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, or can be reached at West Grand Avenue, c/o Dr. R. G. Smith, Waukegan, Illinois. Has done special work at the Institute for Advanced Studies of Princeton University, gained experience during the war in connection with the Manhattan Project on the part located at Chicago University.

MR. St. CLAIR DRAKE - Anthropology (social anthropology). 3767 South Lake Park Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Now teaching at Roosevelt College, Chicago. Illinois. The coming student in the field of racial anthropology. Has already authored several scholarly volumes in the field and is just returned from a period of field investigation in England.

DR. WARREN HENRY - Chemistry (physical chemistry) Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. Already commended for his work in the developing of heat processes in gauging the temperature of steel. During the war was called to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to help with secret war experiments, particularly work on radar. Further work in his field is being done and about to be subsidized by the Social Science Research Council or the Carnegie Corporation.

MRS. CHARLES LAWRENCE, Jr.-Medicine (Pediatrics) 33-11 107th Street, Corona, Long Island, New York. Specializing in research concerning children with emphasis on studies in infantile paralysis. Is currently on an extended fellowship to do research in infantile paralysis at Medical Center and allied hospitals in New York City. She is an instructor in pediatrics at Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee.

NOTE: You might wish to include the writers FRANK YERBY and WILLARD MOTLEY.

HSD

WASHINGTON BUREAU—NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
100 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

File Smythe

22558 JUL-8'48

July 7, 1948

Mr. Walton Manning
242 West 32nd Street
Indianapolis 8, Indiana

Dear Mr. Manning:

Your letter of July 4 was received and I am forwarding it to our New York Office for the information you request. Meantime, if you will examine "An American Dilemma" by Gunnar Myrdal (Harper & Brothers, 1944) you will find ample evidence of what the author describes as the "equalitarian credo" which tends to make the average person deny that he is prejudiced except on justifiable grounds.

Under separate cover I am sending one of our recent pamphlets "How About a Decent School for Me".

Very truly yours,

Leslie S. Perry

LSP:mt

July 9, 1948

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

An Associated Negro Press dispatch dated June 23rd quotes you as saying at the Jones Tabernacle in Philadelphia during the course of an address to the closing mass meeting of the membership drive, "Vote for Joseph Rainey for Congress and Henry Wallace for President."

Before asking for a correction of this statement, I would like to know if this statement is true. A number of individuals have reported to members of the staff that you made such a statement, but I was unwilling to believe this since you are familiar with the Association's rule with respect to political activity by paid employees of the Association.

But since this story has been apparently sent out to a number of papers by ANP, I want to be sure of my facts before writing to ask for a correction.

ww/mdj

23.39.77

Copies to White, Spingarn
+ Wright
+ Carter

Memo to Mr. White

The Board of Directors of the
N.A.A.C.P. have forbidden
political activity on the part
of employees. I do not forbid it
as employees I asked political
views & opinions when properly, as you are doing daily
and vote. At a mass meeting of the
Philadelphia Branch of the N.A.A.C.P.,
which was not a political meeting,
I spoke on "What the Negro Wants
in 1948" — a lecture I have
given 4 or 5 times during the 47-48
season. At the close of the lecture
I read the words enclosed.

W.E.B. DuBois

23-36-31

memo from w. e. burghardt du bois

Liberty -

COPY

MEMORANDUM

To: Walter White

From: W. E. B. DuBois

Subject: Memorandum from Mr. White, dated July 9, 1948

Date: July 9, 1948

23-39-78

9

The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has forbidden political activity on the part of employees. It has not forbidden an employee to hold political views and to express them properly, as you are doing daily.

At a mass meeting of the Philadelphia Branch of the N.A.A.C.P., which was not a political meeting, I spoke on What the Negro Wants in 1948 -- a lecture I have given four or five times during the 1947-1948 season. At the close of the lecture I used the words enclosed.

Sent out under signature of Dr. DuBois

Copies to:

Mr. Spingarn, Arthur
Mr. Carter, Leroy
Dr. Wright, Louis T.

COPY

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH DELIVERED BY Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
June 16, 1948
NAACP Branch Meeting
Jones Tabernacle AME Church
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

I think I ought to add, speaking as an individual and not in any way representing officially the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that in this present election you have two great opportunities. In the first place, you have the third party led by a man of unusual courage and bravery and one whose attitude toward Peace, Russia, and the Negro and his problems is satisfactory in every respect. The Third Party is a part of the basis of democratic government. When the two older parties become so satisfied with their work and agree so largely that they practically make one party, when, as the chairman of the Democratic National Committee recently said, they plan a marriage, then at such a proposed ceremony a third party is not only necessary but should be insisted on to forbid the bans.

Also, in this election you have a chance to work for a Negro Congressman from Philadelphia. You should vote for him, naturally, not because he is a Negro, but because he is capable of representing the needs of Philadelphia and of fifteen million people who happen to be workers and of Negro descent. This becomes then not a matter merely of race, but of having the proper sort of Congressman in Washington. Our great disappointments and failures of the last few years have come from the low caliber and the impossible actions of the kind of persons who represented us there. I trus, therefore, you are going to take advantage of these two opportunities to help remake the United States, by seeking the election of Wallace and Rainey.

File Copy

MEMORANDUM

To: The Secretary, the Chairman of the Board, and the President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

From: W. E. B. DuBois

Subject: Letter to Mr. C. B. Baldwin

Date: July 15, 1948

I have several times been invited to take active part in the Wallace campaign, and I have replied as follows:

July 15, 1948

23-39-29

Mr. C. B. Baldwin
Wallace Headquarters
39 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

10

As I have written you before, I am unable to take any active part in partisan politics during this campaign. This is because of the vote of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, passed in 1944. This vote forbids salaried officers of the Association taking active part in political campaigns. Had I known of this action before rejoining the Association in 1944, I would have insisted on a clearer understanding. I agree with the aim of the Association to be non-partisan; but I am certain that this action does not accomplish this, and, in fact, intense partisan activity on the part of persons closely connected with the Association is today putting us very distinctly in politics.

Nevertheless, my duty is clear to me. I will obey the letter of the Board's vote, and for that reason will not attend the Philadelphia meeting or act on any of its committees.

On the other hand, I will retain my right to vote, of which no organization can legally deprive me, and whenever I consider it necessary, I will publicly announce my choice of Henry Wallace for president and the reasons therefore. In any such announcement, I will be careful to say that this is my personal opinion and in no way expresses or seeks to express the policy of the N.A.A.C.P., or of any of its members.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[N.A.A.C.P.]

Smythe

July 19, 1948

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. CURRENT

Attached is a copy of the training schedule for Mr. Eugene R. Montgomery, newly-elected Executive Secretary of the South Carolina State Conference of Branches.

I trust that the date and hour noted on the schedule will be convenient for you. If not, please advise me in order that I may rearrange the schedule.

Attached -- In-Service Training Schedule
GEC:ap

[Enclosure]

Dr. Smythe

IN-SERVICE TRAINING SCHEDULE

EUGENE R. MONTGOMERY

JULY 19 -- Organization -- Structure -- Relationship to National Office
Program and Administration
Financing — G. B. Current

JULY 20 -- 10:30 A. M.

Membership -- L. Black

2:00 P. M.

Filing system of National Office -- Miss Branche

JULY 21 -- 10:30 A. M.

Legal Work: Education
Civil Rights
Voting

2:00 P. M.

Finance Department -- Books and records -- Mrs. Waring

JULY 22 -- 10:30 A. M.

Youth Program of State Conference -- Ruby Hurley

2:00 P. M.

Church Program -- Rev. Walter P. Offutt, Jr.

JULY 23 -- 10:30 A. M.

Public Relations Program -- Henry Lee Moon

2:00 P. M.

JULY 26 -- 10:30 A. M.

Educational (Other than Legal)
What Branch Can Do. — G. B. Current

2:00 P.M.

Research -- Dr. Smythe

3:30 P. M.

Research -- Julia Baxter

23C-115

IN-SERVICE TRAINING SCHEDULE Cont'd

EUGENE R. MONTGOMERY

JULY 27 -- 10:30 A. M.

National Policy and Administration -- Mr. Wilkins

2:00 P. M.

JULY 28 -- 10:30 A. M.

"Field Work" -- Madison Jones

2:00 P. M.

JULY 29 -- 10:30 A. M.

Washington Bureau

Labor Program
Veterans Affairs
Legislation

COPY

- - -

230-45

[N.A.A.C.P. - S.W. Regional Office]

AUG 2 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

July 30, 1948

REPORT

SOUTHWEST REGION NAACP
for
Month of July, 1948

Donald Jones
Regional Secretary

Promotion and Coordination of Branch Work

Three field visits were made by the Regional Secretary for branch work motives during the month of July - to Kaufman, Texas Sunday, July 4; Pine Bluff, Arkansas July 9-11; San Angelo, Texas Friday, July 30. A more extensive field schedule was not attempted for the two reasons that the Office Secretary was out on vacation during this month, and the extremely hot month of July finds the branches themselves slowing down in their activities.

The visits to Kaufman and San Angelo were to address branch public meetings. The Pine Bluff trip was to attend the 5th Annual Conference of the Arkansas Conference of NAACP Branches held in that city. While only 29 delegates representing 16 of Arkansas' 46 branches attended, the Conference was marked by an attitude of clear purposefullness on the part of all participants. Most notable were these decisions reached by the delegates:

1. To back the prosecution of three educational cases, one against the University of Arkansas on the undergraduate level and one each against the school boards of the towns of Dewitt and Oneida on the high school level.

2. To levy assessments on branches in the state ranging from $100 to $300 depending on the membership size of the branches. Money raised by such assessments was earmarked for---
   a. Discharging Regional financial obligation
   b. Carrying on a comprehensive State program, which is to include the joint hiring by the Pine Bluff Branch and the State of a State Executive Secretary at the earliest moment finances allow it. The Executive Secretary is to perform work both for the Pine Bluff Branch and the State in general.

3. Creation of two new state offices - State Director of Branches and State Organizer. Wiley A. Branton of Pine Bluff was elected to fill the former position, E. E. Scott of Fordyce the latter. These men, working with the State President and the Regional Secretary, have already divided Arkansas into 10 Districts, and are at work building in these Districts parallel staffs of District Directors of Branches and District Organizers who shall work under the direction of the respective state officers. It is planned that around September 15th a joint meeting of the above staffs will be held perhaps in Pine Bluff or Little Rock for the purpose of instructing District Officers in their duties.

This District Plan for Arkansas is a modification of the District and Zone Plan of organization previously instituted in Texas.

Newsletter

The Newsletter continues to be published twice monthly. However, during the month of August, when the Regional Secretary will be on vacation, the Newsletter will be suspended.

Publicity and Public Relations

News releases continue to be sent from the Regional Office to sixteen weekly newspapers serving the Region. Newspapers continue to give excellent coverage to such releases.

During the month of June W. L. Rives, special feature writer for the Dallas Morning News, interviewed the Regional Secretary intensively on the structure, policy, program, etc. of the NAACP particularly as activities pertained to the Regional operation. On July 4,5,6 (Sunday, Monday and Tuesday) a series of three stories was run in the News, all marked by dignified and objective presentation. The first article, appearing on Sunday, July 4, was 3-column front-page, and dealt primarily with the proposed filing of six cases in Texas attacking segregation in education. The article of the next day, a 2-column second-page story, was devoted to the sale of Freedom Bonds in Texas to raise a $100,000 war chest to fight segregation. And the third story, 2-column 5th-page, told of the NAACP College Chapter at the University of Texas.

The reaction to these stories has been favorable and widespread, both among Negroes and whites. There is no doubt that the prestige of the Regional Office has been greatly enhanced.

Clippings of the above articles were directed by the Regional Office to the Secretary's desk.

23-23-6

Oklahoma Legal Cases

On Monday, July 26 two cases, involving Mrs. Mauderie Hancock Wilson and Miss Helen Maxine Holmes, against the University of Oklahoma were heard in the Cleveland County District Court (Norman, Oklahoma) of Judge Justin Hinshaw. Attorneys for Mrs. Wilson and Miss Holmes were Amos T. Hall of Tulsa, Oklahoma State NAACP chief counsel and Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel.

Mrs. Wilson's case seeks entry for her into the University's School of Social Work, from which she desires to take her master's degree. Miss Holmes is suing to enter the University's School of Business Administration, from which she also seeks a Master's degree. A third case scheduled to have been heard at the same time was that of Mr. G. W. McLaurin, who aspired to take a doctorate from the University of Oklahoma School of Education. But for reasons of strategy Mr. Hall and Mr. Marshall withdrew this case and are holding it for presentation at a later date.

Judge Hinshaw, who also heard the Sipuel Case on May 24, promises to render a decision in all three cases on Monday, August 2nd.

Texas Legal Cases

HEARNE CASE: The Hearne Case hearing in federal court at Waco, scheduled for July 19th, has been changed to September 1st at the instance of NAACP attorneys because Mr. Marshall was engaged on the July date with the South Carolina ballot case.

LA GRANGE CASE: The La Grange, Texas Case, similar to the Hearne Case, does not yet have a date set for its first hearing. Because of rumors that Negro citizens of La Grange were being threatened with death and burned homes as a result of this pending litigation, the Regional Secretary went to La Grange on Thursday, July 22 to conduct a thorough investigation to determine if these rumors had a foundation of truth. The Regional Secretary turned over to Attorney W. J. Durham the results of his investigation.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS FOR NEGROES: A Houston white man, Jack Coffman, has applied for admission to the University of Texas for Negroes at Houston and was refused on the basis of his race. He applied to Attorney Percy Foreman, member of the Houston Branch legal committee, for assistance, and at present the State Legal Committee has the facts in the case under advisement. It appears at this stage that the Texas State NAACP will sponsor Mr. Coffman's rear-gear attack on the segregation laws of Texas.

23-23-G

[n.a.a.c.p.]

July 30, 1948

Petty Cash Record
of
Southwest Region NAACP
for
July, 1948

Carried over from June		$ 18.10
Received from Arkansas State Conference July 11		40.00
Received from National Office July 14		81.90
Net cash handled in July		$140.00

Disbursements:

July 9-11:	Trip to Ark. State Conf., Pine Bluff	$40.00	
July 15:	Postage	21.00	
July 28:	Postage	20.70	
	Janitorial service for month	10.00	$ 91.70
	Remaining on hand July 30		$ 48.30

23-23-10

(signed) Donald Jones
Donald Jones
Regional Secretary

office copy

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W.E.B. DuBois - Director

Monthly Report: July, 1948

Miscellaneous

The Director has written and published a magazine article, "From McKinley to Wallace: My Fifty Years as a Political Independent," MASSES AND MAINSTREAM. For the same publication he wrote, also, a book review.

At the request of the editors of two magazines, he has prepared for approval two articles: "The African Roots of Peace" and "Civil Rights for Negroes."

An article, "Recent African Movements for Freedom," was sent to the West African Society, Newcastle, England, for publication in the organization's monthly periodical.

The Director has continued writing on his summary of Negro history since Reconstruction, in fiction form.

The New School, of New York City, asked the Director to conduct a course, "The Negro in American History," beginning in the Fall. He has secured the cooperation of eight leading Negro scholars as lecturers for this course.

The Director has not succeeded in getting the NAACP United Nations Petition on the agenda of the Paris meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting next September. He asked the United States Delegation themselves to bring the matter up for discussion, arguing that this would be a frank and sincere gesture. Senator Warren Austin, chief delegate, referred the matter to the Department of State. The Department replied, through Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, that it did not think this procedure would be wise, and Mrs. Roosevelt herself added that if the matter was put on the agenda by any other nation, the embarrassment of having to defend this country against attack might force her to resign from the United States Delegation to the United Nations. Meantime, on the agenda appear one or two similar questions of mistreatment of persons resident in other countries. Both Haiti and Guatemala have made tentative offers to bring up the matter before the General Assembly but they have taken no actual steps. The Director would be glad to take any further steps that the Board advises.

The work of the Assistant to the Director has consisted of the following:

Miscellaneous:

He wrote a research article on "The Concept Jim Crow," which has been accepted for publication in an early issue of the organ of the Southern Sociological Society, Social Forces.

A book review, Negro Year Book, 1947, which he did, appeared in the recent issue of the organ of the American Sociological Society, the American Sociological Review, Volume XIII, Number 3, pp. 363-364.

At the request of the Branch Department, he has been re-working the material on segregation in the selected school systems of Pennsylvania, which was gathered in a survey by Rufus Smith of the National Office. This is being done with a view towards possible publication in an educational journal.

During the current month the Assistant wrote the following articles for the newspaper the CONNECTICUT CHRONICLE:

States' Rights

The Assimilation of the Negro in America

Indonesian Culture

History of Indonesia

Democracy and the South

Submitted by:

W. E. B. DuBois

By, H. H. Smythe

July 29, 1948

[N.A.A.C.P.]

August
2nd
1948

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

Here is a statement of expenditures by the NAACP and Inc. Fund:

NAACP

1910-16	$89,530
1917-22	236,398
1923-27	264,614
1928-32	278,861
1933-37	213,198
1938-44	727,608
1945-46	648,817
1947	362,254
TOTAL	$2,857,280

23-17

INC. FUND (NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.)

1940	$4,740
1941	13,127
1942	13,787
1943	14,945
1944	35,317
1945	34,848
1946	64,143.
1947	80,117
TOTAL	$261,024

	$2,857,280
	261,024
Grand Total	$3,118,304

Branch 1* 1,000,000

elj
uopwa/19

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE NAACP

DATE: AUGUST 9, 1948

SUBJECT: FINANCE

For clerical assistance in my office.

July 1,---15	$40.00
July 15,-- 31	40.00
TOTAL----------	$80.00

For extra clerical assistance	$26.00
GRAND TOTAL----------	$106.00

Department of Special Research

memo from **walter white** 8/20/48

TO: DR. DU BOIS

The Committee on Administration has recommended to the Board that I represent the NAACP at the U. N. General Assembly beginning on September 21st in Paris.

13 I would be grateful if you would give me your recommendations of action on the issues which will arise there, particularly those dealing with human rights and trusteeship.

I want also to call a small meeting of persons to discuss and to frame Association policy on these issues so that I may carry out with maximum effectiveness the wishes of the Association. Will you let me know what day next week would be most convenient for you to meet with such a committee?

23-36-9

~~25~~
~~21 to 22~~
24 to 25

WW:emw

August 23, 1948

To:Mr. White

Re:Reply to Memorandum from W.W. of August 20.

I can meet with the committee you propose on either August 24 or 25.

23.36.6

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE

FROM: W. E. B. Du Bois

DATE: August 23, 1948

Re: Memorandum from W. W. of August 20, 1948

With regard to the United Nations General Assembly, I should make the following recommendations:

1. I demand that the Petition of Negroes in the United States on the denial of political and civil rights be placed on the agenda of the Assembly for discussion either for this session or the next.

2. I think we should demand that Eritrea and Somaliland be given to Ethiopia, possibly under the Trusteeship of the United Nations, with the distinct understanding that eventually they become a part of the Ethiopian nation with full rights and privileges.

3. I have no suggestions with regard to the bill of Human Rights; there is nothing to be said against it, but as I have itimated before, general statements on rights are of no importance to us today; what we want is specific application of universally recognized rights.

4. With regard to Trusteeship, I think we should ask for a radical revision of the provisions for Trusteeship, so that the colonial peoples or their representatives could be represented on the Council; and that there should be more direct and clear effort to emancipate the colonial peoples.

14

23-36-7

WEBD/LM

August 24, 1948

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

Thank you for your memorandum of August 23rd.

I would be very grateful to you if you would give me such documentation as you think would be helpful on each of the four recommendations you have made with respect to the U. N. General Assembly meeting in Paris. I am particularly interested in the suggestion you make with respect to the former Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland. Would you not include Libya in this proposal that they be given to Ethiopia possibly under the trusteeship of the United Nations? Libya as was pointed out in Sunday's New York Times by Arthur Krock is of greater economic, military and geographic importance than Eritrea and Somaliland .

23-36-8

Have you read the dispatches from Geneva regarding the meeting which has just closed of the Commission on Human Rights? I have been watching the newspapers steadily to see what position was taken there on the proposal that there be established an international court of human rights. I have seen nothing as yet. Have you any information on this matter?

I have also written to Harry Rosenfield who is one of the members of the American delegation asking for more detailed information than has appeared in the American press. Incidentally, Mr. Rosenfield is to proceed next week from Geneva to Paris and will be there through the U. N. General Assembly. He is a distinctly intelligent person who has very real ability, courage and vision on the question of minorities. I would like very much to have you meet him when he and I return to the United States.

I have sent out notices for the meeting of the small committee to discuss the position the NAACP should take at the U. N. General Assembly for Tuesday, September 7th at 3:30 P. M. I am sending to the members of the committee a copy of your memorandum to me of August 23rd for their information and guidance.

ww/mdj

August 25, 1948

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

Would you be good enough to give Judge Lawless of Mt. Sterling, Illinois the information which he requests in the attached letter of August 10th?

23-36-10

ww/mdj
Attach:

To Baltimore

August 31, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Just to let you know that Dr. Alpheus Hunton called to say he has been subpoenaed by the Un-American Activities Committee. He said he wanted to talk with you, but your office informed his that you were out of the city and your return was indeterminate.

Also, will you please send a check for the salary of Mrs. Murphy. It amounts to $48.00 for this period. Make it to Lillian Murphy, please.

All goes well here. You got a letter from Detroit's Wilberforce club asking you to lecture for them sometime between now and March.

Your check from Atlanta University is here.

Mrs. Celestine Dorch wrote that the picture is almost done and you should have it in about two weeks.

A Mr. Kellog of Great Barrington, Mass., stopped by the office to see you. He is doing his doctorate at John Hopkins University and plans to use some phase of your life as his subject. He is going on to Baltimore and will probably contact you there. He teaches at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa.

Hope you are enjoying your stay. Mrs. Murphy joins me in regards to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

office copy

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W. E. B. DuBois, Director

Monthly Report: August, 1948

Miscellaneous

An article, "John Haynes Holmes, The Community Church and World Brotherhood," was written as a chapter to be included in the volume commemorating the dedication of The Community Church of New York in October.

The Director, also, wrote a book review of THE STORY OF JOHN HOPE, by Ridgley Torrence, to be published in THE CRISIS.

A letter, "The Forerunners of the Progressive Party," was published in THE NEW YORK TIMES, August 10, 1948.

Lectures

A speech, "The Talented Tenth," delivered before the biennial conclave of the Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity at Wilberforce, Ohio, August 12, 1948.

Miscellaneous

Aside from the usual duties, the Assistant attended a meeting of the United Public Workers of America to discuss plans for eliminating the Silver-Gold Jim Crow System prevailing in the United States Government Civil Service in the Panama Canal Zone.

Based on materials from the survey made by Rufus Smith of the Branch Department, he wrote an article, "Race Policies and Practices in Selected Public School Systems of Pennsylvania," which has been accepted for publication in a forthcoming issue of THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION.

A book review, "The Living Is Easy", was written for the CONNECTICUT CHRONICLE.

Submitted by:

W. E. B. DuBois

Per H. H. Smythe

August 31, 1948

2225 Fifth Avenue, 2-C
New York 35, New York
September 1, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, 1948

Dear Doctor:

The enclosed came this morning and I thought I had better send it to you right away, although you are on vacation and should not be bothered. This came special so I am sending it the same way. I am enclosing an envelope addressed to the Ethiopian Minister for convenience in replying to his letter.

The letter from Mr. Melish is enclosed for your consideration.

Everything goes well here at the office.

Mrs. Murphy joins me in best wishes to you, Mrs. DuBois, and the family.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:S

Enclosures

copies to Committee: Miss Perry, Mr. White, Dr. Wright, Mr. Spingarn, Rabbi Kahn

To the Secretary and Board of Directors
of the N.A.A.C.P.

Sept. 7, 1948

Gentlemen:

The Secretary has asked me to give him a memorandum on matters which are likely to come up at the Paris meeting of the U.N. this month, and in which we should be interested. I regret to say that I am unable to comply with his request and I wish to state the reasons why.

According to ~~[illegible]~~ the understanding by which I joined the N.A.A.C.P. in 1944, my fields of research was left indeterminate and largely in accordance with my desire, subject to the directives of the Board of Directors. But there was a fairly clear understanding that problems of the Darker Races outside the United States and particularly in Africa should engage most of my time. For that reason I have attended the Pan African Congress in England; prepared a petition to the U.N., on our status; written two books on democracy for colored peoples and the relation of Africa to the World. Also, at the request of the Atlantic Monthly I have prepared a statement on present conditions in Africa, which the editors are now considering for possible publication.

With regard to these matters I have reported to the Board Of Directors from time to time. Whether my suggestions have reached the Board, and what actions they have taken ~~I do not know for the most part~~, since the Secretary does not send me copies of the agenda of the Board meetings nor the minutes of actions of the Board.

I have been proceeding, therefore, practically without directives from the Board and without any clear idea of the attitude ~~of the Board~~ with regard to what might be called the Foreign Policy of this Association. In the past, for the most part, this lack was unimportant ~~since our general attitude was pretty clear~~ and our action was limited. Today, however, the situation has drastically changed and just as the United States has become international in its action, so the N.A.A.C.P. is called upon to take a stand concerning Africa, Asia, the islands of the Pacific and Caribbean, not to mention the Colonial problems of all oppressed peoples. We ought to have investigation, consultation, and a ~~clear~~ plan of action. So far as I know we have had nothing of the sort. Certainly I have not been called into consultation, nor have I been commissioned to investigate or propose a policy ~~of action~~.

The Secretary now announces that in the name of the N.A.A.C.P. he has

accepted, at the hands of the Truman administration, appointment as Consultant to the United States Delegation to the United Nations for the Paris Meeting.

The United States Delegation to the United Nations has expressed clearly its attitude toward the NAACP in matters in which is interested: it has refused to bring the curtailment of our civil rights to the attention of the General Assembly of the U.N.; it has refused willingly to allow any other nation to bring this matter up; if any should, Mrs Roosevelt has declared she would probably resign. In the Trusteeship Council the United States has sided with the ~~colonial nations~~ trusteeship powers; it has sided with Italy in taking all but an unimportant part of Eritrea from Ethiopia; it has opposed the best interests of India, the only nation which has defended Africa before the Assembly; it has not defended Indonesia, and is clearly straddling on Isreal.

If we accept a consultantship in this delegation, ... colonies, and without a clear, open, public understanding of our position on the Truman foreign policy ~~as it affects us~~, our very acceptance ~~of the position of consultant~~ ties us up with the reactionary, war-mongering, colonialism of the present administration ... bly of the United N...

~~Thus the anti-colonial people, pro-imperialistic policy of the bi-partisan foreign policy of the State Department under President Truman is well-known~~. It is certain that no influence applied in Paris is going to have the slightest influence on our delegation. Their minds are made up and their policy set. The only change that can be made is in Washington and in the United States ... activities. My request to have political activities ... denied, has not been ...

I do not know the attitude of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. on these matters, nor, ~~would I for a moment presume to dictate~~. But I do insist that here, if any where, in a democratic organization, seeking the welfare of the millions of coloered people the world over, is the place for careful knowledge of all the facts and thoughtfull consideration as to just what our plans and purposes are in this crisis of the world.

If, on the contrary, we are to be loaded on the Truman bandwagon, with no chance for opinion or consultation, we are headed for a tragic mistake. ~~But~~

Our international policy concerning Africa, Asia, Indonesia, and Israel, is not not only being determuned without consultation or investgation, but even discussion of these matters here in public have in my case been met by five threats and warnings from the officials of the N.A.A.C.P. not to engage in "political activity". My request for clarification of what "political activity" consisted has never been answered. On the other hand, the political activity of various members (the activities had) been widely known.

I thoroughly agree that no official of this organization, salaried or unsalaried, should commit the organization as such to any one political party. But I insist that this rule should apply to all officials and not to a few; and I also insist the it is not only the right but the bounden duty of every official and member of the N.A.A,C.P. as an American citizen to investigate, interrogate, vote, and defennd his vote in every election and I deny the right of any official to tie this organization to the [redacted] foreign policy of the present administration as long as it stands against public discussion of our civil rights, for the despoiling of Ethiopia, for delaying the recognition of Israel and, in general, against the interests of colonial peoples

For these reasons I am not attending the committee meeting called by the Secretary for today, 8/1/7. And I am insisting

1. That hereafter I receive the agenda for the meetings of the Board of Directors and the minutes of their meetings

2. That there be put before the Board of Directors at their next meeting a proposal for steps leading to a declared foreign policy for this association.

35-2-409

Memorandum

To: The Secretary and Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P.

From: W. E. B. Du Bois

Subject: The United Nations and the N.A.A.C.P.

Date: September 7, 1948

The Secretary has asked me to give him a memorandum on matters which are likely to come up at the Paris meeting of the United Nations this month, and in which we should be interested. I regret to say that I am unable to comply with his request and I wish to state the reasons why.

According to the understanding by which I joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1944, my fields of research were left indeterminate and largely in accordance with my desires, subject to the directives of the Board of Directors. But there was a fairly clear understanding that problems of the Darker Races outside the United States and particularly in Africa would engage most of my time. For that reason I have attended the Pan African Congress in England; prepared a petition to the United Nations on our status; written two books on democracy for colored peoples and the relation of Africa to the world. Also, at the request of the Atlantic Monthly I have prepared a statement on present conditions in Africa, which the editors are now considering for possible publication.

With regard to these matters I have reported to the Board of Directors from time to time. Whether my suggestions have reached the Board, and what actions it has taken I seldom know, since the Secretary does not send me copies of the agenda of the Board meetings nor minutes of the actions of the Board.

Therefore, I have been proceeding practically without directives from the Board and without any clear idea of its attitude with regard to what might be called the Foreign Policy of this Association. In the past, for the most part, this lack was unimportant and our action limited. Today, however, the situation has changed drastically, and just as the United States has become international in its action, so the NAACP is called upon to take a stand concerning Africa, Asia, the islands of the Pacific and Caribbean, not to mention the colonial problems of all colored and oppressed peoples. We ought to have investigation, consultation, and a plan of action. So far as I know we have had nothing of the sort. Certainly I have not been called into consultation, nor have I been commissioned to investigate or propose a policy.

The Secretary announces now that in the name of the NAACP he has accepted, at the hands of the Truman administration, appointment as Consultant to the United States Delegation to the United Nations for the Paris meeting of the General Assembly. The United States Delegation to the United Nations has expressed clearly its attitude towards matters in which the NAACP is interested; it has refused to bring the curtailment of our civil rights to the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations; it has refused willingly to allow any other nation to bring this matter up; if any should, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has declared that she would probably resign from the United States Delegation. In the Trusteeship Council the United States has sided with the imperial powers; it has sided with Italy in taking all but an unimportant part of Eritrea from Ethiopia; it has opposed the best interests of India, the only nation which has defended Africa before the Assembly; it has not defended Indonesia, and is clearly straddling on Israel.

If we accept a consultantship in this delegation without a clear, open, public declaration by the Board of our position on the Truman foreign policy, our very acceptance ties us in with the reactionary, war-mongering colonial imperialism of the present adminsitration. It is certain that no influence applied in Paris is going to have the slightest influence on our delegation. Their minds are made up and their policy set. The only change that can be made is in Washington and in the United States.

38-5-76

I do not know the attitude of the Board of Directors of the NAACP on these matters, nor, so far as I know, does anyone else. But I insist that here, if anywhere, in a democratic orgainzation seeking the welfare of the millions of colored people the world over, is the place for careful knowledge of all the facts and thoughtful consideration as to just what our plans and purposes are in this crisis of the world.

If, on the contrary, we are to be loaded on the Truman bandwagon, with no chance for opinion or consultation, we are headed for a tragic mistake.

Our international policy concerning Africa, Asia, Indonesia, and Israel is not only being determined without consultation or investigation, but even discussion of these matters here in public have in my case been met by five threats and warnings from the officials of the NAACP not to engage in "political activity." My request for clarification of what "political activity" consists has never been answered. On the other hand, the political activity of various members of this association has been widely known.

I thoroughly agree that no official of this organization, salaried or unsalaried, should commit the organization as such to any one political party. But I insist that this rule should apply to all officials and not to a few; and I also, insist that it is not only the right but the bounden duty of every official and member of the NAACP as an American citizen to investigate, interrogate, vote, and defend his vote in every election, and I deny the right of any official to tie t is organization to the foreign policy of the present administration as long as it stands against public discussion of our civil rights, for the despoiling of Ethiopia, for delaying the recognition of Israel and, in general, against the interests of colonial peoples.

For these reasons I am not attending the committee meeting called by the Secretary for today, Tuesday, September 7, 1948. And I am insisting that:

1. Hereafter I receive the agenda for the meetings of the Board of Directors and the minutes of their meetings

2. There be put before the Board of Directors at their next meeting a proposal for steps leading to a declared foreign policy for this Association.

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If we accept a consultantship in this delegation without a clear, open, public declaration by the Board of our position on the Truman foreign policy, our very acceptance ties us in with the reactionary, war-mongering colonial imperialism of the present administration. It is certain that no influence applied in Paris is going to have the slightest influence on our delegation. Their minds are made up and their policy set. The only change that can be made is in Washington and in the United States.

I do not know the attitude of the Board of Directors of the NAACP on these matters, nor so far as I know, does anyone else. But I insist that here if anywhere, in a democratic organization seeking the welfare of the millions of colored people the world over is the place for careful knowledge of all the facts and thoughtful consideration as to just what our plans and purposes are in this crisis of the world.

35-2-406

If, on the contrary, we are to be loaded on the Truman bandwagon, with no chance for opinion or consultation, we are headed for a tragic mistake.

Our international policy concerning Africa, Asia, Indonesia, and Israel is not only being determined without consultation or investigation, but even discussion of these matters here in public have in my case been met by five threats and warnings from the officials of the NAACP not to engage in "political activity." My request for clarification of what political activity" consists has never been answered. On the other hand, the political activity of various members of this association has been widely known.

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23-29-2

I thoroughly agree that no official of this organization, salaried, or un salaried should commit the organization as such to any one political party. But I insist that this rule should apply to all officials and not to a few; and I also insist that it is not only the right but the bounden duty of every official and member of the NAACP as an American citizen to investigate, interrogate, vote and defend his vote in every election, and I deny the right of any official to tie this organization to the foreign policy of the present administration as long as it stands against the public discussion of our civil rights, for the despoiling of Ethiopia, for the delaying of recognition of Israel, and, in general, against the interests of colonial peoples.

For these reasons I am not attending the committee meeting called by the Secretary for today, Tuesday, September 7, 1948. And I am insisting that:

1. Hereafter I receive the agenda for the meetings of the Board of Directors and the minutes of their meetings.

2. There be put before the Board of Directors at their next meeting a proposal for steps leading to a declared foreign policy for this Association.

Memorandum

To: The Secretary and Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P.

From: W. E. B. Du Bois

Subject: The United Nations and the N.A.A.C.P.

Date: September 7, 1948

The Secretary has asked me to give him a memorandum on matters which are likely to come up at the Paris meeting of the United Nations this month, and in which we should be interested. I regret to say that I am unable to comply with his request, and I wish to state the reasons why.

According to the understanding by which I joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1944, my fields of research were left indeterminate and largely in accordance with my desires, subject to the directives of the Board of Directors. But there was a fairly clear understanding that problems of the Darker Races outside the United States and particularly in Africa would engage most of my time. For that reason I have attended the Pan African Congress in England; prepared a petition to the United Nations on our status; written two books on democracy for colored peoples and the relation of Africa to the world. Also, at the request of the ATLANTIC MONTHLY I have prepared a statement on present conditions in Africa, which the editors are now considering for possible publication.

With regard to these matters I have reported to the Board of Directors from time to time. Whether my suggestions have reached the Board, and what action it has taken I seldom know, since the Secretary does not send me copies of the agenda of the Board meetings nor minutes of the actions of the Board.

Therefore, I have been proceeding practically without directives from the Board and without any clear idea of its attitude with regard to what might be called the Foreign Policy of this Association. In the past, for the most part, this lack was unimportant and our action limited. Todayk however, the situation has changed drastically, and just as the United States has become international in its action, so the NAACP is called upon to take a stand concerning Africa, Asia, the islands of the Pacific and the Caribbean, not to mention the colonial problems of all colored and oppressed peoples. We ought to have investigaton, consultation, and a plan of action. So far as I know we have had nothing of the sort. Certainly I have not been called into consultation, nor have I been commissioned to investigate or propose a policy.

The Secretary announces now that in the name of the NAACP HE HAS accepted, at the hands of the Truman administration, appointment as a Consultant to the United States Delegation to the United Nations, for the Paris meeting of the General Assembly. The United States Delegation to the United Nations has expressed clearly its attitude toward matters in which the NAACP is interested; it has refused to bring the curtailment of our civil rights to the attention of the General Assembly; it has refused willingly to allow any other nation to bring this matter up; if any should, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has declared that she would probably resign from the United States Delegation. In the Trusteeship Council the United States has sided with the imperial powers; it has sided with Italy in taking all but an unimportant part of Eritrea from Ethiopia; it has opposed the best interests of India, the only nation which has defended Africa before the Assembly; it has not defended Indonesia, and is clearly straddling on Israel.

If we accept a consultantship in this delegation without a clear, open, public declaration by the Board of our position on the Truman foreign policy, our very acceptance ties us in with the reactionary, war-mongering colonial imperialism of the present administration. It is certain that no influence applied in Paris is going to have the slightest influence on our delegation. Their minds are made up and their policy set. The only change that can be made is in Washington and in the United States.

I do not know the attitude of the Board of Directors of the NAACP on these matters, nor so far as I know, does anyone else. But I insist that here if anywhere, in a democratic organization seeking the welfare of the millions of colored people the world over is the place for careful knowledge of all the facts and thoughtful consideration as to just what our plans and purposes are in this crisis of the world.

If, on the contrary, we are to be loaded on the Truman bandwagon, with no chance for opinion or consultation, we are headed for a tragic mistake.

Our international policy concerning Africa, Asia, Indonesia, and Israel is not only being determined without consultation or investigation, but even discussion of these matters here in public have in my case been met by five threats and warnings from the officials of the NAACP not to engage in "political activity." My request xxxx for clarification of what "political activity" consists has never been answered. On the other hand, the political activity of various members of this Association has been widely known.

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42-6c-7

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42-6c-8

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MEMORANDUM

TO: THE NAACP

DATE: SEPTEMBER 7, 1948

SUBJECT: Finance: (clerical assistance in my office)

August 1,---15	$40.00
August 16,--31	48.00
TOTAL----------	$ 88.00

W.E.B. DU BOIS

Department of Special Research

[NAACP]

September 13, 1948 Copy — keep this

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE

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(I wish first to comment upon your patent annoyance that someone else other than yourself was sent to represent the NAACP at the U.N. General Assembly in Paris) In accordance with the regularprocedure of the NAACP, I forwarded to the members of the Committee on Administration on July 13th for consideration at its meeting on July 26th the invitation from Mr. Chester Williams, Public Liaison Office of the U.S. Mission to the U. N. , to the NAACP to send a representative to the meeting of the U. N. General Assembly. In my memorandum of July 13th I stated, "It is the Secretary's opinion that Dr. Du Bois would be the best person to represent the NAACP".

For what the Committee on Adm nistration considered good and sufficient reasons, my recommendation was not agreed to and I was instructed to go to Paris.

It is implicit in your memorndum that the terms of your re-employment by the NAACP included your exclusively representing the NAACP at international conferences. That is not correct. The question of who shall attend any conference, national or international is exclusively the perogative of the Board.

You raised the question of directives from the Board. It has been made clear to you that not only are you welcome at the Board meetings but that as a department head you are expected to attend Board meetings. You did attend meetings for atime after rejo ning the Association but , upon examination of the record, I find that you have not attened a meeting for over a year.

As to your statement that acceptance by the NAACP of the invitation to the U.N. Assembly is a question of the Association being "loaded on the Truman bandwagon with no chance for opinoion or consultation," that is ridiculous. You, yourself along with Mrs. Mary Mcleod Bethune and I attended the San Francisco Conference in 1945. You idid not then raise any question of being "loaded on the Truman bandwagon." It is just as ridiculous to say that our being represented at Paris along with other national organizations means any commitment to any political figure anymore than would have been a similar charge in 1945. No commitments as to policy have either been asked or given by the U. S. Mission to the U. N. , President Truman, or anyone else. It might be interesting to you to remember that at San Francisco many of the consultats most vigorously disagreed with the American delegation and I have no doubt that this will be true also at Paris.

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42/6C/8

September 13th, 1948

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33-2-474

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WW:mdj

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September 13th, 1948

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Return

35-2-411

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35-2-403

NATIONAL OFFICERS

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Arthur B. Spingarn
Chairman of the Board
Dr. Louis T. Wright
Vice-Presidents
Mary McLeod Bethune
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Godfrey Lowell Cabot
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Hon. Harry E. Davis
Douglas P. Falconer
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Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Dr. William Lloyd Imes
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Isadore Martin
T. G. Nutter
Rev. A. Clayton Powell
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Oswald Garrison Villard
Bishop W. J. Walls
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Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Assistant Treasurer
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Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding
Winston-Salem, N.C.	Curtis Todd

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

Official Organ: The Crisis

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Roy Wilkins *Assistant Secretary*
Editor, The Crisis
Madison S. Jones, Jr.
Administrative Assistant
Thurgood Marshall
Special Counsel
Edward R. Dudley
Marian Wynn Perry
Franklin H. Williams
Robert L. Carter (on leave)
Assistant Special Counsel
Leslie S. Perry *Administrative Assistant*
Washington Bureau
W. E. B. Du Bois
Director, Special Research
Daisy E. Lampkin *Field Secretary*
Gloster B. Current
Director of Branches
LeRoy E. Carter
Rufus W. Smith
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Daniel E. Byrd
Assistant Field Secretaries
Donald Jones
Southwest Regional Secretary
N. W. Griffin
West Coast Regional Secretary
Lucille Black *Membership Secretary*
Ruby Hurley *Youth Secretary*
Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr.
Secretary, Veterans' Affairs
Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr.
Labor Secretary
Walter P. Offutt, Jr.
Church Secretary
Henry Lee Moon
Director of Public Relations

September 13, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

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Sincerely yours,

Louis T. Wright

Louis T. Wright
Chairman of the Board.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

LTW:RJW
Enc.
cc: Dr. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

SPECIAL DELIVERY

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Ruby Hurley — *Youth Secretary*
Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr.
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62-40-23-104-25

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20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

LTW:RJW
Enc.
cc: Dr. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

SPECIAL DELIVERY

[Enc.]

22-42-69

MOTION PASSED BY NAACP BOARD OF DIRECTORS

AT THE REGULAR MEETING, SEPTEMBER 13,1948

That in view of Dr. DuBois' written refusal to cooperate with the NAACP executive staff of which he is a member in preparation for representation at the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly of the U.N., in view of his distribution of his memorandum of September 7, addressed to this Board, before its consideration by this Board, and in view of Dr. DuBois' expressed willingness that the memorandum in question be made public before its consideration by this Board, it is the conclusion of this Board that it will not be in the best interest of the Association to continue the employment of Dr. DuBois as a staff member beyond the term of his present contract; that formal notice of this decision be transmitted to Dr. DuBois.

File Folder 1
Release 1948

Motion passed by NAACP Board of Directors
at the regular meeting, September 13, 1948

That in view of Dr. DuBois' written refusal to cooperate with the NAACP executive staff of which he is a member in preparation for representation at the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly of the U.N., in view of his distribution of his memorandum of September 7, addressed to this Board, before its consideration by this Board and in view of Dr. DuBois' expressed willingness that the memorandum in question be made public before its consideration by this Board, it is the conclusion of this Board that it will not be in the best interest of the Association to continue the employment of Dr. DuBois as a staff member beyond the term of his present contract; that formal notice of this decision be transmitted to Dr. DuBois.

35-2-397

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

September 14, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

23-14-10

Dear Doctor:

A Mr. Weintraub of World pictures called today to ask if he could come in and see you tomorrow. His organization is interested in photographing you at your desk, since they plan to release a picture story to the newspapers in connection with the NAACP matter. Since you said you might not be in tomorrow, and that is the only day they can come since they must make news out of this while it is news, I thought it best to inform of you of this. I am to call Mr. Weintraub tomorrow morning sometime and let him know when he can come and take the photographs. I would appreciate your calling me here in the morning about this. Longacre 3-6890.

Also, I had a conversation with Mrs. Viola Scott, Mr. Henry Wallace's secretary. She discussed certain matters pertaining to the recent Association events relative to getting the real data out to the membership of the NAACP so that they would see both sides of the story and understand that this is not a personal political difference between you and the Secretary. She hopes to reach you by phone tonight and if you possibly can, please talk with her.

I have heard the rumor around here today that Walter White had asked for a leave of absence for one year because of ill health and that the Board had acted upon it and granted the leave.

Did you know that William Hastie was at the Board meeting yesterday? Also, that John Hammond, of the Board of Directors, abstained from voting on the recommendation that effected your release?

We have learned that the Association is rapidly working on material to send out to the membership to play up its side of the controversy and to justify their action. Fortunately, we sent out the memos you asked to be mailed today...Incidentally, Mrs. Scott would like to have the list you had us mail the things to. When you call will you tellme if it is all right to let her have it.

Let me know if there is anything else I can do.

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

NATIONAL OFFICERS

President
Arthur B. Spingarn
Chairman of the Board
Dr. Louis T. Wright
Vice-Presidents
Mary McLeod Bethune
Nannie H. Burroughs
Godfrey Lowell Cabot
Hon. Arthur Capper
Hon. Harry E. Davis
Douglas P. Falconer
Bishop John A. Gregg
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Dr. William Lloyd Imes
Hon. Ira W. Jayne
Isadore Martin
T. G. Nutter
Rev. A. Clayton Powell
A. Philip Randolph
Oswald Garrison Villard
Bishop W. J. Walls
Treasurer
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Assistant Treasurer
Dr. Channing H. Tobias

25

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 3-6890
Official Organ: The Crisis

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Walter White — *Secretary*
Roy Wilkins — *Assistant Secretary, Editor, The Crisis*
Madison S. Jones, Jr. — *Administrative Assistant*
Thurgood Marshall — *Special Counsel*
Edward R. Dudley
Marian Wynn Perry
Franklin H. Williams
Robert L. Carter (on leave)
Assistant Special Counsel
Leslie S. Perry — *Administrative Assistant, Washington Bureau*
W. E. B. Du Bois — *Director, Special Research*
Daisy E. Lampkin — *Field Secretary*
Gloster B. Current — *Director of Branches*
LeRoy E. Carter
Rufus W. Smith
Marion O. Bond
Daniel E. Byrd
Assistant Field Secretaries
Donald Jones — *Southwest Regional Secretary*
N. W. Griffin — *West Coast Regional Secretary*
Lucille Black — *Membership Secretary*
Ruby Hurley — *Youth Secretary*
Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr. — *Secretary, Veterans' Affairs*
Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr. — *Labor Secretary*
Walter P. Offutt, Jr. — *Church Secretary*
Henry Lee Moon — *Director of Public Relations*

September 15, 1948

Dear Branch Officer:

At the meeting of the Board of Directors on Monday, September 13, 1948, the Board passed the following MOTION:

42-6C-1

"That in view of Dr. DuBois' written refusal to cooperate with the NAACP executive staff of which he is a member in preperation for representation at the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly of the U.N., in view of his distribution of his memorandum of September 7, addressed to this Board, before its consideration by this Board, and in view of Dr. DuBois' expressed willingness that the memorandum in question be made public before its consideration by this Board, it is the conclusion of this Board that it will not be in the best interest of the Association to continue the employment of Dr. DuBois as a staff member beyond the term of his present contract; that formal notice of this decision be transmitted to Dr. DuBois."

Here is the background of this unusual situation.

In July, the Association was invited by Mr. Chester Williams, public liaison officer of the United States Commission to the United Nations, to send a representative to the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Committee on Administration of the Board met July 26, considered this invitation and designated Mr. White to attend this important session. Mr. White is now in Paris representing the Association.

On August 23rd, in response to a request from the Secretary, Dr. DuBois forwarded a few suggestions with regard to the United Nations General Assembly meeting. On August 24th, Mr. White wrote a memorandum to some other staff and board members asking them to submit further information and suggestions to the Secretary on matters which would likely come up at this meeting of the United Nations. Mr. White wished to hold a meeting to discuss these suggestions and consulted

with Dr. DuBois as to a date convenient to the latter. September 7th at 3:30 p.m. was agreed upon for such a meeting.

However, on September 7th, Dr. DuBois sent Mr. White a long memorandum in which he criticized the acceptance of the invitation of a consultantship as tying the Association in with the foreign policy of our government with which Dr. DuBois is in disagreement, and stated that because of these reasons he was not attending the committee meeting called by the Secretary for September 7th.

The next morning, September 8th, a reporter from the New York Times telephoned Mr. White asking for comment on the DuBois memorandum. Since it was addressed to the Board and the Board was not scheduled to meet until September 13th, Mr. White said he had no comment to make.

42-6C-2

On September 9th, the New York Times had a story headed - "RACIAL UNIT SCORED AS AIDING TRUMAN - Dr. DuBois Charges Dropping of Efforts to Help Negro Peoples of World."

Now it should be pointed out that at the invitation of the State Department, the NAACP sent Dr. DuBois, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune and Walter White as consultants to the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. At no time was this action considered an endorsement of the foreign policy of the administration.

When questioned at the Board meeting on September 13th, Dr. DuBois said he had not given the memorandum to the press himself, but that he supposed he was indirectly responsible because he had sent copies to the staff and board members. He added that if newspapermen had asked him for the memorandum he would have given it to them.

In view of this action and this declaration that he would have made the document public prior to its consideration by the Board, the directors felt they had no other course of action except the one represented in the MOTION quoted above.

President Arthur Spingarn expressed the sentiments of the Board as follows:

> "It is with deep regret that the Board felt the necessity of passing this motion. Dr. DuBois was one of the founders of the Association and for many years his voice was the voice of this organization."
>
> He further added that -
>
> "The Board could not retain Dr. DuBois and still remain the administrative authority of the Association."

Since this incident is certain to receive wide publicity and stimulate discussion in all sections of the country, we are sending this report to acquaint our branches with the details of the affair.

Sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

ROY WILKINS
Assistant Secretary

RW/cs

[fragment]

the interests of colonial peoples. Dr. Du Bois insisted that before we accept the position of consultant, our attitude should be clearly stated. Before anything could be done the Committee on Administration with ~~out~~ nice alacrity authorization from the Board ~~had~~ sent Mr. White as consultant to Paris.

The next Board Meeting took place after Mr. White had sailed. It confirmed the Action of the Committee on Administration with little comment. Dr. Du Bois had two alternatives: to keep silent and let the policy of the Secretary and his Committee go unchallenged; or to appeal to the Board in a statement which would do no immediate good since it was already too late to act. He chose the latter course and wrote the memorandum which has been published. Dr Du Bois did not give this appeal to the press, but he sent it to the 48 members of the Board and to the office staff.

The Board in its action did not face the issues raised but dismissed Dr. Du Bois because the petition got publicity before it reached the Board.

42-60-13

230-39

NEW YORK, N. Y. SEP 23 7-PM 1948

GRAND CENTRAL STATION

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
2225 5th Avenue
New York, New York
Apt. 2 C

[Murphy]

September 23, 1948

Dear Hugh:

How is the vacation coming along? The office is quiet and very lonesome. Dr. DuBois did not come in at all yesterday, but he is in today and is dictating rolls for me.

Henry sends regards and said to tell you that he has another book for you. It is quite large so maybe I will let him bring that one hi-self.

Give our regards to Mrs. Smythe.

No one comes in to see me except Mr. Ivy. Have you seen the Afro? If not by all means get one, also the Age. I forwarded a card to you today. Mr. Hughes called you yesterday, I told him you were on vacation but could be reached at home.

Dr. DuBois took all of the five copies of that memorandum. He says he will bring one back for the files, then I can make you one

Sincerely,

Lil

Lil.

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40th STREET • New York 18, N. Y. • LOngacre 3-6890

WALTER WHITE
Executive Secretary

HENRY LEE MOON
Director of Public Relations

296

FOR RELEASE: September 23, 1948

NEW TRIAL SOUGHT FOR
CONVICTED ALA. YOUTH — September 23, 1948

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23.-- Charging that Samuel Taylor, imprisoned Alabama youth, had been prevented by lower court decisions from following normal channels in efforts to secure a new trial, NAACP lawyers have filed a petition seeking intervention of the United States Supreme Court in a special proceeding for a review of the lower courts' findings.

23c - 29-47

The suit, filed on September 14, by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Special Counsel, and Nesbit Elmore, Montgomery, Alabama, attorney, seeks to establish the right to have a full hearing in a federal court of the validity of convictions secured in violation of the Constitution. Taylor was convicted on the basis of an allegedly coerced confession. His attorneys maintain that conviction on such a confession is violative of his rights under the 14th Amendment.

Taylor, who has been under sentence to death for nearly two years, was convicted by an all-white jury in Mobile in November 1946, charged with the rape of a 14-year-old white girl. A confession, which he later repudiated claiming that it was extorted by police beatings, was used to convict him.

Three times he was within the shadow of the gallows while NAACP lawyers battled through all levels of state and federal courts in an effort to secure a new trial. Court after court denied the appeals or refused to grant the necessary certificates. Meanwhile last minute stays of executions were obtained.

In this latest move to secure justice for Taylor, the lawyers ask the United States Supreme Court to "once more reaffirm the fundamental role of the writ of habeas corpus in the scheme of human liberty by establishing that a federal district court may not refuse to make an independent investigation into the merits of a petition with the excuse that a state court has found the claim of right so insubstantial as not to require a hearing."

CONGRESS VOTE RECORD
PUBLISHED BY BULLETIN September 23, 1948

NEW YORK, Sept. 23.— The voting record of members of both Houses of Congress on civil rights and other issues is published in the current issue of The NAACP Bulletin, the Association's bi-monthly organ. The record reveals the vote on seven vital issues in the House of Representatives and on nine in the Senate.

"The record of the 80th Congress," the report asserts, "is a dismal record of failure. Failure to control inflation; failure to provide adequate housing; failure to meet the educational and health needs of the people; failure to enact a single civil rights measure. You are urged to review the record of each of your senators and your representatives. On November 2, remember those who have voted for your interests and those who have voted against you, regardless of party affiliation."

SEEK GOVERNOR'S AID
IN SLAYING OF VOTER September 23, 1948

NEW YORK, Sept. 23.-- M. E. Thompson, outgoing Governor of Georgia, has given assurance of his "willingness to do everything I can, as long as I am Chief Executive, to see that those violating the law of this state are brought to justice."

The Governor's position was expressed in a letter to Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Special Counsel, who had protested the election day slaying of Isiah Nixon, 28-year-old Negro of Mt. Vernon, who had voted in the recent Georgia Democratic primary despite the threats and warnings of white persons. Two white men, brothers, M. A. and Johnnie Johnson, were arrested and charged with the murder.

It was his understanding, Governor Thompson said in his letter to Mr. Marshall, that the case was "being pushed vigorously by the prosecuting authorities in the judicial circuit where the alleged murder occurred." The slaying grew out of the primary election in which Governor Thompson was defeated for renomination by Herman Talmadge.

REDUCE VETERANS' SENTENCES September 23, 1948

NEW YORK, Sept. 23.-- Life sentences imposed upon two ex-serviceman for alleged rape of German women while serving in the Army of Occupation have been reduced following intervention of the NAACP legal department. The sentence of Robert Payne, who was convicted by a General Court-

Martial on June 5, 1944, was reduced to 18 years, the Department of the Army has informed the NAACP. David Egans, convicted on December 6, 1945, won a reduction to 15 years imprisonment.

GROUP SEEKS TO BAN
JIM CROW HOUSING September 23, 1948

NEW YORK, Sept. 23.-- Renewing the attack against residential segregation, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this week joined with the American Jewish Congress and the American Civil Liberties Union in filing a brief asking the Appellate Division to reverse a lower court decision which affirmed the right of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to exclude Negroes from its semi-public Stuyvesant Town housing project in lower Manhattan.

23C-29-6

The appeal, filed on September 20, involves two cases; one on behalf of three rejected Negro applicants, and the other by Shad Polier, vice-president of the American Jewish Congress, suing as a taxpayer.

The Metropolitan Company admits that it has refused to accept Negroes in Stuyvesant Town. The plantiffs argue that this discrimination is unconstitutional because the project was built with the aid and cooperation of New York State and the City of New York. The Constitution forbids racial discrimination by the State Government and its branches; the plantiffs urged in their brief that this restraint applies also "when the State acts through a private corporation in performing its public functions."

Money from both Negro and white tax-payers is benefiting the life insurance company, since tax exemption was granted for twenty-five years on the improved value of the land. The total saved by this exemption will come to more than fifty million dollars over the full period.

The brief concludes: "If the defendants' contention is sustained, there will be, within a stone's throw of the United Nations building, a gigantic undertaking in which racial segregation is not only openly avowed, but publicly subsidized and approved. It is undesirable, dangerous and, above all, illegal."

The plaintiffs are represented by NAACP Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall and Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry, assistant special counsel; Will Maslow of the American Jewish Congress; and Charles Abrams of the American Civil Liberties Union.

WALTER WHITE IN GERMANY September 23, 1948

NEW YORK, Sept. 23.— Walter White, NAACP secretary, now in Europe to attend sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations as a consultant, has left Paris for a tour of United States military establishments and displaced persons encampments in Germany according to word received here today.

WHITE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY OUT September 23, 1948

NEW YORK, Sept. 23.— "A Man Called White," the autobiography of Walter White, NAACP secretary, is scheduled for publication by Viking Press on Monday, October 4. The volume recounts Mr. White's career as an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People over a period of 30 years.

23c-29-7

[Murphy]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

September 29, 1948

Dear Hugh:

Your little note was received along with the material this morning. I am glad you are having a little rest and more time with the baby.

There is nothing of importance going on around here, as far as I know. I am very busy. I will not be able to do your work for you, but I gave it to Mr. Current and he is having one of his girls do it for you. I gave him all of the instructions, so I will mail it to you special as soon as it is finished. I am sorry not to be able to do it myself but this week it would be impossible.

Dr. DuBois had me take his manuscript over to 39 Park Avenue. They are making 250 or 300 copies and I have to mail them out. I have been addressing envelopes for two days, plus taking letters etc. Then too, Dr. decided to start clearing out his files; so now we have a large step-ladder in here and He and I have been climbing up to the top files and he started to discard old papers. I am so afraid he will throw away something valuable. (smile)

Besides sending this material of his to the Board etc here, I have to send it to the Presidents of all the Branches, I counted them (1206) . This is Shirley's idea.

I haven't done the filing, I have loads, he takes things out and mix them up so. I am waiting until this mailing is done.

Give my best regards to Mrs. Smythe. I'll drop you a line. when I send the material.

Sincerely,

Lil.

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DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W.E.B. DuBois, Director

Monthly Report: September, 1948

Miscellaneous

The activities of the Director for the month of September included:

Conferred with the Honorable Ras Imru, Ethiopian Minister to the United States, in Washington, D. C., concerning the return of the African colonies to Italy, and certain other problems pertaining to colored people of the world.

Wrote a book review: GANDHI: An Autobiography, Masses & Mainstream

23-39-73

The activiés of the assistant to the director consisted of:

Miscellaneous

Conferred with Mr. Madison Jones and Miss Echevary concerning the participation of the NAACP in the United World Federalist movement for a world government.

Article: "Some Contributions of the Negro to American History." Prepared for delivery by Miss Hurley of the Branch Department, at a meeting of the Huntington, L. I., Branch NAACP.

Book Review: FREDERICK DOUGLASS, by Benjamin Quarles. Reviewed for the September issue of THE CRISIS.

The abovewere in addition to the general work of the department.

September, 1948

PERSONS RECEIVING NOTICE OF NAACP BOARD ACTION AND DU BOIS MEMORANDUM

Dr. and Mrs. John Somerville, 2104 S. Harvard Boulevard, Los Angeles, California

Mrs. Jessie Hathcock, 407 West Fifth Street, Dayton, Ohio

Mrs. Shelby Davidson, 1333 R Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Dr. Rayford Logan, 1519 Jackson Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Emma Groves, 30 Peacevale Road, Dorchester, Massachusetts

President John W. Davis, West Virginia State College, Institute, West Virginia

President Luther H. Foster, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia

Dr. W. R. Banks, Prairie View State College, Prairie View, Texas

Attorney A. T. Walden, Suite 428, Herndon Building, Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Virginia Alexander, 708 Jefferson Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Pace Alexander, 1900 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. and Mrs. Mathew Boutte, 2301 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York

Dr. Walter N. Beekman, 746 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, New York

Dr. and Mrs. E. C. Bowden, 223 Boulevard, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Ellen Irene Diggs, Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland

Miss Rachel Davis DuBois, 204 East 18th Street, New York, New York

Mr. Harry Davis, 202-206 Engineers Building, Cleveland, Ohio

Miss Shirley Graham, 173-19 113th Avenue, St. Albana, L.I., New York

Mrs. Grace Goens, 503 East 10th Street, Wilmington, Delaware

Mrs. Gertrude Holland, 327 East Market Street, Xenia, Ohio

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones, 4809 Indiana Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois

Dr. Metz Lochard, 5170 South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance, 916 Kearney Street, San Francisco, California

Mrs. Mae Owings, 1035 East 45th Street, Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Langdon Post, 2682 Filbert Street, San Francisco, California

Mrs. Adella Parks, 1935 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

23-12-26

Title: Du Bois Release '48

September 1948

PEOPLE TO WRITE CONCERNING W. E. B. DU BOIS

Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dr. John Hope Franklin, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Professor St. Clair Drake, 3767 South Lake Park Ave., Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, 1204 East Atchison Street, Jefferson City, Missouri

Justice Julian Rainey, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dr. V.V. Oak, Alcorn College, Alcorn, Mississippi

Mr. W.A. Robinson, Principal Phoenix High School, 415 East Grant St. Phoenix, Arizona.

23-17-21

Mr. David Jenkins, San Francisco Labor School 216 Market Street, San Francisco

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis, 4459 Enright Ave., St. Louis 8, Missouri

Mr. Samuel Wallach, Teachers Union, 13 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.

(See individuals at the Progressive Citizens of America, 205 East 42nd St,N.Y.

Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Gertrude B.W. Jones, Bethel AME Church, 585 Frederick Ave., Detroit 2, Mich.

Belford Lawson, Pres. of Alphi Phi Alpha Fraternity, 1519 Jackson St. N.W. Wash. D.C.

Mr. J. Raymond Walsh, Station WMCA, 1657 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Mrs. Anna Bobbitt Gardner, 3 Claremont Park, Boston 18, Mass.

Dr. Ossip K. Fletcheim, Colby College, Waterville, Maine

Dr. Charles Wesley, Wilberforce State College, Wilberforce, Ohio

Miss Lily Edelman, East-West Association, 62 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

Miss Pearl Buck, East-West Association, 62 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Henry Atkinson, Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York, N.Y.

Dr. W. A. Loos, Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church of N. Y. , 40 East 35th Street, N. Y.

Mr. Carl Gebuhr, American Veterans Committee, 808 17th St. N.W. Washington, D.C.

Mr. Carrington L. Davis, Dunbar High School, McElderry & Caroline St. Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham, 8401 Cedar Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio

Dr. Edwin R. Embree, Liberia Company, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

File copy

23-17-2

September, 1948

PEOPLE TO WRITE CONCERNING W. E. B. DU BOIS

Dr. and Mrs. John Somerville, 2104 S. Harvard Boulevard, Los Angeles, California

Mrs. Jessie Hathcock, 407 West Fifth Street, Dayton, Ohio

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Dr. Rayford Logan, 1519 Jackson Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

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President Luther H. Foster, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia

Dr. W. R. Banks, Prairie View State College, Prairie View, Texas

Attorney A. T. Walden, Suite 428, Herndon Building, Atlanta, Georgia

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Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, 1204 East Atchison Street, Jefferson City, Missouri

Justice Julian Rainey, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. V. V. Oak, Alcorn College, Alcorn, Mississippi

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Mr. David Jenkins, San Francisco Labor School, 216 Market Streetye.,San Francisco, Calif.

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Miss Pearl Buck, East-West Association, 62 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Henry Atkinson, Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dr. W. A. Loos, Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church of N. Y., 40 East 35th Street, N. Y., N. Y.

Mr. Carl Gebuhr, American Veterans Committee, 808 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Mr. Carrington L. Davis, Dunbar High School, McElderry and Caroline Sts.,Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham, 8401 Cedar Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio

Dr. Edwin R. Embree, Liberia Company, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: THE NAACP
Date: October 1, 1948
Subject: [redacted]nce: (Clerical Assistance in my office)

September 1,---15	$44.00
September 15---30	44.00
	$88. 00

22-29

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Department of Special Research

[h.a.a.c.p.]

October 6, 1948

Dr. Louis T. Wright, Chairman
Board of Directors,
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

DearDoctor Wright:

The dismissal of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois from his post with the NAACP is an action of grave significance - not only to the membership of that organization - but to Negroes everywhere. Had the dismissal occurred over some technical, internal question within the NAACP, it would nevertheless be viewed with serious concern. The name of Dr. DuBois, author, historian, sociologist, founder of the NAACP - and above all, militant Negro leader, has become synonymous with the deep desire and struggle of the Negro people for civil liberties, fair employment opportunities, for the right to live and address decently, for full cultural expression - for " a place in the sun" on a free and equal basis with all other peoples. Such a man cannot be peremptorily "dismissed," no matter what the reason, without leaving a vacancy no one else can fill.

When a man like Dr. DuBois is dismissed because of his policies and principles -- these very policies and principles which have endeared him to his people -- this, in these times, is cause for world-wide apprehension.

It is no secret that the dismissal arose over Dr. DuBois' objection to Walter White's acceptance of the post of consultant on race problems to the U.S. delegation in the United Nations. Such an objection is entirely in order by virtue of the fact that 1) The NAACP has never taken a formal position on its foreign policy; 2) Lending Mr. White's presence, name and office in the NAACP to the post with the U.S. delegation, forces an implied endorsement by the NAACP of President Truman's foreign policy; 3) The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan (representing the present bi-partisan foreign policy) is a complete repudiation and rejection of the basic beliefs and tenets of the NAACP.

We submit that the dismissal of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois is not the reflection of a mere "difference of opinion" between two leading members of the organization. The dismissal represents a ruthless attempt to silence the protesting voice of large sections of the outstanding

Negro organiz ation in America, against the wanton exploitation of the colored peoples of the world by the imperialist, reactionary Truman administration and its advisers, leaders and allies in the Republican party.

We need only cite - to the eternal disgrace of Mr. White, and those who have supported his position - the "gentlemen's agreement" among the U.S. delegation to "hush-hush" the matteref Negro-American Civil Rights in the General Assembly of the UN.

We need only cite the US record in supporting Italy against Ethiopia, its failure to support Indonesia; its betrayal of the people of Israel; its bolstering up of the British state which mercilessly exploits the peoples of Africa; its help to Belgium whose treatment of the Negroes in the Belgian Congo will go down in infamy.

Dr. DuBois' dismissal represents a betrayal of the colonial people of the world. He must be reinstated.

Very truly yours,

James Malloy, ALP candidate,
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[N.A.A.C.P.]

October 11, 1948

The ASP Resolution speaks also for the following persons, most of them long time members of the NAACP, who are actively engaged in assembling the facts regarding Dr. Du Bois dismissal and in giving them to the entire membership of the NAACP.

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4-2/6/46

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October 11, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
2225 5th Avenue, 2-C
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Dear Dr. Smythe:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation, I am enclosing $4.00 as requested by you. I hope this gets to you in time and that this office has not caused you any inconvenience.

Sincerely yours,

Cecilia Sumpt

Secretary to Mr. Current

cs
Enc.

October 18, 1948

To: Gloster Current

From: Hugh H. Smythe

Re: Travel Funds

I am returning enclosed the $4.00 advanced me from your petty cash fund to defray my travel expenses to speak to the Huntington, L. I., Board of Education for the Huntington Branch NAACP, Wednesday evening, October 13. The total expenses came to $3.00, and this amount was collected from Mrs. Marie Granger of the Huntington Branch. The fare was $2.60 and the incidentals, including two telephone calls for material for Mrs. Granger (10¢) and subway and bus fares (32¢), made a total of $3.02.

[N.A.A.C.P.]

C 15681

Date 10/19/48

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People acknowledges with appreciation receipt of $ 4.00

for Refund Travel (Duplicate receipt sent to Huntington, L. I. Br.)

Mary W. Wright
Treasurer

HEADQUARTERS: 20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

23C-45

C 15681

Huntington, L.I. N. Y. Br.
Miss Mary L. Smith
28 Blvd. Ave.

Date 10/19/48

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People acknowledges with appreciation your contribution of $ 4.00
For: Contri. to travel of Dr. Hugh Smythe

Allan Knight Chalmers
Treasurer

HEADQUARTERS: 20 WEST 40TH STREET
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23C-43

[h.o.a.e.p.]

Excerpt from Minutes of
Committee on Administration
October 27th, 1947

**** ****

ADDITIONAL SPACE FOR LEGAL DEPARTMENT

The Secretary read to the Committee memorandum from the Special Counsel setting forthe the crowded conditions in which the Legal Department of the Association is working and stating that unless additional quarters can be found for the Legal Department in this building where all the staff can work together, he would feel impelled to recommend to the Board of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. that quarters be found for the entire department outside of this building.

The Secretary stated that he agreed with the Special Counsel that additional space is needed for the Legal Department. But he further explained that he and the Assistant Secretary had sought every means to find additional space in this building and even in neighboring buildings. The Special Counsel stated that because it is necessary for the four attorneys and two research persons to constantly use all of the files and the library, it is necessary that their offices all be on one floor.

It was pointed out that Dr.DuBois needs and was promised more space also and that it is not necessary that his offices be in this building. The suggestion was made by the Administrative Assistant that the following plan might work out to give both Departments needed space and not take the Legal Department out of the building. He suggested that his office be moved to the one which is now occupied by Mr.Harrington, Mr.Harrington be moved to the partitioned office outside, the lounge be moved to the office now occupied by Mr. Jones; adequate quarters be found for Dr.DuBois and his staff outside this building, which would give the Legal Department two additional rooms adjoining those they presently occupy.

Upon motion by Judge Delany, duly seconded, it was VOTED, that the plan as set forth by the Administrative Assistant be adopted, if agreeable to Dr.DuBois and Mr.Marshall and that a sub-committee be appointed at once to look for adequate space for the work of Dr. DuBois outside of this building.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W. E. B. DuBois, Director

Monthly Report: October, 1948

The activities of the Director for the month of October included:

Miscellaneous

Letter published in THE NEW YORK STAR on Jim Crow in Panama.

Article: "Beartown Beebe", published in THE GUARDIAN

23-39-74

Lectures

"Democracy for Professional Men." Hotel St. George, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"Beartown Beebe." St. Nicholas Arena, New York City.

The work of the assistant to the director, aside from the general work of the department consisted of:

Miscellaneous

Assisted the Youth Department of the NAACP in redrafting the keynote address for the Tenth Annual Conference of Youth Branches, which was delivered by Mr. Howard in St. Louis during the conference, November 10-13, 1948

Lectures

"Why Negro Materials should be included in the School Curriculum." Delivered before the Huntington, L.I., Board of Education at the request of the Huntington Branch NAACP.

"A Report from the NAACP." Delivered before the Eighth District Convention of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, Newark, New Jersey, Washington Street YWCA.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W.E.B. DuBois, Director

Monthly Report: November, 1948

The activities of the Director for the month of November consisted of the following:

Lectures

"Negro Organizations." Roanoke, Virginia. A Mass meeting.

"The World and Africa Today." Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia.

"America's Responsibility to Israel." American Jewish Congress. Manhattan Center, New York, New York.

23-39-25

Miscellaneous

Articles: Wrote two articles for THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN WEEKLY on the subject of Africa.

Wrote an article and had it published in the Sunday NEW YORK TIMES SUNDAY MAGAZINE on: "The Negro Since 1900: A Progress Report."

Aside from the usual duties of the office, the Assisant to the Director performed the following activities:

Miscellaneous

Article: "Racial Policies and Practices in Selected School Systems of Pennsylvania." Journal of Negro Education, Fall, 1948. Based on the NAACP survey made by Mr. Rufus Smith of the Branch Department and published with Mr. Smith as co-author.

Article: "The Concept Jim Crow." Social Forces. October, 1948, released in November. Vol. XXVII, No. 1, pp. 45-48. Based on the NAACP case against the Atlantic Coastline Railroad.

Book Review: From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes. By John Hope Franklin. Reviewed for the Journal of American Folklore Society.

W. E. B. DuBois, Director

By, H. H. Smythe

11-30-48

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE NAACP

FROM: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

DATE: DECEMBER 1, 1948

SUBJECT: FINANCE

For extra clerical assistance in my office.

October 1---15,	$44.00
October 15--29,	36.00
November 1--15,	40.00
November 15-30,	48.00
	$168. 00

22-29

Department of Special Research

DuBois

[N.A.A.C.P.]

December 3, 1948

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE
TO: Gloster B. Current, Branch Dept.
Jesse Dedmon, Veterans Secy.
Dr. DuBois, Special Research Dept.
Thurgood Marshall, Legal Dept.
Clarence Mitchell, Labor Dept.
Henry Lee Moon, Public Relations Dept.
Leslie Perry, Washington Bureau
Walter P. Offutt, Jr., Church Secy.
Roy Wilkins, Ass't. Secy., Editor of the Crisis

23-36-1

The Annual meeting of the Association will take place on January 3rd, beginning at 11 A. M., in the auditorium.

I would appreciate it if you would make every effort to have the report of your department for the year 1948 in Miss Jackson's hands no later than Tuesday, December 21st. If you can have it in earlier, it would give Mr. Moon more opportunity to do the press stories going out on December 23rd.

Will you also be prepared to give a verbal report at the meeting of not more than 3-5 minutes.

ww/mdj

December 3, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
2228 Fifth Avenue
Apartment 2-C
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

I think you ought not to attempt to return to the office before next Wednesday or even later. Even later if you feel quite fit, take a littl time to recuperate.

Suppose you call me at home next Wednesday morning and let me know how you are getting on.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[N.A.A.C.P.]

TO: Mr. Henry Lee Moon

by H. H. Smythe

December 14, 1948

The attached were sent to me from the Atlanta Urban League with the following message:

> Shouldn't Columbia Pictures, Inc., be apprised of the way that the picture is being used? Suggest a letter demanding that picture be withdrawn from market. (See clipping)
>
> The booklet is also objectionable (This refers to the joke book attached) and the company should know the NAACP's reaction to such trash.

I thought you would like to see this so that the Association might be able to take whatever action it deems necessary.

Please return these after they have served your purpose.

With thanks.

Items: Joke book -- On A Slow Train Through Arkansas, by Thomas W. Jackson

Clipping -- Movie advertisement of Mr. Smith Goes to Washington with caption "See How to Defeat the Civil Rights Bill"

83-20-39

File Copy of Dept. of Special Research

COPY

MEMORANDUM

to: Walter White

from: Department of Special Research (By H. H. Smythe)

subject: Hugh H. Smythe

date: December 17, 1948

It has been more than three months since the director of Special Research was given notice of termination of his services on December 31, 1948. This, of course, calls for a reorganization of this unit of the Association.

As you know, under the union contract by which I am covered, I should have received some kind of notice from management concerning my future connection with this organization (NAACP) long before this date, but as yet I have had no official word from management as to my future position.

I would appreciate some word from your office as regards my future status.

Hugh H. Smythe

[n.naacp]

MEMORANDUM

To: Mrs. Waring

From: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Date: December 20, 1948

Subject: Moving of Office Furniture

I have had to leave, but this is what I wanted to talk to you about:

Dr. Smythe is mak ng a list of the ownership of property in this office. Roughly, the books and papers are mine, the steel shelving belongs to the NAACP except one section---six file cases belong to the NAACP and one to me.

The furniture belongs to the NAACP, except three dictaphone machines, 1 typewriter, 1 small table, and 1 small electric fan.

What I am proposing to do is to remove all of my property within this week and next week. But in the case of the files and section of steel shelving belonging to me, I suggest that I move all of the files with their contents and leave the section of shelving. This will save me the difficult task of bringing in new file cases and transfering the contents of these cases before I leave. Then sometime in January, I could either return your six files or buy them at a price agreed upon. Also the NAACP could credit me with the cost of the section of shelving.

I shall be glad to have your reaction to this tomorrow.

MEMORANDUM

To: Mrs. Lilliam Waring

From: W. E. B. Du Bois

Subject: Property in Room 402 (20 West 40th Street) belonging to the NAACP

Date: December 21, 1948

5 --sections of steel shelving

1---rented typewriter--(Underwood--No. 4321302-11

6---four drawer filing cases (1 steel, 5 wooden)

2---desks

2---desk lamps

2---desk pads

2---calendar holders

2---waste paper baskets

6---chairs (2 desk, 1 typing, 3 sidechairs)

1---typewriter table (steel)

1---hat stand

1---large electric fan

1---ash tray

2---desk file boxes

1--- clock (electric)

MEMORANDUM

To: Mrs. Lillian Waring

From: W. E. B. Du Bois

Subject: Property in Room 402 (20 West 40th Street) belonging to Dr. Du Bois

Date: December 21, 1948

1 --4 drawer file case (steel with lock)

1 --section steel book shelving

2--card files (steel)

1--bronze vase

1--bronze statuette

1--small electric fan

1--small table (phone directory)

1--typewriter (Royal No. KW*-2297429)

3--dictaphone machines

ALL BOOKS, PAPERS AND MAPS AND OTHER MATERIAL NOT LISTED UNDER:
"PROPERTY OF NAACP"

1--ash tray--pottery

1--crystal dish for paper clips

1--crystal dish and sponge

BASEMENT

2--steel cabinets (with locks)

several boxes of papers

Set of letter files
1 - steel law
1 - clear forms

MEMORANDUM

To: Roy Wilkins
From: Hugh H. Smythe (Department of Special Research)
Subject: Job Proposal Specifications
Date: December 22, 1948

After thinking over the matter discussed in our conference held in your office on December 21, I am submitting the following for your consideration relative to my continuing service with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

1. When I was offered the position with Dr. DuBois he told me that the salary was low and since he knew I would not accept the job for less than $4,000, arrangements were made otherwise to meet that figure. Under the circumstances, should I be asked to remain with the staff of the national office of the NAACP my minimum salary requirement would be $4,000, regardless of the capacity in which I should be asked to serve.

2. While working in the Department of Special Research I was able to assist persons in other areas in the organization from time to time, although it greatly increased my work load and required my spending considerable extra time in performing these functions. I was glad to do this because I realized that the Association needed someone to perform that type of service. However, with the removal of the books and other reference materials hitherto available in the Department, I can see no way in which I could continue to provide special information in this fashion. It is possible that I could carry out research assignments for various units of the Association by utilizing the facilities of various libraries and other research outlets in the city. This, of course, would mean accepting special assignments from the various departments, and at all times carrying on research on current matters affecting the Association as a whole. Of course, all of this would be done independently of any existing research units of the Association and I would be held responsible only to that particular individual for whom I was working on assignment.

3. When working on a special assignment I would want it understood that I am not to be interfered with and loaded down with work from other departments, since it would be impossible to do a first-rate job if I should be forced to spread myself thin by dabbling in several assignments simultaneously. Naturally, a procedure would have to be worked out to set up a system of priorities of assignments.

4. I would want to have a clear definition of my work including definite specifications of the job which would establish precisely my responsibility and authority. In this way objective criteria could be set up by which it would be possible to evaluate my maximum efficiency and it would enable me to know the limits to which I might exercise my own judgment.

5. Considering the type of work demanded of the job proposed here typing aid is vitally necessary. I could not be expected to perform the functions of this job and do my own secretarial work. In view of this, I would want to have a definite understanding as to the source, specifically, ~~xx~~ I might hold responsible for doing this type of work for me.

6. I would want to know the specific source responsible for supervising the position outlined here and the limits to which that supervision extended.

I would appreciate having your immediate reactions to this proposal so that I might make further plans.

Hugh H. Smythe

cc: Walter White

[N.a.c.P.]

Memorandum from Roy Wilkins

December 22, 1948

Memorandum to Mr. Smythe:

I have your memorandum of today which I will pass on to Mr. White upon his return tomorrow, since the preliminary interview I had with you yesterday was at his request.

Signed,

Roy W.

[N.a.a.C.P.]

memo from **roy wilkins**

TO: Dr.Smythe

December 22, 1948

I will be glad to have you look over this material and let me know what position you think the Association ought to take on some of these items.

23-20-34

Attachment
RW:ELJ

SCHULTE PRESS, INCORPORATED • 119 WEST 23RD STREET, NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
25

Rec'd Dec. 23
10:30 AM

December 22, 1948

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

23-36-35

The Board of Directors approved at its December meeting the report of the Budget Committee which included an item of $2400 to be paid to you during 1949.

ww/mdj

December 23, 1948

MEMORANDUM FROM WALTER WHITE TO HUGH H. SMYTHE:

Mr. Wilkins has passed on to me the memorandum you wrote after he talked with you at my request since I had to be out of the city.

We would like very much to have had you continue with us but unfortunately our budget does not permit us to include the minimum salary you require.

ww/mdj

MEMORANDUM

To: Walter White

From: Department of Special Research, re: Hugh H. Smythe

Date: December 27, 1948

Thank you for your memorandum of December 28.

I will appreciate it if you will be good enough to inform the proper authorities about my severance pay, as per terms in the labor contract by which I am covered, relative my severing connections with the N.A.A.C.P. on December 31.

Hugh H. Smythe

cc: Roy Wilkins

COPY

December 28th, 1948

MEMORANDUM TO DR. SMYTHE FROM MR. WILKINS:

I have your memorandum of December 27 which asks that some steps be taken "relative to my severing connections with the NAACP on December 31."

This is our first notice tht you intended severing connections with the Association on December 31, only four days distant from the date of your memorandum. Doubtless you are aware that the contract with the union requires both management and employees to give notice of a specified length of intention to sever connections.

Moreover, there is in the contract no provision for severance pay as such.

I gather from some of the language in your recent memoranda, as well as the prompt exchange of them between your desk and mine, that you wish this matter to be concluded very shortly. It would seem that the most satisfactory and speedy conclusion would be reached through a conference attended by a representative of the union, yourself, Mr. Marshall and myself prior to December 31.

I am sending a copy of this to the chapter chairman and so far as I know at the moment, I will be available for an appointment tomorrow, December 29, Thursday, December 30, or late Friday morning, December 31, but not earlier than 11 a.m. on that day.

cc: Miss Maybelle Ward, NAACP Chapter Chairman

RW:ELJ

Memorandum

To: Mr. Roy Wilkins

From: Department of Special Research

Subject: Hugh H. Smythe

Date: December 28, 1948

I have your memorandum of December 28. I shall be in your office for the appointment referred to at 11:00 A.M. Wednesday, December 29.

HHS:s

MEMORANDUM

To: Roy Wilkins

From: Department of Special Research (By Hugh H. Smythe)

Subject: United World Federalists, Inc. (Memorandum from R.W. of 12-22-48) I E12, kyC

Date: December 28, 1948

1. (Statement of Beliefs, Purposes and Policies): The purposes and aims of the UWF include much that is basic in the underlying principles of the NAACP, and in the sense that the UWF is pushing for the things to which the Association subscribes the NAACP could go along. A statement from the Association to this effect might be sent to the UWF, should a cooperative relationship be effected.

2. Section listed: PROGRAM ADOPTED, November 14, 1948, Second General Assembly, Minneapolis, Minnesota, item III - Cooperation with other organizations.): The NAACP could agree to cooperate with the reservation that it would have freedom to exercise its own judgment in advancing the program or any part of it of the UWF that it felt that it could do and still remain consistent with its own principles.

   (Same section, page 3, paragraph 3): The Association might permit articles by the UWF to appear in THE CRISIS, with the consent of the editor, of course.

3. (Page 3, Same section, item VIII, Finances): Whatever liaison arrangements are made with UWF it should be made clear that because of current problems involved in raising funds to carry on the work of the NAACP, the Association could in no way be responsible directly for any of the $550,000 fund estimated that is needed to carry on the work of the UWF. But the NAACP could state that it would be glad to help the UWF in any way it could indirectly to achieve its financial goal. A statement relieving the NAACP of any direct responsibility for fund raising which might be interpreted from the sentence, "The raising of this fund ($550,000) must be...the direct responsibility of the entire membership."

NOTE: From the material submitted this would be about as far as the NAACP would want to go along with the UWF at present.

[naacp]

naacp

MEMORANDUM

To: Miss Branch

From: Department of Special Research (By H. H. Smythe)

Subject: Keys of the Department

Date: December 30, 1948

In closing out the Department of Special Research, the following keys are being turned over to your care.

2 Door keys to Room 402

(Nos. 183 and 1835 - Keil - 2-B)

1 Door Key to Room 402

(No. 4B325 - Yale)

2 Desk keys: desk used by Dr. DuBois

(Keys without numbers - Yale)

3 Odd keys tagged E.I.D., NAACP

(These do not fit any doors or desks but were found in the desk used by Miss Diggs during her service with the NAACP)

1 Desk key: desk used by H. H. Smythe

(No. F-221 - Illinois)

CC: Thurgood Marshall

Finance

Memorandum

To: THE NAACP

From: W. E. B. Du Bois

Date: December 31, 1948

Subject: Finance

For extra clerical assistance in my office:

December 1--15,	$44.00
December 15,-31,	48.00
	$92 .00

22-40-145

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

Official Organ: The Crisis

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Henry Lee Moon
Director of Public Relations

25

December
31st
1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing your pay check for December 31, 1948, and in addition, a check to cover vacation time earned to December 31.

I should like to express my regret that circumstances developed which resulted in your leaving the Association as of today.

Very sincerely yours,

Ruth Weyand (per EJ)
Assistant Secretary.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Enclosure--CHECKS
RW:ELJ

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W.E.B. DuBois, Director

Monthly Report: December, 1948

Miscellaneous

The activities of the Director for the month included:

Sent a letter to the NEW YORK TIMES on discrimination in interstate travel which was published in the issue of December 11.

Article: "Recent African Movements for Freedom." AFRICANA, vol. I, No. 1, December, 1948. The journal is published in England as the organ of The West African Society.

Article: "Light on Africa." NATIONAL GUARDIAN WEEKLY.

The activities of the assistant to the director consisted of:

Miscellaneous

Article: "Recent Trends in Negro Land-Grant-Colleges Programs. Accepted for publication in THE BULLETIN of the Association of American Colleges.

Book Review: BLACK ODYSSEY, by Roi Ottley. Review appeared in THE THE CRISIS, December, 1948

Book Review: HARLEM STORY, by John Hewlett. Reviewed for THE PITTSBURGH COURIER.

Letter: "Regional Education" THE NEW YORK TIMES, December 26, 1948.

[NAACP]
[1948?]

42/6C/24

SECRETARIES---------N.A.A.C.P.

Francis Blascoer	1910-11
Mary Ovington	1912 lyear
May C. Nerny	1913-1916
Roy Nash	(A few Months) 1917
John Shillady	1918-20
James W. Johnson-	1918-1931
Walter F. White	1931---

[NAACP]

Return

1. The 15 members of the Committee on Administration are:

Judge Toney	Walter White
Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson	Roy Wilkins
Hubert T. Delaney	Thurgood Marshall
John Hammond	Gloster Current
Channing Tobias	Henry Lee Moon
Mrs. Lillian Alexander	Arthur Spingarn - ex-officio
Rabbi Judah Kahn	Louis T. Wright - ex-officio

Madison S. Jones

42-6C-31

At least two-thirds usually are in attendance at meetings.

Meetings are held once a month

All members have the right to vote (this includes the staff)

2. Hastie, Delaney, and Toney are all appointed to the respective offices they hold. The only elected Negro judge in New York is Judge Rivers.

In regard to other Board Members, the only possible way I can think of to find out their party registeration is to consult William T. Andrews. He should be able to tell you about some of these individuals, since the registeration books are not generally open to the public. A list of Board members is attached.

3. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any copies of the NAACP presidential poll available. Even Mr. Current came in one day and inquired if we had a copy from which he could make some copies. I do remember, however, that Mr. Wallace got more than 70 per cent of the votes, while Truman ran even behind Dewey in the opinion of the staff members here.

Perhaps in your desk, among the papers, you might be able to unearth the copy Mr. Current gave you of this poll, or else it may be among the papers at your home.

The poll was taken just after your return from the trip to West Coast, so that would make it around May, or the latter part of April.

10
C
4

2M-3D-46

Encyclopedia of the Negro
Letters, Present

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

Dr Smythe:

LENCX, Moss Send this letter to McQuiston and copies

to Stokes, Patterson, Logan, Chas. Thompson,

Guy Johnson, Will Alexander, Otelia Cromwell,

Waldo Leland, Mordicai Johnson, Donald Young,

Charles Wesley; Howard Odum, Allison Davis., Shirley

Graham.

Send a covering note saying I have asked you to

send this copy for their information

WEB

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

to Dr. Smythe:

Please have this copied in caps, half pages for readin

Save original for me; send one copy to Streator and put one in the files

WEBD

23-45-1

INFORMATION CONCERNING DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

NAACP Bulletin

New Address: 23 West 26th Street---Pent House

NOT a salaried official of The Council on African Affairs

Member of The Council and Adviser on African Problems

NAACP----& Mr. White----No Comment

Interviews, After February 1, at 23 West 26th Street

Bunche----No Comment

Pension----Ask NAACP

Telephone

Home----look in telephone book

Office--Not yet installed

Future Work------Writing; occasional lectures.

2-29-01

Copies sent out of office.
[N.A.A.C.P. - Hugh Smythe]

W. E. B. Du Bois' Notice of Change of Address sent to:

Mrs. Lillian Waring
Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Miss Bobbie Branch
Metro Auto Trucking Company
Dr. Walter N. Beekman

NEW TIMES AND ETHIPIA NEWS
"WEST AFRICA"
SCIENTIFIC MONTHLY
INDIA TO DAY--INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA
THE P.E.N. CLUB
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY
NEW SCHOOL
NEW REPUBLIC
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES

28-29

WEBD: Resign from NAACP

1948

Board of Directors, NAACP....

As a local member and worker in the NAACP since 1912 I have viewed with horror your second historic note of crass depreciation of the world value of Dr. DuBois, the fighting scholar. You have severed for me among thousands of thinking Americans all ties of trust in and allegiance to the organization.

Pauline A. Young

23-36-36

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS: 1948

42-6c-32

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Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, 234 West 139th Street
Hon. Jane M. Bolin, 555 Edgecombe, Ave.
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Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, 211 W. 56th Street
Miss Marion Cuthbert, ~~140 Bradhurst Ave.~~ Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Mr. Russell W. Davenport, 180 E. 79th Street
Hon. Hubert T. Delany, Domestic Relations Court, 135 E. 22nd Street
(Mr. Douglas P. Falconer, UNRRA-Embankment Bldg., Shanghai, China)
Mr. Lewis S. Gannett, Herald Tribune, 230 W. 41st Street
Mr. John Hammond, 88 McDougald Street
Rev. John Haynes Holmes, 10 Park Ave.
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, 820 Park Ave.
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Mrs. Amy E. Spingarn, 110 E. 78th St.
Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, 36 W. 44th Street
Dr. Channing H. Tobias, 101 Park Ave., (home: 35 West 110th Street)
Hon. Charles E. Toney, 409 Edgecombe Ave.
Palmer Weber, 205 E. 42nd Street
Dr. Louis T. Wright, 218 W. 139th Street
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, 29 Washington Square

Others

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23c-416

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Without letter —
Compliments of Shirley
Graham

[n.a.a.c.p.]

1948

RACE POLICIES AND PRACTICES in Schools of
A SURVEY OF PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN PENNSYLVANIA

CONDUCTED FOR

The Pennsylvania State Conference of Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

and the

Educational Equality League of Philadelphia

by

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Department of Branches
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y.

Rufus Smith
Survey Director

No - Some cities with large Negro populations have segregated schools, while cities with a high concentration of colored residents have non-segregated schools w/ classes

No - Segregation exists in Public Schools in all sections of the State

No XXX - Confined mostly to segregation within schools that are nearly integrated. Some classes all-Negro, some all-white

No XX Segregation is persistent on the elementary school level. It did not persist on the secondary schools

No XX Throughout the systems investigated Negro teachers are confined to instructing classes on the elementary level. No negro teacher held any position over the high school level -

Jan survey Hampton Roads Survey No results shown

FOREWORD

1948

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is pleased to present this summary of its investigation into policies of discrimination and segregation practiced by public schools in thirty-seven communities within the State of Pennsylvania.

The director of the survey personally visited twenty-five municipalities. The remainder of the information was secured through the cooperation of tne NAACP branches in Pennsylvania, the Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, the Educational Equality League and Lincoln University.

We wish to acknowledge the generous assistance of Fern M. Colborn, Dr. Laurence Foster, George Loveland, Reverend J. Garret Kell, Alma T. Faukhauser, Reverend R. S. Lomax, Ralph C. Diebert and George A. Leukel.

Data were gathered through personal investigation by these groups and individuals. In addition, conferences between superintendents, principals, teachers and civic-minded community citizens were conducted. In cities where there was no segregation of pupils in academic training, a careful study was made to determine the extent to which Negro pupils participate in extra-curricular activities.

A summary of the general findings of the survey indicate:

1. Segregated schools persist as a recognized social institution. One third of the school systems under examination still maintain some form of formal race separation between Negro and white pupils.

2. There is a general unwillingness, among the sample communities studied, to integrate Negro teachers into the school system. Only thirteen of the thirty-seven municipalities employ Negroes among their teaching staffs.

3. Where Negro teachers are employed, with the single exception of Pittsburgh, a policy persists which denies them opportunity to instruct other than Negro students.

4. The segregated use of Negro instructors forms the basis for segregating Negro students. Where mixed schools exist, Negro teachers are not employed (Pittsburgh excepted), although a few communities have indicated a willingness to consider the applications of Negro teachers.

5. Although extra-curricular activities are widely integrated, there is a marked lack of participation by Negro students in dramatic and theatrical presentations. It is the opinion of the director of the survey that Negroes are discouraged in this field by administrators.

2. Foreward (Cont'd)

The survey was concerned with existing conditions in public schools. However, discrimination in public accommodations and services against Negroes is much more flagrant. It is inconsistent in some communities to note that although children of all races are integrated into the activities of schools, pupils white and black, must come to the "parting of ways" in restaurants and recreation centers near school buildings at recess and other times.

****

N. B. A note concerning the Carlisle, Pa. school system must be appended here.

Dr. Ray McCullough, president of the school board, announced on April 12th that Negro students would no longer be segregated at the expiration of the present school term. One of the five Negro teachers currently employed will be retained to teach a mixed class.

23c-29-25

RACE POLICIES AND PRACTICES

IN

37 PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN PENNSYLVANIA

23c-29-26.

OIL CITY

The Negro population of Oil City is slightly over 100 as compared with a total city population of 22,000. Schools operate on a 6-3-3-plan, and pupils are sent to schools in their districts. There are mixed schools with an all-white teaching staff. As there are few Negroes of school age, some district schools have no Negro pupils at present, but have had them in the past. All pupils attend a Central Senior High and activities such as orchestra, Hi-Y, etc., are open to pupils regardless of color. It is noticeable that many extra-curricular activities of schools are carried over to the lone YMCA and YWCA which do not segregate and service the entire community.

FRANKLIN

No segregated schools. There are no Negro teachers.

NEW CASTLE

Public schools are mixed. There are no Negro teachers nor any record of any applicant for any teaching position. School activities are open to all pupils.

ELLWOOD CITY

No segregated schools. There are no Negro teachers.

BEAVER

Schools are mixed with an exceedingly small number of Negro pupils as there are approximately 7 colored families in the community. There are additional Negro pupils in the high school -- transported from Van Port. The teaching staff is white.

BEAVER FALLS

No segregated schools. There are no Negro teachers.

NEW BRIGHTON

Pupils are integrated in the schools. There are no Negro teachers.

VAN PORT

Mixed elementary school. Pupils are transferred to Beaver High School after leaving the elementary level. There is an all-white teaching staff.

2. Race Policies and Practices in 37 Public School Systems in Pa. (Cont'd)

ALIQUIPPA

There is one Negro teacher. The Board of Education has no policy of segregation per se. The Negro teacher is in Jones Elementary and Junior High Schools with a 5-B Class of all Negro pupils. Pupils in the 1st four grades of the school are mixed, and when Negro pupils leave 5-B they are again integrated. According to the teacher, she has an all-Negro class because of her preference for such. All pupils attend schools in their districts.

BRADDOCK

Public schools are mixed. There are no Negro teachers. One elementary school, in a heavily populated Negro section, has a large Negro enrollment.

McKEESPORT

There are no segregated schools. The teaching staff is all-white. There have been Negro applicants for teaching positions through the years but none was appointed. The Intercultural Council of McKeesport is doing an effective job in bringing before school children the contribution of all races in society.

WASHINGTON

There are 4 Negro teachers in the public school system. Three of these teachers are in the Third Ward School while one is in the Sixth Ward School. The board has no stated policy of segregation but there exists a segregatory and very confused pattern in the Third and Sixth Ward Schools as described below.

THIRD WARD SCHOOL

Two white and 3 Negro teachers. The enrollment is approximately 150 pupils with an estimate of 30 white. Division of instruction is as follows:

Grade	Race of Pupils	Teacher
1st & 2nd Grades	White and Negro	White
1st & 2nd Grades	Negro	Negro
3rd & 4th Grades	White	White
3rd & 4th Grades	Negro	Negro
5th & 6th Grades	Negro	Negro

Negro pupils of 1st and 2nd grades were shifted to the white teachers because of crowded condition in "Colored 1st & 2nd grades", and small number of pupils in "white 1st & 2nd grades". Normally, the white teacher of 1st and 2nd grades would have white pupils only.

White pupils in the 5th & 6th grades of the Third Ward do not attend Third Ward School as the chart indicates. They attend either the Sixth Ward School or a school in another ward.

3. Race Policies and Practices in 37 Public School Systems in Pa. (Cont'd)

SIXTH WARD SCHOOL

This school goes through 7th grade for all pupils, as do the other elementary schools except the Third Ward School. There is 1 Negro teacher who has an all-colored 7th grade, fed primarily from Negro pupils who have completed 6th grade at Third Ward School. Classes are mixed in 6th Ward School in grades 1 through 6. Negro pupils who complete the 6th grade at Sixth Ward may be placed in the mixed 7th grade (pattern to which they are accustomed) or the all-Negro 7th grade dependent upon the number of Negro pupils transferred from Third Ward School. At present, there is a mixed 7th grade, which receives departmental instruction as do all other 7th grades in the system except the all-Negro 7th grade.

There is a central high school to which all pupils go after completing the 7th grade.

White pupils are never transferred to Negro teachers. There has been at least 1 Negro teacher in the school system for the past 50 years, but the restriction of teaching only Negro pupils has always prevailed.

MONESSEN

All schools are mixed. Extra-curricular activities have no restrictions based on color. Negro students are outstanding in debating, athletics, Hi-Y, Girls' Service Council, Art, Band and orchestra and Year Book Staff. The Superintendent of Schools stated "In order to have our pupils representative of the community, no distinction is made in any activities because of color or creed". He stated that there is no record of a Negro applicant for teaching position.

CHARLEROI

This community has a very small Negro population. Classes are mixed in all schools. There are more Negro pupils in the high school than the elementary schools of Charleroi because they come from nearby townships after completing their elementary work. All extra-curricular activities are open to pupils. There is no record of a Negro applicant for work as teacher as far as the school official interviewed knew, although many Negro graduates of the local high school had excelled in various colleges. He continued, "I have no idea what reaction there would be by the community if there were an application from a Negro".

EAST CHARLEROI (Lock #4)

Mixed elementary and Junior high school taught by a white staff. Pupils go to senior high school in Charleroi. One member of the school board is a Negro; he is a past president of the board.

DONORA

Schools are mixed. There are no Negro teachers; there is at present a Negro student doing practice teaching in one of the schools as pre-requisite for graduation from California Teachers' College. All extra-curricular activities are open to pupils with the exception of dramatics in which Negro students do not participate.

4. Race Policies and Practices in 37 Public School Systems in Pa. (Cont'd)

UNIONTOWN

No segregated schools. One elementary school is 70% Negro by virtue of its district. There are no Negro teachers.

CONNELLSVILLE

There are no segregated schools. No Negro teachers.

GREENSBURG

No segregated schools. Attitude of students of various racial extractions towards each other appears very good. There are no Negro teachers.

JOHNSTOWN

All of the schools are mixed with the exception of one. There is one Negro teacher who has approximately 25 Negro pupils with instruction ranging from grades 1 through 6. The school is located in a suburban district. The superintendent stated that the Board of Education has been debating for the last five years whether the school should be closed and pupils transferred to other schools. The board feels that operating the school is "economically unsound but convenient for the children". The instructor stated that there are 2 white pupils enrolled, but that they were ill at the time of the visit.

The school building is in very poor condition. It is a frame building badly in need of painting. Two rooms are used; one for classroom instruction and the other for a playroom. Outhouses are in evidence. The single good feature of the building is that it has a modern heating plant.

The superintendent stated that the school is all-Negro now due to shift in population of whites in that section (Bethlehem Steel has bought property in the area) and that there exists no policy of segregation.

The Negro instructor is one of the best qualified teachers in the Johnstown system.

Pupils are well integrated in all other schools of the city. It is interesting to note that the Teen-Age Canteen of Johnstown had its beginning approximately 4 years ago in the Central Senior High School and was formed as recreation for pupils of all races and creeds.

ALTOONA

This city has mixed schools. The Negro population of Altoona is less than 1,000; therefore, each school has a very small number of Negro pupils. The superintendent expressed a desire to have a qualified Negro applicant for teaching position. There are no Negro teachers in the school system. The superintendent, formerly Dean of Instruction at California State Teachers' College, was the first to assign Negro students from that institution to do practice teaching in mixed schools.

5. Race Policies and Practices in 37 Public School Systems in Pa. (Cont'd)

CHAMBERSBURG

The schools are mixed, but the teaching staff is white. Activities of the schools, with the exception of dramatics, are open to all pupils. The superintendent stated that "because plays are seldom written into which a Negro student would fit (Negro character parts), colored students do not participate in dramatics". He further stated that "school dances are open to Negro pupils but they do not attend". Citizens of this community defeated an effort of the school board to segregate pupils of elementary level in the '20's.

As to Negro teachers, the Superintendent felt that Chambersburg is not ready for them.

CARLISLE *

There is one segregated school with 5 Negro teachers. It is mandatory that colored pupils of elementary level attend the school. Division of instruction is as follows:

Teachers	Grades
#1	1st
#2	2nd
#3	3rd & 4th
#4 (Principal)	5th & 6th
#5	Retarded Pupils

Total Enrollment -- 120

Music and Art are taught by visiting teachers (white). According to the superintendent, Carlisle has had segregated schools since the Civil War, due primarily to the economic pattern of the city. He stated that he believes integration will be a slow process in Carlisle. The school board has a definite policy that Negro teachers will not instruct white pupils.

A central kindergarten is now planned in which pupils will be integrated. One outstanding white citizen in the community commented that "three of the colored teachers (two are new) are well qualified and could teach my daughter any day".

*N.B. See appendix to Foreword.

YORK

There are two segregated schools. Each has an all-Negro faculty. One school has 8 teachers with a teacher for each grade 1 through 6; the remaining two are special teachers for retarded pupils. The second school has 3 teachers and 1 permanent substitute with instruction going through the 6th grade.

There are some integrated schools on the elementary level. This was accomplished through the NAACP branch effort a few years ago. Segregation is not maintained by means of school districting. If there were, many white pupils would attend the "colored schools" and many Negroes would attend schools closer to their homes.

6. Race Policies and Practices in 37 Public School Systems in Pa. (Cont'd)

PITTSBURGH

There are mixed schools with mixed teaching staffs. At present, most Negro teachers are giving instruction in schools where there is a preponderance of Negro pupils.

DOWNINGTON

Negroes comprise 10% of the total population of 5,000. There is segregation of pupils in the kindergarten and first five grades of the elementary level. Students are generally housed in the same building, but Negro teachers have only Negro pupils in their classrooms. Pupils are mixed after leaving the 5th grade but the faculty is white. It is the feeling of the community that only occasionally do teachers encourage Negro pupils to participate in extra-curricular activities.

COATESVILLE

The school system is purportedly organized on a district basis, but whenever Negro students are sent to Coatesville schools from neighboring areas, they are assigned to segregated school with grades 1 through 9. Negro families residing in the West end of Coatesville (few in number) send their children to the neighboring "white elementary and Junior high school". The senior high school is mixed, and extra-curricular activities to a degree are integrated. Negro pupils have not been admitted to membership in the Hi-Y of the senior high school, but this year all clubs not permitting open membership were denied permission to meet in the school building. Twenty-one of the 135 teachers in the system are Negroes. Facilities in the segregated school are not on par with those in the white schools.

CHESTER

Chester has a population of 70,000, of which 20,000 are Negroes. There is a segregated pattern of education at the elementary school level. Negro pupils may attend "white" schools, but no white pupils attend the "colored" schools. School districts are drawn so that they result in segregated schools. There are 74 Negro teachers in segregated elementary schools. The high school is mixed in student group, but the faculty is white.

MORTON

The pattern of elementary education in public schools is one of segregation. Negro pupils regardless of residence are assigned to a Negro school. This school has 6 Negro teachers with an approximate enrollment of 150. The white school (approximate enrollment of 45) has 3 white teachers. The majority of white students attend a parochial school as the larger number of them are of Catholic Faith. Pupils of Norton attend high school in Swarthmore, Media, etc.

SWARTHMORE

There are no segregated schools. No Negro teachers.

7. Race Policies and Practices in 37 Public School Systems in Pa. (Cont'd)

WEST CHESTER

There is one segregated elementary school with instruction ranging from grades 1 through 6. The Negro school has a staff of 14 teachers and a principal, all of whom are Negroes. Negro pupils pass "white schools" in order to attend the segregated school; and, white pupils living across the street from the Negro school leave the area to attend white schools. The West Chester High School has a mixed student group with a white faculty. Negroes are permitted to participate in extra-curricular activities but do not belong to the Dramatics club or the Hi-Y. The Hi-Y attaches many of its activities to the YMCA of the city to which Negroes do not belong. Students do not participate in dramatics because they object to roles of servants. One Negro family sent their son to a nearby (white) elementary school recently in order to avoid a long distance to the all-colored school. The child was accepted without incident.

KENNETT SQUARE

The Kennett Square Consolidated School encompassed grades 1 through 12. Six of the 61 teachers in the school are Negroes. All Negro pupils in the first 6 grades are taught by Negro teachers - one teacher per grade. Grades 7 through 12 are mixed but the teachers are white. This pattern of segregation on elementary level takes place in one school building. In the high school Negro students generally participate in extra-curricular activities but do not take part in dramatics because of the roles offered.

WILKES-BARRE

There are approximately 750 Negroes in this city with a total population of 87,000. An additional 100 Negroes live in Luzerne County, of which Wilkes-Barre is a part. All city and county public schools are mixed and staffed by white teachers. Extra-curricular activities are shared mutually. Negroes are permitted to join the Hi-Y Club and attend school dances along with white students. The several high school teams are interracial.

The Interracial Committee of the local YWCA has been attempting to secure the appointment of a competent Negro teacher in the school system.

NEW CASTLE

Of New Castle's better than one-half million population only 1200 are Negroes. There are no segregated schools, but no Negro teachers are employed.

Extra-curricular activities are conducted at an interracial level.

DARBY

Darby has a population of about 12,000 persons. Of this number more than twenty-five percent are Negroes. Negro school students number 357, white pupils, 1438. There are no segregated classes or schools. Extra-curricular activities are integrated. However, Darby has no Negroes on its teaching staffs.

8. Race Policies and Practices in 37 Public School Systems in Pa. (Cont'd)

AVONDALE

In this community of a thousand persons roughly three hundred fifty are Negroes. Avondale combines its school system with West Grove. There are a total of four Negro teachers in the grammar grades all of whom are restricted to teaching all-Negro classes. There are mixed classes in the High School, but Negro teachers are not employed there. Reportedly Negro students are discouraged from taking academic subjects.

There are no segregated extra-curricular activities.

TABULAR SUMMARY

	Are there Segregated Schools?	Are there Negro teachers in the school system?	Are Negro teachers restricted to Negro pupils in instruction?	Are extra-curricular activities integrated?
Oil City	No	No	--	Yes
Franklin	No	No	--	Yes
New Castle	No	No	--	Yes
Ellwood City	No	No	--	Yes
Beaver	No	No	--	Yes
Beaver Falls	No	No	--	Yes
Van Port	No	No	--	Yes
New Brighton	No	No	--	Yes
Aliquippa	No	1-Yes (1)	Yes**	Yes
Pittsburgh	No	2-Yes	No	Yes
Braddock	No	No	--	Yes
McKeesport	No	No	--	Yes
Washington	Segregation of pupils within one building	3-Yes	Yes	
Monessen	No	No	--	Yes
Charleroi	No	No	--	Yes
Donora	No	No	--	Yes

9. Race Policies and Practices in 37 Public School Systems in Pa.

TABULAR SUMMARY
(Cont'd)

	Are there Segregated Schools?		Are there Negro teachers in the school system?	Are Negro teachers restricted to Negro pupils in instruction?	Are extra-curricular activities integrated?
E. Charleroi	No		No	--	Yes
Uniontown	No		No	--	Yes
Connellsville	No		No	--	Yes
Greensburg	No		No	--	Yes
Johnstown	Yes	4	Yes (1)	Yes	--
Altoona	No		No	--	Yes
Chambersburg	No		No	--	Yes
Carlisle*	Yes	5	Yes	Yes	--
York	Yes	6	Yes	Yes	--
Downington	Within the same building	7	Yes	Yes	Yes
Coatesville	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Darby	No		No	--	Yes
Morton	Yes	8	Yes	Yes	--
Chester	Yes	9	Yes	Yes	--
Swarthmore	No		No	--	Yes
West Chester	Yes	10	Yes	Yes	--
Kennett Square	Within the same building	11	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wilkes-Barre	No		No	--	Yes
New Castle	No		No	--	Yes
Avondale	Within the same building	12	Yes	Yes	Yes
West Grove (combined with Avondale)					

23-No Reply
12 = YES
1 = NO

11/12 — 12

*N. B.: See Appendix to Foreword
**N. B.: Of her own volition

233-25-34

file "Little Assembly"

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

Letter sent to delegates of L.A.

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Phillipines
Norway
Argentine
Canada
Nicaragua
Peru (with translation)
Netherlands
Greece
Iceland
Belgium
Sweden
Dominica
* China
Siam
Denmark

17 nations answered

23-46-24

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H.E. Dr. Guillermo Belt
Cuban Delegation to the
United Nations
c/o Office of Cuban Embassy
2630 Sixteenth Street
Washington 9, D. C. Colombia 0100

H.E. Dr. Max Henriquez-Urena
Dominican Republic Delegation
to the United Nations
8 East 63rd Street
New York 21, New York
REgent 7-6759

Mahmoud Bey Fawzi
Egyptian Delegation to the
United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 6201
New York 1, New York
LAckawanna 4-8870

Mr. Haddis Alemayehou
Ethiopian Delegation to the
United Nations
c/o Office of Ethiopian Legation
2134 Kalorama Road NW
Washington, D. C.
Adams 2281, 2282

M.Alexis Kyrou
Grecian Delegation to the
United Nations
Hotel Sherry Netherland, Suite 704
New York 22, New York
VOlunteer 5-[illegible]300

H.E. Dr. Tiburcio Carias, Jr.
Delegation of Honduras
Ministero De Relaciones Exteriores
Tegucigalpa, Honduras

Dr. P. P. Pillai
Indian Delegation to the
United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 6212
New York 1, New York
Bryant 9-9144, 9145

Mr. Abdullah Bakr
c/o Consulate General of Iraq
~~16 Riverside Drive~~
New York, 23, New York
~~Schuylerville 5-[illegible]~~

Mr. Frederick A. Price
c/o Consulate General of Liberia
25 Beaver Street
New York 4, New York
BOwling Green 9-8237

Jonkheer J. W. M. Snouck Hurgronje
Delegation of the Netherlands
to the United Nations
10 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 301
New York 20, New York
Circle 6-5889

H.E. Dr. Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa
Delegation of Nicaragua to the
United Nations
c/o Consulate General of Nicaragua
RKO Building
1270 Avenue of the Americas
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H.E.M Alexandre Parodi
French Delegation to the
United Nations
4 East 79th Street
New York 21, New York
REgent 4-6051

H.E. M. Emile Saint-Lot
Hatian Delegation to the
United Nations
Hotel Pennsylvania, Room 281
7th Ave. & 33rd Street
New York, New York
Pennsylvania 6-5000

Mr. Thor Thors
Delegation of Iceland
c/o Office of Legation of Iceland
909 Sixteenth Street
Washington 6, D. C. District 0909

H.E. Mr. Nasrollah Entezam
Delegation of Iran to the
United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 6006
Bryant 9-7778

H.E. M. Camille Chamoun
c/o Consulate Gener l Of Lebanon
12 East 68th Street
New ork, New York
Rhinelander 4-7905, 7906

H.E. Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo
Mexican Delegation to the
United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 6003
New York 1, New York
Bryant 9-4337, 4338

Sir Carl August Berendsen, K.C.M.G.
c/o Consulate General of New Zealand
Empire State Building, Room 6004
New York 1, New York
Wisconsisn 7-1072

Mr. Finn Moe
Norwegian Delegation to the
United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 6228
New York 1, New York
BRyant 9-7640

H.E. Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani
Pakistan Delegation to the
United Nations
c/o Consulate of Pakistan
63 East 52nd Street
New York, New York
Plaza 9-7710

H.E. Sr. Mario de Diego
Panamanian Delegation to the
United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 6304
BRyant 9-2778

H.E. Dr. Guillermo Enciso Velloso
Delegation of Paraguay to the
United Nations
c/o Consulate General of Paraguay
135 Broadway, Room 406 A
New York, New York
COrtland 7-2468

H.E. Dr. Alberto Ulloa
Peruvian Delegation to the
United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 6207
New York 1, New York
CHickering 4-6021

H. E. Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo
Philippine Mission to the United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 6231
New York 1, New York
Longacre-5-2085

Sheikh Asad al-Faqih
c/o Office of Legation of
Saudi Arabia
2800-C Woodland Drive,NW
Washington, D. C.
Adams 7000,7001

H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithayakon
Siamese Delegation to the
United Nations
c/o Office of Siamese Embassy
2300 Kalorama Road
Washington, D. C.
North 1849

Mr. Gunnar Hagelof
Swedish Delegation to the
United Nations
63 East 64th Street
New York 21, New York
REgent [redacted]7304

H.E. Faris Bey el-Khouri
Syrian Delegation to the
United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 4512
Bryant 9-3237

H.E. Mr. Selim Sarper
Turkish Delegation to the United Nations.-- Empire State Building
Room 6300 A
New York 1, New York
LOngacre 3-2466

Hon. M. T. Andrews
Delegation of the Union of
South Africa to the United Nations
405 East 42nd Street
Fifth Floor
New York, New York
MUrray Hill 3-1100 Ext. 358

The Rt. Hon. Sir Alexander Cadogan
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
United Kingdom Delegation to the
United Nations
Empire State Building, 61st Floor
New York 1, New York
Longacre 5-2070

Prof. Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat
Delegation of Uruguay to the
United Nations
Hotel Brittany
55 East 10th Street, Room 1506
GRamercy 3-2010

H.E. Dr. Carlos Eduardo Stolk
Delegation of Venezuela
to the United Nations
Empire State Building, Room 6232
New York 1, New York
LOngacre 5-0226

33C-46

office copy

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

W.E.B. DuBois, Director

1948

To be added to annual report of the dept.

The department has rendered service to outside agencies and filled more than 1,500 requests for information. The following include some of the agencies served during the year 1948, but do not in any way represent all the various outside organizations that have called upon the department for service.

Columbia University

Long Island University

Elizabeth City State Teachers College (N.C.)

Washington University (St. Louis, Mo.)

Yale University

Johns Hopkins University

Cornell University

Harvard University

Hampton Institute

University of Illinois

Labor Unions

Liberia Company - Stettinius Associates

ASCAP

African Academy

Crowell-Collier Publishing Company

United Somali Party (Cardiff, Wales, Eng.)

West Indian Labor Party

Life Magazine

Doubleday & Company

Jefferson School

National Broadcasting Company

Mutual Broadcasting Company

National Republican Club

Swedish Newspaper Syndicate

Lincoln University (Missouri)

Alfred University

Dillard University

City College of New York

Harvard University

Dickinson College

Brooklyn College

Fisk University

Indiana University

Tulane University

Worcester, Mass., Race Relations Council

Americana

Schomburg Collection (N.Y. Public Library)

African Council (Council on African Affairs

General Education Board

Pan Africa (England)

American Jewish Committee

Macmillan Company

Protestant Episcopal Council

Workshop for Cultural Democracy

Columbia Broadcasting System

Progressive Party Headquarters

American Friends Service Committee

Johannesburg Express (South Africa)

35-2-185

Dartmouth College

Notre Dame University

Middlebury College

Radcliffe College

Unive sity of Houston

New York University

Oberlin College

A & T. College in N. C.

National Alliance Postal Employees

Council for Democracy

Voice of America Broadcast of U.S.St.Dept.

Roanoke Branch NAACP, Virginia

Great Neck, L.I. NAACP Branch

Huntington, L.I., Branch NAACP

Information to Cuba, Nigeria, Togoland
Liberia, South Africa

25-2-186

The Youth Councils of the NAACP are compact groups of young people ranging in age from 12 to 25 who have organized themselves against intolerance, discrimination and prejudice. They are making themselves felt in their communities. They are planning to achieve and to lead. Take your place in the ranks of those fighting to make America a better place in which to live by outlawing vicious practices that will keep us from enjoying the liberty and freedom that is ours.

YOU'RE NOT TOO YOUNG

JOIN NOW

.....1948

.....

.....

.....

YOUTH MEMBERSHIPS

Under 21 years of age, $.50; $2.00 Crisis membership. Over 21 years of age minimum, $1.00; $2.50 Crisis membership. Sustaining, $5.00; Sponsor, $10; Contributing member, $25; Donor, $100; Life Membership, $500.

428

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Advises that You

Plan . . .

by preparing yourself for use of the ballot,

by reading such books as "Races of Mankind" and "An American Dilemma."

Achieve . . .

by fighting discrimination in Education, Recreation and Jobs,

by Demonstrating to authorities your awareness of, as well as dislike for, segregation.

Lead . . .

by organizing large youth groups,

by affiliation with the Youth Department of the NAACP.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN, *President*
DR. LOUIS T. WRIGHT, *Chairman of the Board*
WALTER WHITE, *Secretary*
ROY WILKINS, *Assistant Secretary-Editor, The Crisis*
ALLAN K. CHALMERS, *Treasurer*
THURGOOD MARSHALL, *Special Counsel*
RUBY HURLEY, *Youth Secretary*

[NAACP, 1948]

YOU'RE NOT TOO YOUNG

. . . To Plan

. . . To Achieve

. . . To Lead

32.25.16

Youth Department
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

You're Not Too Young to Plan

The life of a new-born baby is often planned by proud parents. In many instances, however, youth plans for itself at an early age. Orville Wright planned to fly long before he was twenty. At 16, Booker Washington planned the school he would build and the Philosophy he would teach.

Nothing is more important to achievement than well laid plans that are followed through. As an American Youth who must soon assume responsibility for leadership you must begin now to plan your part in building a new world order out of the present day chaos.

You're Not Too Young to Plan

You're Not Too Young to Achieve

Before he was 30, Alexander the Great, King of Persia, had conquered the then known world of the early centuries. Edgar Allen Poe had written "The Raven" and other poems before he was 23. Joe Louis was heavy-weight boxing champion of the WORLD at 24 and Phillipa Schuyler had published her first composition at the ripe old age of 12.

Any number of young people have achieved fame along many lines of endeavor before reaching 25. History books are full of youth who, through a desire to achieve, reached the pinnacle of success at an early age.

You're Not Too Young to Achieve

You're Not Too Young to Lead

Charles W. Anderson was a political leader in Kentucky at 24, Ellis Arnall was Governor of Georgia at 35 and Harold Stassen was Governor of Minnesota and too young to run for President at 32. A. Phillip Randolph had organized Pullman Porters before reaching 35.

Today as never before, the world is in desperate need of capable leadership. Especially is this true of minority groups who must develop an awareness of changing conditions as well as develop leaders to cope with these changes. You have a challenge to meet, to lead your people to a bright and glorious future.

You're Not Too Young to Lead

Department of Special Research

Mailed January 15, 1948

[N.A.A.C.P.]

REVIEW COPIES OF NAACP U.N. PETITION SENT TO:

DAILY PAPERS

N.Y. Times

N.Y. World-Telegram

N.Y. Herald Tribune

N.Y. Post

N. Y. PM

N.Y. Sun

N.Y. Journal-American

Chicago Post

Chicago SunTimes

Chicago Tribune

Atlanta Constitution

San Francisco Chronicle

Detroit Free Press

Des Moines (Iowa) Register

Louisville Courier-Journal

Nashville Tennessean

23-19-7

MONTHLIES AND OTHERS

Atlantic Monthly

Foreign Affairs Quarterly

Journal of Negro History

American Sociological Review

American Journal of Sociology

Journal of Negro Education

Quart.Review of Higher Education Among Negroes

The Nation

Harper's Monthly

Negro Digest

American Mercury

Ladies' Home Journal

The Annals

Saturday Evening Post

American Hist.Review

The New Republic

NEGRO PAPERS

Chicago Defender

Pittsburgh Courier

Norfolk Journal & Guide

Afro-American

Oklahoma Black Dispatch

Houston Informer

Amsterdam News

People's Voice

Kansas City Call

Los Angeles Tribune

Atlanta Daily World

Louisville Defender

The Michigan Chronicle

Philadelphia Tribune

Boston Chronicle

Daily papers

Times

World-Telegram

Herald Tribune

~~Post~~

~~P.M.~~

Sun

~~Journal-American~~

Chicago Post

~~Chicago Sun-Times~~

~~Chicago Tribune~~

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

~~San Francisco Chronicle~~, San Francisco Calif.

~~Detroit Free Press~~, Detroit, Mich.

~~Des Moines (Iowa) Register~~, Des Moines, Iowa

~~Louisville Courier-Journal~~, ~~Louisville, Kentucky~~

~~Nashville Tennessean~~, Nashville, Tenn.

NEGRO papers

~~Chicago Defender~~

~~Pittsburgh Courier~~

~~Norfolk Journal & Guide~~

~~Afro-American~~

Oklahoma Black Dispatch

~~Houston Informer~~

~~Amsterdam News~~

~~People's Voice~~

~~Kansas City Call~~

~~Los Angeles Tribune~~

Atlanta Daily World

~~Louisville Defender~~

The Michigan Chronicle

Philadelphia Tribune

~~Boston Chronicle~~

Weeklies

~~New Republic~~

The Nation

Monthlies and others

~~Atlantic Monthly~~

~~Amerikon Hist. Rev.~~

Harper's

~~Annals~~

~~Foreign Affairs Qtly~~

~~PAN AFRICA~~

~~Negro Digest~~

~~Jour. Negro History~~

~~Amer. Sociol. Review~~

~~Jour. Amer. Sociology~~

Ladies' Home Journal

~~American Mercury~~

~~Qtly Rev. Hi. Ed. Am. Negro~~

~~Jour. Negro Education~~

~~Sat Eve Post~~

~~Commonsense~~

Every member of United Nations Assembly
1st class mail with copy of petition.

write out

~~To bring to your attention,~~ We are enclosing a copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, which is, in printed form, the petition formally presented to the Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, by the NAACP on October 23, 1947.

Because of the nature of this document and its significance for international peace, we are interested in having it circulated and made available to people in other countries. In this regard, would you please inform us whether you would arrange ~~be willing~~ to have it printed in (language) and published in your country?

This petition was conceived and prepared with the purpose of having the matter it treats discussed and acted upon by the United Nations. We feel that it is a step in the right direction that will have positive ramifications for the good of oppressed people throughout the world. ~~In this connection,~~ We would like to know if you would be willing to recommend to the proper authorities of the United Nations that the subject of this petition be placed on the agenda of the ~~XXXIXXXXXIXX~~ General Assembly at its next meeting?

May we hear from you at your convenience? Please accept our thanks and appreciation for your courtesy and assistance in this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

35-2-214

I am interested in having my ~~comments~~ placed on your housing list as mentioned by Mrs. ~~Murphy~~. The quarters consist of single & room furnished apartments.

~~If~~ an interview is required before having residence placed on your approved list, ~~please~~ I should be glad to have your representative call at my home. I can be reached by ~~telephone~~ at WAshington 6-6901 or LEhigh 4-3905.

I would appreciate your consideration of this request.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am

W. E. B. Du Bois

N.A.A.C.P. PETITION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

CHRONOLOGY

1946

Aug. 1 Suggestion for a petition, on the rights of the Negro Minority in the United States, sent to the Secretary of the NAACP from Director

17 Estimate of cost of preparing such a petition sent to Secretary

Sept. 9 Board of Directors approved plan and budget for petition

17 Notice of Board's approval sent to Director of Special Research

23 Preliminary outline of petition sent to Secretary

25 Director met with Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and spoke with him concerning the petition the NAACP planned to bring before the General Assembly of the United Nations

Oct. 1 Notice of acceptance by collaborators in drawing up the petition sent to the Secretary

Nov. 21 Memorandum to the Secretary, concerning the Director's consultation with members of the Secretariat of the U.N.

Dec. 10 Board of Directors of the NAACP voted to publish the petition

1947

Jan. 6 Complete draft of petition sent to Secretary (mimeographed form). Copies sent to Messrs. Marshall, Perry, Morris Ernst, Ralph Bunche, Spingarn, Louis Wright and Governor Hastie

7 Director wrote Macmillan Company, publishers, sending along a copy of the petition, to ascertain the interest of the firm in publishing it

15 Memo to Secretary, from the Director, concerning Mr. Spingarn's suggestions for revision, necessitating a meeting of the three lawyers who collaborated on the petition

16 Director contacted Leslie Perry, of the Washington office of the NAACP, re developing an additional chapter for the petition relative to employment, education, housing, and health. Mr. Perry wrote acceptance on January 17

17 Director suggested procedure re schedule of petition---from technical preparation through presentation to Assembly in September. Memorandum on this sent to Secretary

22 Final tentative copy of petition sent to Secretary for approval

27 Mr. Spingarn sent a copy of the petition, with an accompanying letter, to Mr. John P. Humphrey, Director, Division of Human Rights of the U. N.

1947 (cont'd)

Jan. 27 The Director attended the first meeting of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, escorted by Dr. Ralph Bunche, Director, Division of Trusteeship. The Director, at this time, delivered to Mr. John P. Humphrey, Director, Commission on Human Rights, the NAACP petition concerning the Denial of Human Rights to Americans of Negro Descent in the United States of America. The Director requested Mr. Humphrey to intercede on behalf of the NAACP in regard to having the petition placed on the Agenda of the General Assembly. Mr. Humphrey promised to have the petition entered on the list of petitions received, if possible, and to let the NAACP know in the future if the NAACP could approach the Commission directly with its complaint.

29 The Director informed the Secretary that further action concerning the petition was to be left to the latter's office

29 Contributors were sent copies of the edition of the petition presented to Mr. Humphrey

Feb. 19 Mr. Humphrey wrote the NAACP, through Mr. Spingarn, acknowledging receipt of a petition mailed to him on January 27. He expressed regrets that the Human Rights Commission was powerless to take action regarding any complaints concerning human rights. Mr. Humphrey promised to to bring the communication to the attention of the Commission at its next session

March to July Period spent in revising and reworking petition

Aug. 27 Copies of revised petition sent to collaborators, the Secretary, and others for final criticisms and suggestions

28 Suggestion sent to Secretary re formal presentation of document to officials of the United Nations. Time suggested was first or second week in September

Sept.11 Director wrote Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, concerning a date for the formal presentation of the NAACP petition to U.N.'s General Assembly

18 Secretary sent a copy of petition to Madame Pandit of the Indian delegation to the U. N. Mme. Pandit replied on September 25, offering to do whatever she could to help the NAACP in its effort to bring the document before the General Assembly

19 Letter, with copy of petition, sent to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, asking her help in bringing the matter before the General Assembly

22 The Secretary and Director sent a jointly signed letter to Mrs. Roosevelt, enclosing a copy of correspondence sent to Mr. Lie of the U. N., seeking her good offices in furthering the presentation of the petition to the General Assembly

29 Reply received from Mr. Lie's office, by William H. Stoneman, Special Adviser, suggesting that the NAACP contact Mr. Humphrey of the Division of Human Rights relative to presentation of the petition

1947 (cont'd)

Sept.29 Director sent letter to every delegation of the United Nations requesting their aid in bringing the petition to the attention of the U. N., and asking for a conference in this regard (Each delegation was sent a copy of the petition at this time)

29 Letters of acknowledgment from delegations begin to come in. India first to respond and offered to do whatever the delegation could

Oct. 6 Director sent a letter to Mr. Humphrey, in accordance with instructions from Mr. Lie's office (See September 29 item above, page 2)

9 Letter from Mr. Humphrey stating that unless a member government takes up the matter and proposes the circulation of the NAACP petition, there is no machinery currently available enabling the Secretariat to place the petition before either the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council

9 Letter from Warren Austin, chief of the United States delegation, saying it was impossible for the delegation to try and place the petition on the agenda since the deadline for such things had passed (Deadline was September 30, according to Mr. Austin's letter)

11 Copies of petition released by NAACP publicity office to newspapers

12 New York Times released first story on petition to be presented by the NAACP to the United Nations, in its Sunday edition

14 Director again wrote Mrs. Roosevelt asking her good offices to facilitate presentation of petition to the U. N.

14 Letter from Director to Mr. Warren Austin, chief delegate of the United States delegation, requesting the aid of the delegation in getting the document before the General Assembly

14 Another letter from Director sent to Mr. Humphrey concerning the presentation of petition, since Mr. Humphrey had not replied to previous communication of October 6 (See above)

16 Letter from Director to Mr. Stoneman of Mr. Lie's office, asking his aid in facilitating arrangements for presentation of the petition

16 Letter from Director to Mr. Humphrey asking reconsideration of the acceptance of the petition, and suggesting as possible dates for the formal presentation October 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, and 29. The Director requested, also, that if it were possible, that Mr. Lie or a representative from his office be present at the presentation

16 Copies of petition sent to President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State George Marshall

17 Mr. Humphrey notified the Director that formal permission had been secured and the petition could be officially presented on October 23, at twelve o'clock noon in the offices of the Commission on Human Rights

20 Notice of formal presentation sent to collaborators

1947 (cont'd)

Oct. 21 Letter from Warren Austin of United States delegation, in reply to a letter from the Director of October 14. Mr. Austin informed the NAACP that he was refering the petition to the Department of State for appropriate consideration

23 The N.A.A.C.P. Petition, A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress, prepared for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People under the editorial supervision of W. E. B. DuBois and collaborated on with Earl B. Dickerson, Milton R. Konvitz, William R. Ming, Jr., Leslie S. Perry, and Rayford W. Logan, formally presented to the United Nations in ceremonies at Lake Success, New York, in the offices of the Commission on Human Rights

28 The Director wrote Mr. Austin of the United States delegation, asking his aid in getting the petition before the General Assembly, either in 1947 or 1948

1948

Jan. 14 Petition printed in booklet form (delivered to NAACP on this date)

15 Review copies of the petition sent to newspapers and magazines

22 Printed copies of petition sent to every member delegation of the Interim Committee ("Little Assembly"), with a letter from the Director, requesting their aid in placing the petition on the Agenda of the General Assembly at its next meeting, and asking the possibility of having the document translated, published, and circulated in their respective countries

31 Replies to Director's letter of January 22 (immediately above) begin to come in. China first to reply.

CRom - NAACP Petition

1946

on the rights of Negro minority in the US.

Aug 1 - ~~Text~~ Copy of petition sent to Secy of NAACP
" 17 Extract of Exec Proc. & petitioner sent to Secretary
Sept 9 - Board approved plan as subject for petition
" 17 - Memo of Comments of same sent to Dir of Special Research
" 23 - Preliminary outline of petition sent to the Secretary
" 25 - Dir. Hoskins and Mr. Fryque his Secy - Re: UN re petition
Oct 1 - Notice of acceptance by collaborators sent to the Secretary
They include: Messrs Kaufz, Dickerson, Logan. Mr Houston unable to send an account of pressing work but recommend Minig, who been contacted immediately
Nov 21 - Memo re Dir's conversations with Secretariat of UN concerning the petition sent to Secretary
Dec 10 - Board approved ~~to~~ letter to submit petition ~~to~~

1947

Jan 6 - Copy/draft of petition sent to Secretary in mimeograph
Copies sent to Messrs. Marshall, Berry, Morris Ernst,
INSERT Ralph Bunche, Spingarn, Dr. Wright and Gov. Hastie
15 - Memo to the Secretary from the Dir concerning Mr. Spingarn's suggested mechanism necessitating a meeting of ~~the~~ three lawyers who collaborated on the petition
17 - Suggested procedure re: Submission of petition — from technical preparation through presentation to Assembly in Sept — sent to Secretary
22 - Final tentative copy sent to Secretary for approval
~~Insert~~
27 - The Director attended 1st meeting of Comm on H. Rights of the UN, ~~accompanied~~ by Dr. Ralph Bunche of the UN Trusteeship Div.. The Dir, ~~at~~ this time, delivered to Mr. John Humphrey, Dir of the C on H Rts the NAACP petition concerning the Denial of Human Rights to Americans of Negro descent. Mr. Humphrey was read by the Dir to entered in regard to having the petition placed on the Agenda of the U.N. Mr. Hughes promised to have

36-7-154

Jan 16. – Dir. contacted Leslie Berg. of Washington
Mkdg. Office in regard to developing an
educational chapter for the protection of Copyright, etc,
Inquiry Pamphlet,

— 17 – Mr. Berg accepted responsibility to do the chapter

— 27 – Mr. Spingarn sent petition, accompanied by letter,
to Mr. John P. Hughey, Dir, Human Rights
Div of the U.N.

MACMillan
Jan 7 – Dir. wrote Macmillan Co, publishers, asking a copy of MSS,
& certain interest of the firm in publishing it
31 – Macmillan sent a reply letter
Feb 6 – Macmillan wrote Dir. in reference to Agreement
7 – Dir. wrote Macmillan re the read MSS to be sent them
at a later date
20 – Macmillan wrote for more certain information concerning
March 14 – read MSS and agreed that possible publication date
April 11 – Letter to Macmillan Co. from Copyright and
press, date of publication
May 27 – Dir. received copy from Macmillan
Sept 7 – Letter from Macmillan – with recommendations from
two colleagues enclosed
Oct. 31 – Letter from Dir. to M – regarding manuscript

it entered on the list of petitions received if possible, and to let us know in the future if the NAACP envisaged presenting the Commission.

Jan 29 - Dir informed Secty that further action on petitions was to be left to the Division's discretion.
Contributions sent to cities petitions presented to Mr. Hughes

BACK

Aug 3 Press release in regard to Petitions

Aug 27 - Copies sent to collaborators, the Lawyers, and others for further criticisms and suggestions

Aug 28 - Suggestions sent to Secty re final presentation of document to Members of U.N. Suggested timing, list of Missions of Secty.

Sept 11 - Dir wrote Trygve Lie, Secty Gen. UN asking date for
Oct 18 final presentation of NAACP petition to the U.N. and UN
BACK 19 Present Endorsement of Petition to Mr. Lie,

22 - The Secy to Dir. sent a party to said Secty to Mrs. Roosevelt seeking her good offices in effecting the presentation of the document to the U.N.

36-7-155

29 - Reply from Mrs. Roosevelt, by Wm H. Stevens, Special Assistant, suggesting the assistance and contact Mr Hughes, Dir of H.R. Div of U.N. Sec. who was not in a position to receive the NAACP delegation

BACK

Oct 6 - Letter sent by Dir to Mr. Hughes in accordance with instructions from Mrs. Roosevelt

BACK

Oct 14 - Cable sent by Dir to Mr. Hughes, Secy Gen. of U.N. Hughes had been contacted for his

BACK

" 16 - Letter from Dir to Mr. Stevens, Mrs. Roosevelt's office asking his aid in facilitating arrangements for presentation of petition

the rejection Sept. 25, going to Rep.

Sept 19 - Mr. Humphrey of H. R. Dir wrote NAACP, thanking Mr. Springarn, acknowledging receipt of petition mailed to him on Jan 27. He expressed regrets that the HRC was powerless to take actions regarding any complaints concerning human rights. Mr. Humphrey promised by the Commission to the allegations

Sept 19 — Dir sent letter to Mrs Roosevelt, by that time copy of petition, God Mrs in urging it to the attention of the UN, and asking for copies in NAACP received

Sept 29 — Letter from delegation begins to come in acknowledging receipt of petition, & that further reply

Oct 9 - Letter from Humphrey stating that UN is a member govt takes up the matter and passes the resolution of the NAACP petition, there is no machinery at present whereby individuals can bring the petition before the UN or the Economic & Social Council.

Oct 9 - Letter from Warm Springs - U.S. delegation not set up as to date & deadline (Sept 30) for such things

Oct. 11 - Copy of petition released by NAACP publicity

Dec to newspapers

Oct 12 - NY Times released story on petition to be presented by NAACP to UN in its Sunday edition.

Oct 14 - Letter from Dir to Mrs Roosevelt asking her consent to be sent to Paris to present petition

Oct 14 - Letter from Dir to Mr. W. Austin, chief delegate of U.S., asking the aid of the delegation in getting the document before the G. A.

Oct 14 - Letter from Dir to Mr Hughes asking ~~for the~~ reconsideration of acceptance of petition, and suggesting as possible dates for final presentation Oct 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29 ~~&~~ also requested, if possible, the appearance of Mr. Lee or a rep from his office at the final presentation

16 - Copies of petition sent to Pres. Truman & Secy of State Marshall

17 - Mr Hughes granted permission for final presentation on Oct 23 at 12 o'clock noon

20 - Notice of final presentation sent to collaborators

21 - Letter from Warren Austin of US delegation in reply to Dir letter of Oct 14. Mr. Austin ~~says~~ ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~will~~ ~~present~~ the Group's ~~petition~~ will appear petitions to D of State for appropriate consideration

23 - Petition formally presented to U.N. in accordance with Art 56 thereof, in the Declaration of Human Rights

27 - Memo to Secretary concerning publication of petition in languages other than English

Nov 3 - Memo to Secy re pub. by Macmillan.

28 - Dir write Mr. Austin of US delegation asking his aid in getting the petition before the G.A. either in 1947 or in 1948

1948

Jan. 14 - Petition printed, as booklet form, and delivered to NAACP

15 - Petitions sent to American delegation & Mrs Roosevelt (with Assembly) of U.N. with letter from Dir, requesting aid in placing it on Agenda of G.A. at next meeting, and asking the possibility of having it translated, published, and circulated in the respective countries

Jan 31 - Reply to Jan 30 from Austin to Dir. Austin to appear

Ltr 4 - NCAPE gives its comments on helping the NAACP ~~get to~~ ~~Reject Ltr #4~~ get the P. before the UN

96-7-157

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(44)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

23-29-34

BA152 PD=TDB ROXBURY MASS 15 320P

1948 FEB 15 PM 3 54

[NAACP-Boston Youth Council]

DR DUBOIS

=MECHANICS BLDG=

GREETINGS TO DR DUBOIS A FRIEND OF YOUTH ON BEHALF OF THE BOSTON YOUTH COUNCIL NAACP:

=CHARLES H LEWIS PRESIDENT.

Holmes-Coyle to

NAACP.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[N.A.A.C.P.- Brooklyn.]

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"Dedicated to Service"

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

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THOMAS H. WATKINS
MARY ZEITLIN

January 25, 1948

NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, New York

Attention: Dr. Dubois

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Enclosed you will find a letter from the United Nations which was sent to our office by mistake.

Very truly yours,

Eleanor Landy

Eleanor Landy
Corresponding Secretary

[N.A.A.C.P. - Chicago, Univ. of]

Memo

48

The Reynolds Club
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois
September 20, 1948

Dr. W.E. Burghardt DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

4-09-24

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am President of the University of Chicago chapter of the NAACP and Im writing you in that capacity.

We are informed that a conflict has arisen in the national organisation and that your contract will not be renewed as a result of your part in this conflict.

It is unreasonable to suppose that the members of our chapter will not wish to go on record as taking some position relative to this controversy. In order to provide them with adequate opportunity and adequate material to reach a sound decision the Executive Committee of this chapter wishes to have all parties submit their views in writing. Therefore I request that you outline your case and send it to us as soon as possible.

Respectfully,
Matthew Holden, II
Matthew Holden,II
President, UofC-NAACP

[n.a.a.c.p.]

EASTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Wilkie Building
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

April 10, 1948

BRANCHES IN CONNECTICUT, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, RHODE ISLAND, MASSACHUSETTS, NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, VIRGINIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

9:00 - 9:30 A.M. - REGISTRATION

10:00 A.M. - PRELIMINARY REMARKS - Roy Wilkins

DISCUSSION OF NATIONAL OFFICE PROGRAM AND NAACP OBJECTIVES FOR 1948

NAACP Legislative Program and Political Action for 1948 - Leslie Perry

Armed Services and Veterans Affairs - Jesse O. Dedmon

Youth Work - Ruby Hurley

Publicity and Fund Raising - Henry Lee Moon

12:30 P.M. - LUNCH

2:00 P.M. - COMBATING EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION - Clarence Mitchell

3:30 P.M. - NATION-WIDE MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN - Miss Lucille Black

5:30 P.M. - ADJOURNMENT FOR SUPPER

7:00 P.M. - NAACP LEGAL REDRESS AND CIVIL RIGHTS Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry

23-23-6

NAACP GREAT NECK BRANCH

GREAT NECK
MANHASSET
PORT WASHINGTON
N.A.A.C.P.

32.25.19

Third Annual Concert

At

TEMPLE BETH EL AUDITORIUM
Old Mill Road and Middle Neck Road
Great Neck, L. I.

SUNDAY, JUNE THIRTEENTH — NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT

BANK OF GREAT NECK

Opposite the Village Green

GILLIAR DRUG CO.

MIDDLE NECK ROAD

GREAT NECK

Greetings

The Great Neck, Manhasset, Port Washington Branch N. A. A. C. P. once again welcomes the opportunity of greeting its many friends, potential followers and loyal members on the occasion of its second annual musical program.

32.25.20

"Unity of purpose and alertness to cause," is still our Watch Word as we reaffirm our stand to uphold the platform of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its fight for freedom and justice for all people under our democratic form of government.

Never was there a time in the history of our country when the need for national and racial "Good Will" was more paramount. This can be brought about only through group activities which promote programs to better the economic, civil, political and social conditions of the minority groups.

Any worthy organization such as ours, functions effectively only when it has the support of the Community in number and interest. If you are not already a member, fall in line; no better time than now.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation in the past five years since our Branch had its start and may we be assured of your continued future support by contacting the Branch Secretary concerning your membership. Call Great Neck 2414. Your moral support makes our Branch Organization all the more beneficial to the Community.

THE COMMITTEE

LIONEL ALDRICH, *Chairman*

Program

Star Spangled Banner

Invocation . . . . . *Rev. J. B. Watts*

Welcome Remarks . . . . . *Mrs. A. S. Cutler*

Soprano Selections . . . . . *Miss Emerly Marsh*

Piano Selections . . . . . *Mrs. Agnes McNeil*

Alto Selections . . . . . *Mr. Robert Miller*

Soprano Selections . . . . . *Mrs. Hilda Gilman*

"The N.A.A.C.P." . . . Hugh H. Smythe ~~*Mr. Clarence Jones*~~
National Office

Regional Vice-Presidents . . . *John H. Klugh, Jamaica, L. I.*
Lionel H. Aldrich, Great Neck

State Conference President . . . . . *James E. Allen*

Lift Every Voice and Sing

"CANADA" Lee

Membership Appeal . . . . . *Rev. L. S. McNeil*
Branch President

Selection (5 yr. old) . . . . . *Tommy Griffin*

Contralto Selections . . . . . *Miss Lillian Brandt*

Negro Spirituals . . . . . *Mrs. Daisy Barton*

Benediction . . . . . *Rev. Frank R. Brown*

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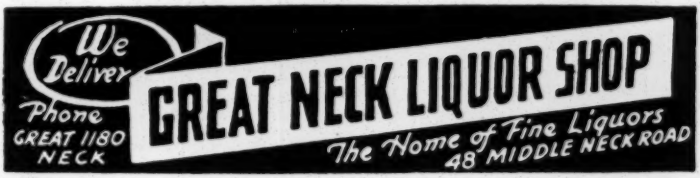

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[N.A.A.C.P. - Jackson, Miss.]

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William H. Watkins
Chairman of Board of Trustees

Under the auspices of

The American Missionary Association

Office of the President

Tougaloo, Mississippi

October 7, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

23-39-81

Your communication relative to the NAACP was read with deep concern. It is my fondest hope that you will not separate yourself from the organization at this nor at any future time. From my point of view, we can ill afford to be without the light of your leadership and experience, along with that of Mr. White, in times like these. To those of us in benighted Mississippi, and elsewhere, I am sure, the thought of your leaving the NAACP, is a most regrettable one. May we dare express the hope that separation from the NAACP will be that last thing ever to come to pass. To do so would bring irreparable loss to us all, measured from any point of view.

May I call your attention to the fact that many of the things for which you and others have fought for many decades, are now coming to fruition right here in Mississippi where I was born and reared. For instance, Negroes are voting in the Democratic Primaries here in Jackson and in other spots about the state, in fairly large numbers; a young woman who is a graduate of this college, has filed suit for equalization of salaries in the schools of Jackson, ~~xxxxx~~ and other suits are coming up. You are aware of the fact that it was Negroes of Jackson, of whom I am one, that initiated the fight against Bilbo, even tho others got hold of our thunder--I mean the NAACP started the fight that put an end to Bilbo. Leaders like you, over a period of years, put the fight in us. Because of the untarnished leadership of men like you, some of us have resolved to stay down here and "fight it out if it takes us all summer." Don't desert us at this stage. To do so, will be tragic.

I have enclosed a clipping from the Jackson Daily News of two days ago to contrast this type of leadership with the true and tried from men like Mr. White and Yourself. This so called New Jersey "leader", has been writing about our group for some time. We have consistently ignored it until now. He attracted the attention of Governor Fielding Wright, second in command among the Dixiecrats, and it is reported that this Negro was in Jackson a few days ago. Now this is the type of trash that sells us down the river. We thank God for the NAACP and for everyone of you men who have held high its principals for forty years. May the fight never falter or fail.

With every good wish for you and your work, I am

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) W. A. Bender
College Minister and Assistant to the President

President--The Jackson Branch, NAACP

[n.a.a.c.p.]

Memo . . .

1948

To Dr. Smythe

from Edna Johnson for
ROY WILKINS

I am attaching a letter from the MAMARONECK, N. Y. branch, requesting your photograph and biographical material for publicity purposes in connection with your speaking there on February 6.

Will you take care of this? Please return the letter to me, for our files, when you have finished with it.

23C-45

Attachment
elj
uopwa/19

SCHULTE PRESS, Inc. CHelsea 2-0326 2-0327 119 W. 23rd ST., NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

[n.a.a.c.p. – Mamaroneck, N.Y.]

Lecture
Smythe

January 22, 1948

Miss Lillian Seely, Chairman
Education Committee
Mamaroneck Branch, NAACP
853 Mamaroneck Avenue
Mamaroneck, New York

Dear Miss Seely:

In accordance with instructions in your letter to Mr. Roy Wilkins, I am sending you some biographical material concerning Dr. Hugh H. Smythe, who is to address your group February 6, 1948.

Dr. Smythe is a research specialist in the Department of Special Research. He has studied in six American universities and colleges and holds degrees from three, including the doctorate in social anthropology from Northwestern University.

He has traveled extensively in the United States doing research analysis and field investigation in positions with the American Youth Commission, the Association of Negro Land Grant Colleges for Cooperative Social Studies, Emerson Branch YMCA of Evanston, Illinois, and in doing independent research in Missouri. He has had educational work experience at Atlanta University, Morris Brown and Tennessee State Colleges, and Fisk University. Also, he has worked as an associate editor for a professional magazine, and as a program director of an interracial camp for underprivileged children in Chicago, and as an administrative assistant. He has done some writing and publishing, principally articles in professional journals both here and abroad. Prior to his coming to the NAACP, he had been both student and worker with Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.

Hoping this meets your needs, I remain

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Y. Murphy
For Dr. Smythe

LYM:

Enclosure: photograph of Dr. Smythe
Please return, after use, if not needed.

[Notes for letter]

194

DATA ON HUGH H. SMYTHE

Dr. Smythe is a research specialist in the Department of Special Research of the NAACP. He has studied in six American universities and colleges and holds degrees from three, including the doctorate in social anthropology from Northwestern University.

He has traveled extensively in the United States doing research analysis and field investigation in positions with the American Youth Commission, the Association of Negro Land Grant Colleges for Cooperative Social Studies, Emerson Branch YMCA of Evanston, Illinois, and in doing independent research in Missouri. He has had educational work experience at Atlanta University, Morris Brown and Tennessee State Colleges, and Fisk University. Also, he has worked as an associate editor for a professional magazine, and as a program director of an interracial camp for underprivileged children in Chicago, and as an administrative assistant. He has done some writing and publishing, principally articles in professional journals both here and abroad. He is currently writing a weekly column for the CONNECTICUT CHRONICLE, published in Hartford.

Prior to his coming to the NAACP, he had been both student and co-worker with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, present director of the special research department of the association.

[1548?]

Negro Art Festival

In Celebration of National Negro History Week

Painting, sculpture, literature, music, dramatics

++++++++

FRIDAY EVENING, FEB. 6

Mamaroneck Avenue School Auditorium

MAMARONECK AVENUE, MAMARONECK, N. Y.

AT 8:15

BARRY AV. A. M. E. ZION CHURCH, BARRY AV., MAMARONECK

++++++++

LIONEL C. BARROW

Master of Ceremonies

Teacher in New York City Public School System

DR. HUGH H. SMYTHE, Guest Speaker

Research specialist, Department of Special Research at the national office of the N. A. A. C. P.

Sponsored by

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32.25.12

[N.A.A.C.P. Mamaroneck, N.Y.]

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853 Mamaroneck Avenue
Mamaroneck, New York

February 16, 1948

23C-415

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 15, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

In behalf of the officers and members of the Mamaroneck Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I wish to thank you for your participation in our Negro Art Festival held onFriday evening, February 6. Your presence at our meeting contributed greatly to its success.

We sincerely hope that our work will merit your continued interest and support.

With deep appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Seely
Chairman
Education Committee

February 18, 1948

Miss Lillian Seely
Mamaroneck NAACP
853 Mamaroneck Avenue
Mamaroneck, New York

Dear Miss Seely: I want to thank you for your note of the 16th, and for sending me the clipping of the Festival held by the branch. It was thoughtful and gracious of you to do this. Please know that I enjoyed immensely the affair and hope that I shall have the opportunity to meet again with all the nice people who helped to make my visit interesting and valuable. Please convey my regards to the members of the branch for their hospitality.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr Hugh H. Smythe
National Assn. for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40 St.
N.Y.18, N.Y.

[n.a.a.c.p., Mamaroneck]

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The Legal Fight for Equal Rights

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MARIAN PERRY
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THEODORE LESKES
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The Mamaroneck Scene

Entertainment by
SAMMY HAYWARD
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Friday, April 2, 1948

8:30 P. M.

MAMARONECK AVE. SCHOOL

Sponsored by Mamaroneck Branch
National Assoc. for Advancement of Colored People.

[N.A.A.C.P. New. Eng. Reg. Conf.]

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21 Edgemont St., Springfield 9, Mass.
15

March 9, 1948

8478 MAR 11 '48

Gloster B. Current
Director of Branches
N.A.A.C.P.,
New York, 18 New York.

Dear Sir:-

The New England Regional Conference will hold its annual conference in Worcester, Massachusetts on the third and fourth of April 1948 at th e K.of C.Hall.

I was instructed to notify the national office and they would send a representative to at least the mass meeting on sunday afternoon.

If at all possible will you kindly send the name of the speaker for they plan to start sending the program to printer next week.

It is hoped I have stated this correctly as I was told by the president this is the proper steps to follow on matters of this nature. I knew it not SIR so I plead guilty.

Sincerely Yours,

John F. Lopez

JFL/jc

[N.A.A.C.P. N. Eng. Reg. Conf.]

23-20-57

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Editor, The Crisis
MARY WHITE OVINGTON *Treasurer*

145 Transit Street Providence, R.I.

March 20 1948

984 MAR 22 '48

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Miss Blanche Hamilton
Secretary to Mr. Current
NAACP
20 W. 80th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Miss Hamilton:

Your letter of March 18th to Mr. Lopez was turned over to me as chairman of the programe planning committee for the Annual Conference of the New England Regional Conference.

Our programe for Sunday April 4th is at 3 P.M. and the theme for said programe, in fact for the whole conference is Problems of Minority Groups of the World and we would like for Mr. Smythe to take the Negro angle. We have a Jew to speak on the Jewish angle, an East Indian on the India angle and a Chinese to talk on the Chinese angle. In trying to time the programe we are hoping that all the speakers will be ablato limit themselves to between fifteen and twenty minutes.

We will look forward to some interesting imformation from Mr Smythe.

I will send you a programe as soon as they are off the press.

Sincerely yours,
William M. Newsom
Assistant Secretary &
Chairman Pr ograme Planning.

[n.a.a.c.p.]

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23-20-78

April 9, 1948

Mr. Hugh Smythe
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

The Worcester Branch and the New England Regional Conference wish to express their sincere gratitude for your participation in our convention. In our estimation it was an overwhelming success.

We feel that your contribution has enabled us to progress one step further toward the solution of our problems.

Yours truly,

Louis T. Hopkins Jr. Sec.

Nelson W. Ambush V. Pres.

[NAACP-University of New Mexico]

~~March~~ March 16-23
#125

Lecture

Box 94, Univ. of N.M.
Albuquerque, New Mexico
February 23,1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
N.A.A.C.P., 20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

2-33-03

Dr. DuBois :

I can think of no greater honor than to be able to extend to you an invitation from the University of New Mexico chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to appear on its recently inaugurated "Artists Series" through which we hope to show to the students the Negro's contributions in all fields of human endeavor.

The University of New Mexico is a very liberal school, in fact, a large percentage of the faculty members are members of the N.A.A.C.P. However, there is discrimination ---- the fraternities are very biased and mar the University's otherwise perfect record as far as race relations are concerned. The school is controlled by a group of unscrupulous regents whose only thoughts are for personal gain and enrichment. As a result the school is becoming more and more a political football to be thrown around at the whim of the regents.

If you cannot accept our invitation at this time, we shall be very happy to open our doors to you at your earliest convenience. We do not have any Negro faculty members now, but the way has been paved for get - ting some in the future. The faculty members have been questioned as to whether they favored the hiring of qualified Negro instructors and they overwhelmingly supported the suggestion, even the new president has given us his approval. Paul Sanford, a 23 year old Negro lad who is working on his doctorate degree at the University has been selected by the Univer - sity chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. to apply for a teaching fellowship next fall.

Please notify me immediately if you can accept our invitation for an engagement any time during the next month.

Sincerely yours,
Herbert Wright

Herbert Wright
Box 94, University of New Mexico,
Albuquerque, N.M.

Will speak for you March 22
W.E.B. Du Bois

[NAACP - University of New Mexico]

lecture

March 8, 1949

Mr. Herbert L. Wright
Box 94, University of New Mexico
Albuqerque, New Mexico

Dear Mr. Wright:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, inquiring of his availability to speak for you at the University of New Mexico, has been forwarded to him. The Doctor is on an extended lecture tour and will not return to New York until the middle of April. However, since I thought you would like an early reply I dispatched your letter immediately. As soon as I have heard from him I will write you.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[NAACP - University of New Mexico]

lecture

UNITED STUDENT CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

Rev. Henry H. Hayden
Minister to Students

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23.38.138

March 17, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2504 South Harvard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very happy to know you are coming to Albuquerque and we await word as to what time you will arrive in town. Let us know whether you will come by plane or train.

Your lecture will be on the University campus but will be open to townspeople. Since there is much interest in education in the community we would like to suggest some topic such as "Can the University Educate Leaders for Democracy ?" However out of your own rich background in education you will feel free to use any topic you find suitable.

We are anx ous for you to meet the local N.A.A.C.P. leaders and help plan a strategy for this area. New Mexico, being a border state, has no uniform pattern of discrimination or segregation. However, outside of Albuquerque , the prevailing practice conforms to the attitudes of Texas. Most of the towns and cities have two school systems even though the State bill of rights denies in theory such discrimination. Your wise counsel will be welcomed as we plan an attack against this hypocrisy.

Looking forward with eagerness to your visit,
I am

Very sincerely yours,

Harlesh Wright

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WESTERN UNION

(53)

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PRESIDENT

1201

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VIA PA SANFRANCISCO CALIF 15

DR W E DUBOIS=

2104 ~~2105~~ SOUTH HARVARD BLVD LOSA=

:ALBUQUERQUE CHAPTER MAACP REQUEST MARCH 22 AND WILL COVER EXPENSES WIRE ANSWER=

:HERBERT WRIGHT.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

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HUGH H SMYTHE= 20W40

DEPT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH NAACP 20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

WIRE PHOTO MATS OF DR DUBOIS IMMEDIATELY=

DORIS WOOD ROOM 56 HOKONA HALL UNIV NEW MEX

ALBUQUERQUE.

12-33

lecture

56..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[NAACP- University of New Mexico]

March 26, 1948

Lecture

Mr. Herbert Wright
Box 94
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

23-38-139

My dear Mr. Wright:

I arrived at my stopping place in Texas and am well and rested. I want to thank you very much for the hard work which you did in arranging for my lecture at the University of Mexico. I know how much of disappointment and frustration such a voluntary service always brings to the unselfish worker. It was an opportunity for me to speak at the University and I am thankful for all you did, and hope you will also thank your colleagues and co-workers.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP - Philadelphia Branch

Philadelphia Branch OF THE

National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People

Official Organ: "The Crisis"

Fellowship Commission Building
260 S. 15th ST., PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.
Phone, PEnnypacker 5-3470

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Lecture

23-38-119

June 8, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Special Research, N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This comes to advise you of time and place of your engagement with the Philadelphia Branch on Wednesday evening, June 16, at 8:00 P.M. The meeting will be held at Jones Tabernacle A.M.E. Church, 2021 W. Diamond St., in North Philadelphia. If you plan coming direct to the Church, I would suggest that you detrain at the North Philadelphia Station. In fact, I would be happy to meet you if you will advise time of arrival.

Our meeting is being advertised as a "Mass Civil Rights Rally", and we expect to fill the Church to its capacity (2,500) with people interested in this theme.

Thanking you, I am

Cordially yours,
LeRoy E. Carter
LeRoy E. Carter
Assistant Field Secretary

LEC:al

Arrive North Philadelphia at 7:02
June 16. I want to return
same night

[NAACP- Roanoke]

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Membership

Lecture, 1948

October 5, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23-48-20

Dear Sir:

There are certain prominent civic and religious leaders of this city all of whom are members of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored. These citizens wish to sponsor a mass meeting and would like to know if you could serve as the speaker.

Please inform us by suggesting probable dates.

Yours truly

James R. Johnson, Jr.

James R. Johnson, Jr.
President

JRJ/ph

#48.60 RT + Publ

[N.A.A.C.P.-Roanoke, Va]

October 19, 1948

Mr. James R. Johnson, Jr.
408 Gainsboro Avenue, N.W.
Roanoke, Virginia

23-15-21

My dear Mr. Johnson: I have your kind invitation of October 5. I could speak in Roanoke November 16, 17, or 18, or November 23, 23, or 24. The meeting should not be a Branch meeting but a mass meeting. My charge for this service would be $125.00, out of which I would pay all expenses except board and lodging while in Roanoke.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[N.A.A.C.P. - Roanoke, Va.]

lecture

408 Gainsboro Road, N. W.
Roanoke 17, Virginia
October 25, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y

23-48-82

My dear Doctor DuBois:

I have your letter of October 19. The sponsoring committee has set the date of the proposed mass meeting for November 18.

We will comply with your request for $125.00 and will also provide for your board and lodging at our expense while here.

Very sincerely yours,

James R. Johnson Jr.
Chairman

Pearle Hussey
Secretary

NOV. 19

I should arrive in Roanoke Va Southern RR at 9.30 AM Nov. 17. I must speak at Petersburg at 1 pm o clock Nov 19. Will you find the best way for me to make this trip — by railway with pullman or by airplane. ~~Kindly inquire at this end make reservations let me hear from you~~ I think probably I'll leave & take a midnight train the 18th & you make reservation & buy me a ticket. Let me hear from you

[N.a.a.c.p. - Roanoke, Va.]

October
~~November~~ 27, 1948

Mr. James E. Johnson, Jr.
408 Gainsboro Road, N. W.
Roanoke 17, Virginia

(3) 8 - 48 - (3)

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I shall arrive in Roanoke via Southern Railroad at 9:30 A.M., November 17. I must speak at Petersburg at 1:00 P.M. on November 19. Will you please find the best way for me to make this trip--by railway with pullman or by airplane.

I think probably I'll have to take a midnight train on the 18th, if so make reservation and buy me a ticket.

Let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

[N.A.A.C.P. – Roanoke, Va.]

Lectures

28-48-40

408 Gainsboro Road, N. W.
Roanoke 17, Virginia
November 2, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of October 27 received and ~~and~~ your every request shall be filled.

Please send a mat for our publicity, if you have one.

And ablige.

Yours truly,

James R. Johnson, Jr.

I must know exact time of arrival at Petersburg so as I inform the College Please over

[N.A.A.C.P. – Roanoke, Va.]

lecture

November 24, 1948

23.26.14

Mr. James R. Johnson
408 Gainsboro Road, N. W.
Roanoke, Virginia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

May I thank you very much for my pleasant reception in Roanoke and the opportunity of talking to the excellent audience which you furnished.

Will you especially thank Mr. and Mrs. Plenty for their hospitality.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Add Smythe - 248

South Carolina Conference

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NAACP

EUGENE A. R. MONTGOMERY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
1719 TAYLOR STREET
COLUMBIA, S. C.

248

September 23, 1948

Dr. Smythe, Special Research Assistant
National Ass'n for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23C-45

Dear Dr. Smythe:

When I conferred with you at the National Office the latter part of July you gave me some assurance that I could at least attempt to get some information from you.

Our State Conference is in Orangeburg October 9th through 11th. After then I shall be speaking at the colleges and various other groups plus our branches. We also plan some radio broadcasts. I would appreciate it very much if you could send me some references for topics you think would help to influence students and radio audiences. At present most of my outline is centered around civil rights and human rights.

Thanking you very much for your assistance, I am,

Very truly yours,

Eugene A. R. Montgomery

Eugene A. R. Montgomery
Executive Secretary

xxxxxxxxxx

September 29, 1948

Mr. Eugene Montgomery
South Carolina Conference NAACP
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Montgomery:

Since I am still on vacation your letter of the 23rd has just come to my attention and I hasten to reply to the best of my ability under the circumstances. Since I am away from my office and will not return until the middle of October, I am rather handicapped, but on the basis of information in your letter I am suggesting some material which should be of some help to you, considering your topic of civil rights and human rights.

PEOPLES OF THE EARTH, Edwin Embree, Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, Inc.

AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, W.E.B. DuBois, editor, the NAACP Petition to the United Nations, October 23, 1947.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO. C.S. Mangum. University of North Carolina Press.

NEGRO YEAR BOOK:1947. J. Guzman, editor. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

WASHINGTON WITCH HUNT. Bert Andrews. Random House.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AND THE NEGRO. Frank Loescher. Association Press.

HOLLYWOOD ON TRIAL. Gordon Kahn. Boni & Gaer.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. Arnold Rose. Harper & Brothers.

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA. Gunnar Myrdal. Harper & Brothers.

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT AND THE NEGRO. Bernard Nelson. Catholic University Press of America.

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS. President's Committee on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office.

ONE NATION. Louis Stegner and Editors of Look. Houghton, Mifflin.

PHYLON magazine. Third quarter, 1948. See article by W.E.B. DuBois on "The Negro: 1917-1947" - an excellent source for your topics.

REVOLT OF THE SOUTH AND WEST. A.G. Mezerik. Duell, Sloan & Pearce.

HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR BOOK, 1947. Commission on Human Rights. United Nations.

THE CONSTITUTION AND CIVIL RIGHTS. Milton R. Konvitz. Cornell University Press.

THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS. Joseph D. Lohman. Chicago Park District.

MINORITY PROBLEMS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. Theodore Brameld. Harper & Brothers.

Of course, you must have the several handbooks put out by the NAACP on justice in the courts, how to go about protecting your civil rights when discriminated against, the pamphlet on education, the Ingram case and the like. In these you will find some concisely stated information that should be of real help.

Since your letter is not quite clear as to whether you want just "references" such as suggested above, or also want some suggestions for possible topics to discuss, I am going to send along a list of topics which are suggestive of things to discuss as you travel about the state talking to branches, students, and public audiences.

THE ROLE OF THE RURAL NEGRO IN SOUTHERN LIFE

NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS: FUTURE LEADERS OF THE RACE

THE NEGRO VOTE: HOW TO USE IT

WHAT THE NAACP CAN DO FOR YOU

THE NEGRO FARMER AND THE NAACP

JIM CROW MUST BE MADE TO FLY AWAY

TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND THE NAACP

THE ECONOMICS OF THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO

THE SOUTH--SERF OF THE NORTH

THE RACIAL SCENE IN THE SOUTH AND THE ROLE OF THE NAACP

THE NEGRO AND LAW IN THE SOUTH

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT AND THE NEGRO

IS THERE A ROAD TO FREEDOM IN THE SOUTH FOR THE NEGRO?

All Smythe - 2nd

South Carolina Conference

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EUGENE A. R. MONTGOMERY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
1719 TAYLOR STREET
COLUMBIA, S. C.

2nd

September 23, 1948

Dr. Smythe, Special Research Assistant
National Ass'n for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23C-45

Dear Dr. Smythe:

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Our State Conference is in Orangeburg October 9th through 11th. After then I shall be speaking at the colleges and various other groups plus our branches. We also plan some radio broadcasts. I would appreciate it very much if you could send me some references for topics you think would help to influence students and radio audiences. At present most of my outline is centered around civil rights and human rights.

Thanking you very much for your assistance, I am,

Very truly yours,

Eugene A. R. Montgomery

Eugene A. R. Montgomery,
Executive Secretary

U. S. SUPREME COURT DECISIONS THAT HAVE AFFECTED THE STATUS OF NEGROES

NEGRO LEADERS: YESTERDAY AND TODAY

AN APPRAISAL OF SOUTHERN NEGRO LEADERSHIP: NEGRO AND WHITE

THE NEGRO SCHOOL EXECUTIVE AND HIS DUTY AS A COMMUNITY LEADER

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ETIQUETTE OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH

NEGRO MIGRATIONS: MUST WE LEAVE THE SOUTH?

WILL THE SOUTHERN NEGRO EVER ACHIEVE FULL CITIZENSHIP?

THE NEGRO, THE DOLLAR, AND THE WHITE MAN

THE NEGRO: A SOUTHERN ASSET

THE FUNCTION OF NEGRO NEWSPAPERS IN THE SOUTH

THE INFLUENCE OF NEGRO NEWSPAPERS ON SOUTHERN CUSTOMS AND MORES

DEMOCRACY, THE SOUTH, AND THE NEGRO

SOUTH CAROLINA, THE NEGRO, AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

NEGRO YOUTH: FOUNDATION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE SOUTH

THE NEGRO IN SOUTH CAROLINA: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

JOBS IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE NEGRO

F.E.P.C.-- WILL IT FIT THE SOUTH?

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE NEGRO TODAY

AN INTERCOLLEGIATE INTERRACIAL PROGRAM IN SOUTH CAROLINA

THE HOUSING SITUATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE NEGRO

ONE NATION: IS THE SOUTH AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE UNITED STATES?

DEMOCRATS, DIXIECRATS, WALLACE, THE REPUBLICANS AND THE NEGRO

GOVERNOR THURMOND AND HIS ATTITUDE ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

Developing some of the above should prove appealing and should be of help in enlightening the people to whom you speak. If I can be of further help, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

South Carolina Conference

J. M. HINTON, PRESIDENT, COLUMBIA
DR. B. T. WILLIAMS, 1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, SUMTER
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NAACP

EUGENE A. R. MONTGOMERY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
1719 TAYLOR STREET
COLUMBIA, S. C.

October 8, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue Apt.-2c
New York 35, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

23C-4/5

Thanks very much for your letter of September 29th containing the needed information. It is just what I need. Our State Conference begins tomorrow and we have been on the go preparing for it.

I will write you later when I have more time to work on your suggestions.

Sincerly yours

Eugene A. R. Montgomery

Eugene A. R. Montgomery
Executive Secretary

[N.A.A.C.P. South Carolina Conference]

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EUGENE A. R. MONTGOMERY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
1719 TAYLOR STREET
COLUMBIA, S. C.

December 21, 1948

23-20-22

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Special Research Department, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Very recently the Southeren Governors with the cooperation of educators adopted a regional school plan to which NAACP is most bitterly opposed. In the coming months as I tour the state this plan will be one of my chief topics for discussion. Newspapers here do not print too much information in our favor. It is therefore necessary that I have the facts, figures and information to present our view point intelligently. I am therefore requesting you to send me such material if it is available to you or tell me where I might find it.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene A. R. Montgomery

Eugene A. R. Montgomery
Executive Secretary

EARM.clp

December 27, 1948

Mr. Eugene A. R. Montgomery
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Montgomery:

I have your letter of the 21st and it is good to see that you are planning to "educate" the people in regard to the regional school plan. In order to build up your case you will have to put together material from many sources. As you know, not much has been done by the NAACP, except the legal side has been given attention. What you should do, aside from the material I am going to enclose, is consult some of the following:

Write THE REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION, INC., 201-101 Building, Marietta Street, Atlanta 3, Georgia. Do not use NAACP letterhead but write on plain paper as an interested citizen and ask them for a copy of the pamphlet, Regional Council for Education.

Then consult Public School Expenditures in the United States, by John K, Norton and Eugene S. Lawler, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1944. This will give you a background for expenditures and show differentials as regards whites and Negroes.

Write to Mr. Robert A. Thompson, Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Ask him for all the material he has, both on the regional plan and on what the League is doing in re ard to education locally. Tell him I asked you to write.

Consult such works as Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order; Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma. Write Charles H. Thompson, editor, Journal of Negro Education, Howard University, Washington, D. C. and mention your subject and ask for references.

Ask William N. Smith, Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C., for a copy of his mimeographed study of the survey made among Negro educators in regard to the regional plan.

Write to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, 808 Perdido St., New Orleans, La., and ask them for a copy of The Southern Patriot, Vol. VI, No. 9, containing the survey made among southern white state university faculty members.

Write to the Southern Regional Council, 69 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, and ask them for data on the regional plan and consult their annual reports, especially those since 1940 for material pertaining directly and indirectly to your subject.

Consult the New York Times, Sunday, December 26, 1948. See the editorial page for "Letters"---there is a long one with material you will find quite useful. Also, consult the following editions of the New York Times: December 4, "South is Planning Segregated Study;" December 13, "Regional Schools Mapped in South;" October 21, "Educators Battle on School Bias Set;"

Write to Benjamin Fine, Education Editor, The New York Times, Times Square, New York, N. Y. Ask him for materials or references to materials in the Times concerning your subject.

Write to Fisk University, Dept. of Social Science, Attention Dr. Preston Valien, and ask them for what information they have available.

Consult the issues of MONTHLY SUMMARY OF RACE RELATIONS, published by Fisk University, for material on the subject.

Meanwhile, should I think of anything else, I shall be sure and send it along to you. Whatever you do, drive hard on this subject and keep the talks plain and simple but pointed as can be.

Incidentally, after January 1, write me at 2225 Fifth Avenue, 2-C, New York 35, New York. And for further information in connection with the NAACP, write to Miss Julia Baxter, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. I leave the NAACP on December 31*

Hope your Christmas was most happy and that you are anticipating a pleasant New Year. Wishing you all the best, I am

Very cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Enclosures

* The Association refused to meet my salary terms---and they have been paying me far too low a salary, for too long---when I discussed the matter knowing that something had to be done with the leaving of Dr. DuBois on December 31.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 W. 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK BRANCH
4 COTTAGE PLACE

White Plains, N.Y.

OFFICERS

DR. ERROLD D. COLLYMORE, PRES.
REV. JAMES A. ARNOLD, 1ST VICE PRES.
MISS BESSIE EMANUEL, 2ND VICE PRES.
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ENTERTAINMENT
MR. EDMOND BERNARD
MEMBERSHIP
MISS DORIS GALLIMORE
PROGRAMME

23-25-53

February 23, 1948

9:00 p.m.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Just two minutes ago I finished reading 'The Horizon' of P. L. Prattis in the Pittsburgh Courier. Mr. Prattis has been good enough to remind us that this is your birthday. I imagine that while I write this you are making ready to enjoy the festivities at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York City. Many of your friends will share with you these happy festive hours, and do honor to themselves by doing honor to you.

I wish to share in this hour, and to tell you of my inexplicable appreciation of what you have done to make for our race a place in America and the world that we could hardly have achieved without the vision and the courage and the indomitable struggle that you have brought us before and since the days of the Niagara Movement.

I am sure that all the members and friends of our branch here join with me in wishing you a

H A P P Y B I R T H D A Y

Sincerely and cordially yours,

Errold D. Collymore, D.D.S.

Errold D. Collymore, D.D.S.

President

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

Rev Ernest Johnson

Whitestown

N. J.

23a-14

WHITESTOWN
MAY
8
A.M.
1948
N. J.

UNITED POSTAGE
3 CENTS 3

N. A. A. C. P.

20 West 40th St.

New York 18, N. Y.

To Mr. Walter White

[N.A.A.C.P. – Whitesboro, N.J.]

Rev. Ernest Johnson

Whitesboro, New Jersey
5/7/48

N.A.A.C.P.

16072 MAY 10 '48

New York N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am writting you concerning a field worker. I would like to have a good speaker for the second Tuesday in June, the 8th. One of the best you got, because I want to put new life in my branch. I hope it will be possible for you to send me one on that date at 8 P.M. at St. Stephen A.M.E. Church. If it is possible will you let me hear from you so I may advertise it, please send me the persons name. Whitesboro N.J. is the place. Please let me hear from you we are out for a member ship campaign for the first of June.

Yours truly,
Rev Ernest Johnson - President
A.W. Spaulding — Sec.

1

Hugh Smythe

May 24, 1948

Reverend Earnest Johnson, President
Whitesboro Branch N.A.A.C.P.
Whitesboro, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe of this office is to speak for you on June 8. Will you be good enough to send him directions for coming to Whitesboro by train so that he may reach there in time for his address at 8:00 P.M. Also, he must leave the evening of June 8, after the meetings, as he has an engagement for June 9. We shall depend upon you to make arrangements to see that will be able to leave on time.

With thanks for your courtesy, and looking for an early reply, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Henry E. Murphy
For the Department

HEM:s

[N.A.A.C.P. - Whitesboro, N.J.]

H. Smythe

Whitesboro N.J.

6/2/'48

Dear Sir!

The best way to get here is by train. Contact the ticket agent at the Pa. Station, he will give you your time schedule to get to Wild wood Junction, ~~to~~ or come by bus and contact the bus terminal. My telephone no. is Wildwood 2-3777. You can call and I will meet you at the station.

Yours truly

Rev. Ernest Johnson - President

Mr. G. L. Spaulding - Sec.

[NAACP.. Univ. of Wisconsin]

Lecture

University YMCA
Madison 5, Wis.
January 10, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

22-33-15

Our University of Wisconsin NAACP chapter is planning a membership campaign for the week following National Negro History Week destined to break all precedents set by any institution in the nation.

For Negro History Week we have outlined a great program. To insure the success of both of our projects we ask you to open the first annual University of Wisconsin Negro History Week as our main speaker Tuesday evening, February 10, 1948 at 8:00 p.m. in the Memorial Union theatre.

Marking Negro History Week at Wisconsin has more significance today than at any other time. For the first time this campus has become conscious on a large scale of the need for a better understanding of minority groups.

Fraternities and sororities, our most conservative element, have joined forces with our local campus chapter to instruct their elements in the fallacies of racial prejudice. Other campus groups have intensified their efforts to combat discrimination.

Wisconsin is really showing its wares.

The history week program will also include coffee hour discussions, radio programs, book reviews, and forums. Churches will participate with sermons discussing racial relations. Local newspapers, theatres, and book stores are aiding in our publicity campaign.

Therefore, Dr. DuBois, we need the added substance of your zest and intelligence. Come here to give this state and school a decisive push in the right direction.

Cordially yours,

Sorry - Am speaking in Wyo. New England, Feb 9 to 19

James E. Jones
Negro History Committee
NAACP

January 19, 1948

Mr. James E. Jones
University YMCA
Madison 5, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Jones: Your letter of January 10, sent to Dr. DuBois at Atlanta University, has just reached this office. The Doctor appreciates the honor of your invitation and wishes it were possible to accept. However, from February 9 to 19 he has engagements in and about New York and New England and he will, consequently, be unable to appear for your group. Perhaps at another time he may be in a position to serve you and please feel free to call upon him.

With regrets and thanking you for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

(OAKLAND BEACON)

22-33

N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Gentlemen:

Would you please send me, at your earliest convenience, a photo mat, or a glossy-finished photograph of Dr. DuBois.

Thank you very much.

Pele Edises
THE BEACON
711 Myrtle Street
Oakland 7, California

[OAKLAND Beacon]

February 16, 1948

Pele Edises
THE BEACON
711 Myrtle Street
Oakland 7, California

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find one glossy print photograph of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. This is being sent in accordance with your request of February 11.

Would you be good enough to send us clippings of any publicity matter [redacted] in your advertising of his appearance in Oakland? With thanks for your courtesy,, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Enclosure

February 3, 1948

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Obrig
150 Knollwood Avenue
Mamaroneck, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Obrig: I have just received your invitation to join you in your home following the NAACP Branch Festival on February 6. I shall be happy to come and anticipate the experience with pleasure.

With thanks for your kindness, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

February 9, 1948

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Obrig
150 Knollwood Avenue
Mamaroneck, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Obrig: This is just a note to tell you how much I enjoyed visiting your home Friday evening, February 6. You are the kind of people that we wish the world had more of, for it would be a better place in which to live.

I have told my wife about you, and when the weather becomes milder I hope that we shall have the opportunity to come and see you.

Again thanking you for a most pleasant evening, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

230-45

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois M.A.,Ph.D.,Ll.D.,D.L

~~Atlanta University~~

~~New York~~

20 W 40th St

New York N.Y.

Second fold here

GIVE
RED CROSS
FUND

ATLANTA
MAR 31
4 PM
1948

Sender's name and address:

Patrick N. Odili,
Senior Engineer's Office,
Posts and Telegraphs Dept.,
Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa.
PWO.

To open cut here

COPY Reg for Info.

PATRICK NWOYE ODILI,
SENIOR ENGINEER'S OFFICE
Posts and Telegraphs,
Lagos, Nigeria, West Af
March 8th, 1948.

Sir,

I have a desparately keen desire to proceed to the United States of America to take a complete course in the humble career of leather industry with all its ramifications - from leather tanning to the sewing of shoes and other footwear, bags, purses, belts etc.

I shall be highly pleased if you can tell me where to direct my application; or, in the alternative, if you refer this letter to the Management of a sound leather working establishment so that the Manager can reply me directly stating the conditions of service that he can offer to me, the length of apprenticeship, finance, availability of accommodation and other terms that may be considered to be of value to a Colonial aspirant that I am. I am quite prepared to enter into any contract as may be occasioned by this affair.

22-39-76

I am a Junior Cambridge Certificate holder, was a Primary School Master for a record time and am at present a Nigerian Civil Servant. I am quite prepared to resign my present appointment immediately arrangements are concluded for me to sail to the U.S.A.

Should you give me every possible assistance to settle this matter, I shall not only be grateful but also endeavour to give satisfactory services.

I remain, Sir,
Yours faithfully,

P. N. Odili
.....

CH 3-1838

PATRICK NWOYE ODILI
SENIOR ENGINEER'S OFFICE
POSTS and TELEGRAPHS
LAGOS, NIGERIA, WEST AFRICA

April 8, 1948

Mr. Patrick Nwoye Odili
Senior Engineer's Office
Posts and Telegraphs
Lagos, Nigeria
West Africa

Dear Mr. Odili:

Your letter of March 8 to Dr. DuBois has just arrived. The Doctor is out of the city and is not due to return for sometime yet. Since I know that your are anxious to have an early reply I am writing you about the matter which you st ted.

This association is not in aposition to handle a request such as yours. However, we have turned your letter over to Mr. Julius Thomas, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York City, New York, U. S. A. The Urban League is the largest Negro organization concerned with the employment of Negroes. Consequently, Mr. Thomas, who is the Industrial Secretary, is in a position to give you the best possible advice. I am sure that you will hear from him.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a civil rights organization concerned with the rights of all people. We are not in a position to handle particular requests concerning employment and related matters, but we try to advise individuals who write us about how to contact the correct sources.

With hope for success in your future career, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

22-39

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

March 2, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe, Research Assistant
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the letter which Dr. DuBois wrote the General Education Board. I am checking with Dr. Guy B. Johnson and others to see what we can find out further.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:ntv

Ohio - College of Ed. and Indus. Arts

lecture

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS
MAINTAINED BY THE STATE OF OHIO
CHARLES H. WESLEY, PRESIDENT
WILBERFORCE, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 24, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
THE CRISIS
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-29-33

I had hoped that you could be with us for a lecture last December when you were in the Middle West but we could not plan for it. I am now writing you to invite you to speak for our Charter Day Banquet on Friday evening, March 19, 1948, at 8:00 P.M. This will be the third of the public events on this occasion. In the morning, President John C. Baker, of Ohio University, will deliver the address; in the afternoon there will be a Student Round Table led by an alumnus, Attorney Edmund B. Paxton, Assistant Prosecuting Attorney of Columbus and Franklin County; and in the evening there will come the banquet session, at which we hope to have present about two hundred guests, the capacity of our largest cafeteria, with the objective of raising at least $1,000 by plate charge, which can be added to an already increasing Student Loan Fund.

You may select any subject which you may desire but I hope that you might be able to deal with the field of Negro Education and to bring again into focus your pointed references to the development of a college at Wilberforce. We are making very definite progress in this connection, as an article, which is scheduled to be published in the March issue of the CRISIS under the title, "The New Wilberforce," will show. I am sending under separate cover one of the new catalogues which will also give you a point of view and I will be pleased to furnish any additional information which you may need.

We will be pleased to take care of your traveling expenses, entertainment and an honorarium. As you know, you could leave New York by the Spirit of St. Louis, overnight, and arrive in Xenia, where I will meet you and you could remain overnight Friday if you desire, or take the 1:10 A.M. St. Louisian from Xenia and arrive in New York in the afternoon of Saturday. I suggest this so that, if you are not in this direction and can fit your other engagements into this schedule, you will be able so to plan it.

With best wishes for a birthday now recently passed, but nevertheless assuring you of sincere good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Charles H. Wesley

CHW:vrc

Lecture Pending

February 27, 1948

Dr. Charles Wesley
College of Education and Industrial Arts
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dear Dr. Wesley:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, re his appearance at your institution on March 19, has come during his absence from New York. I have forwarded your letter to him, however. Meanwhile, I think it will help you plan your program to know that Dr. DuBois is on an extended lecture tour to the West Coast and on March 19 he will be lecturing in California. According to his present schedule he will not return to New York until April 15.

Meantime, if there is anything that I can do, please feel free to communicate with me. With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

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DL = Day Letter
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XBGA WU N43 PD=WILBERFORCE OHIO MAR 1 1022A

DR HUGH SMYTHE, NAACP=

11:50 AM
MAR 1 1948

PLEASE ADVISE BY RETURN WIRE IF DR DUBOIS CAN SPEAK ON MARCH 19 IF NOT WE CAN ARRANGE FOR A LECTURE AT A LATER PERIOD MUST HAVE REPLY TODAY=

CHARLES H WESLEY.19.1144A.O

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Dr. Charles Wesley
College of Education & Ind. Arts
Wilberforce, OHIOer

STRAIGHT WIRE

Dr.
DuBois speaking on West Coast March 19. Letter follows.

Hugh H. Smythe

20 W. 40th St., New York City LOngacre 3-6890

23-32-13

WESTERN UNION

1201

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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[Ohio Wallace ... Comm.]

908A.

WU A11 PD=

=CLEVELAND OHIO

MAY 3 415P

DR W E DUBOIS=

=C/O NATL ASSN FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED RACE=

=WILL YOU ATTEND RECEPTION YOUR HONOR SUNDAY MAY 9TH AT 630PM FOR WALLACE COMMITTEE REQUEST IMMEDIATE REPLY=

:NATHAN R ZAHN
OHIO WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
3751 PROSPECT AVE.

.3751.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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(58

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N57 PD=VIA SD=CLEVELAND OHIO MAY 3 415P [Ohio Wallace... Comm.]

DR W E DUBOIS, CARE NATL ASSN FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED RACE=DELIVER 20 WEST 40 ST=

=WILL YOU ATTEND RECEPTION YOUR HONOR SUNDAY MAY 9TH AT 630PM FOR WALLACE COMMITTEE REQUEST IMMEDIATE REPLY

=NATHAN R ZAHM OHIO WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE 3751 PROSPECT AVE.

Wallace

9 630PM 3751

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Ohio Wallace ... Comm]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
= Ship Radiogram

(04)

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23-32-9

N262 PD=CLEVELAND OHIO 4 242P

W E B DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST=

Answered

WILL YOU ATTEND RECEPTION YOUR HONOR SUNDAY MAY 9TH AT 630 PM FOR WALLACE COMMITTEE REQUEST IMMEDIATELY REPLY=

NATHAN R ZAHM OHIO WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE 3751 PROSPECT.

Wallace

9 630 PM 3751.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Ohio Wallace... Comm.]

Wallace

23-32-12

May 4, 1948

Mr. Nathan R. Zahn
3751 Prospect Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Zahn: I am replying to your telegram which has just been received.

I appreciate your offer but regret my inability to stay over for the proposed reception. I shall vote for Mr. Wallace.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

re Pankhurst

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
20 West 40th. Street,
New York 18.

Storer College,
Harpers Ferry,
West Virginia,

December 2, 1948.

Dear Sir,

While in transit in England, my friend, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Editor Of New Times & Ethiopia News promised to write introducing me to you and also suggested that I should correspond you while here.

It is a pleasure to inform you that I am visiting this country to prosecute studies in Political Science & Journalism.

I am a West African from Nigeria and I shall feel honoured if you will avail to me the opportunity of meeting you. I have heard so much about you, about your grand ideals and activities.

I am looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours very Africanly,

Ojeamiren Ojehomon

23-46-25

23-46-26

December 6, 1948

Mr. Ojeamiren Ojehomon
Storer College
Harpers Ferry
West Virginia

My dear Mr. Ojehomon:

Miss Pankhurst wrote to me about you and any time that you are in the city I shall be glad to see you if I am in town. You should telephone my office beforehand and make an appointment with my assistant.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT
BY ORDINARY MAIL

Stamp here

Mr Walter White

NAACP Secretary

c/o Africa House

New York City

U. S. A.

Second fold here

To open cut here

Sender's name and address:

Ebonu Ojike

34 Commercial Avenue

Yaba Estate, Lagos

Nigeria, W. C. A.

To open cut here

34 Commercial Ave.
Yaba Estate, Lagos
NIGERIA, W.C.A.

Africa—West

Mbonu Ojike
34 Commercial Avenue
Yaba Estate, Lagos
Nigeria, W. C. A.
February 17, 1948

Mr Walter White
NAACP Secretary
c/o Africa House
New York City

6603 FEB26'48

AIR MAIL

Dear Mr White:

23C - 32-1

One of the two Nigerian judges here is preparing to visit the USA next May. His name is Judge S. B. Rhodes. His aim is to spend about three months in the States to know our people, their leaders in various walks of life and witness America's great mechanical achievements.

Would you please reply me if you could receive Judge Rhodes and plan his activities in the States to which he has never been before ? You may reserve him a hotel suite when the time approaches. Your letter accepting this request would enable me to advise him to communicate to you the date of his arrival.

Judge Rhodes had served as a Legislative Council member here for several terms. In the Judicial Department he ranks highest among all Nigerians in the Civil Service. I have every confidence that this visit would benefit him, Nigeria and the USA.

Nigeria
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
New York, NY

Sincerely Yours,

Mbonu Ojike

Mbonu Ojike

MO:E.

Miss Elaine Henley, Africa House, 459 W 140th St., NYC.
Atty Edward B. Dickerson, Pres., Natl Bar Assoc. 3501 S. Parkway, Chgo
atty S.T.M. Alexander Sec'y NBA 40 S. 19th St., Phila 3, Pa.
Bro R.B. ATWOOD, Pres. Nat'l Ass'n for Adv. of Col. People, Ky State Conf., Frankfurt, Ky
atty Charles Houston, 615 F St. NW, Wash, D.C.

March 10, 1948

Mr. Mbonu Ojike
34 Commercial Avenue
Yaba Estate
Lagos
Nigeria, West Africa

Dear Mr. Ojike:

Your letter to Mr. Walter White, re the anticipated visit to the United States of the Honorable Judge S. B. Rhodes, has been turned over to this office for reply. We would suggest that in planning his itinerary you contact the following:

Attorney S. T. M. Alexander, Secretary, National Bar Association, 40 South 19th Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania.

Attorney Earl B. Dickerson, President, National Bar Association, 3501 South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois.

Attorney Charles Houston, 615 F Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

President R. B. Atwood, President, Negro Land Grant Colleges, Kentucky State College, Frankfurt, Kentucky.

Miss Elaine Manley, Africa House, 459 West 140th Street, New York, New York.

Bishop S. J. Wright, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

We suggest that in making reservations you write directly to hotels in this country. You might write to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, New York, and reserve a suite. Since this is the leading hotel in this country, it is advisable that you ask for reservations several weeks in advance. Other hotels are: Hotel Pennsylvania, The Sherry Netherland, Hotel Pierre, The Essex House, The New Yorker, The Theresa Hotel. (The Theresa is the leading Negro hotel and is located uptown at 125th Street and 7th Avenue in Harlem, the large Negro section of New York City.) All of these hotels are located in New York City.

It might be advisable to write to some of the Presidents of the Negro colleges. Such as: President Mordecai Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

President Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania.

President Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

President Luther H. Foster, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia.

President F. D. Paterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee , Alabama.

President J. R. Banks, Prairie View State College, Prairie View, Texas.

Dr. Melville J. Herskovitzs, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.
(This man is the leading Anthropologist on African culture in the United States)

We hope that you will follow through on the above and they will prove helpful. Of course, we shall be glad to do all that we can, but please realize that your request does not come within the scope of our work and we could in no way attempt to take charge of Judge Rhodes and supervise his visit to the United States. Hoping that you will find some use of the above, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

P. S. It is also advisable to write to:

Dr. W. A. Hunton, Educational Director
Council on African Affairs
257 McDonough Street
Brooklyn, New York

HHS:LM

23-46-4

January 16, 1948

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee, Editor
Oklahoma Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Dunjee:

We are enclosing the first perfect copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, the petition presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations on October 23, 1947. May we ask your attention to it and some notice of it in your review section?

Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Largest Circulated Negro Journal in the South. Read in Every State in the Union

Newspaper syndicate

The Black Dispatch Publishing Company

Publishers of "THE BLACK DISPATCH"

"A Paper With a Policy and a Purpose"

Post Office Box 1245

OKLAHOMA CITY 1, OKLAHOMA

June 21, 1948

23-39-97

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City,
New York.

Esteemed Friend;

This acknowledges receipt of your recent letter in which you made suggestions respecting a syndicated column you have in mind. I am quite sure it will be an excellent production and well worth the price you have placed on same.

At the present time, however, I will not be able to add any additional features. Perhaps at a later date I may be prepared to do so.

Thanking you for having included the Black Dispatch in your plans and with the best of wishes I remain

Sincerely yours

Roscoe Dunjee

Roscoe Dunjee, Editor
BLACK DISPATCH

[Olivet College]

Lectures

Student Action Committee
Olivet College
P.O. Box 101
Olivet, Michigan
November 1, 1948

W.E.B. DuBois
New School for Social Research
N.Y.C.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

22-36-3

Throughout the United States students are carrying on the fight to maintain academic freedom in their schools and colleges. Olivet College is one of the many schools in which this struggle is being waged. Under separate cover we are sending you a complete account of the events which have taken place in Olivet in the past year. While the issues under dispute may concern the the procedures and practices of the administration in our college, they are indicative o of the larger fight that is being carried on to maintain academic fr freedom for students and faculty of all colleges. To bring these issues to the foreground the students of Olivet are going to hold an Academic Freedom Rally on Saturday, November 6th. At that time we wish to have as many interested parties on campus as possible. This would include prominent speakers ofrom all sections of the country as well as representatives from other schools (both student and faculty), clergymen, and representatives of the Michigan Committee on Academic Freedom.

We feel that the fight for academic freedom is not a small one and therefore the support of this fight cannot be small if it is to succeed. Our democratic ideals can only be realized through the cooperative efforts of all. We would appreciate very much having you with us on Saturday. We realize that your time is taken up with many things, and that this may not be possible. However, we would like to have your support in some way. It would be a fine diea if we could read a statement from you on academic freedom at the rally; if this is impossible, a telegram from you would also be appreciated.

This fight has meant a great deal to us; we have worked long and hard for its success. But to win in Olivet does not mean the end of the fight for us. It is merely the first step forward in the over-all picture. The small battles and skirmishes must be won first.

We sincerely hope that we will hear from you and have your support since you are familiar with Olivet. We appreciate the fact that it will mean taking time out from your other tasks at this moment to indicate such support.

Sincerely,
Student Action Committee
Olivet College
Olivet, Michigan

[Olivet College]

22-36-4

November 9, 1948

Student Action Committee
Olivet College
P.O. Box 101
Olivet, Michigan

Gentlemen:

I was unable to answer your letter of November 1 before this, and, of course, was not near enough to visit your meeting November 6. I may say in general, that I regard the matter of free speech among students and professors as of the utmost importance, and the restraints on it these days are attacks upon democracy.

I did not receive the pamphlet which you mentioned therefore, do not know the circumstances at Olivet, but I hope that you will fight for academic freedom in every reasonable way.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lecture [O'Shea, Mary]

3/15/48

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I thought I'd better send these two speeches back to you, despite the fact that I've had no time as yet to do anything with the second one you let me have.....I shall forward copies of the first as soon as they're run off. It might be wise to leave a series of forwarding addresses and approximate date of arrival with Dr. Somerville, if you want those copies to reach you en route to New York.....I do hope you have an enjoyable time in Los Angeles. Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Mary A. O'Shea

Mary A. O'Shea

23-38-47

Overseas News Agency, Inc.

101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 3-2997

Office of the Editor

May 17, 1948

23-39-101

Mr. W.E.B. Dubois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Mr. Thackrey was good enough to pass on to me your very interesting letter of May 13.

We have been giving considerable thought to the question of adequate coverage of the African continent. If you have any specific suggestions, I should be glad to discuss them with you.

Sincerely yours,

H. R. Wishengrad

hrw:ies:0

H.R. Wishengrad

May 20, 1948

23-39-102

Mr. Henry R. Wishengrad
Overseas News Agency, Inc.
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Wishengrad:

I shall be glad to talk with you concerning news from Africa. The chief difficulties in my opinion are that the different parts of Africa are not only physically separated widely with little or no communication; but in addition to that, the historical background is very seldom known by correspondents and difficult to obtain.

The correspondant in Europe, for instance, has been taught the outlines of European history during his high school and college course; even in Asia if he has not had many actual courses on the history of Asia it is not difficult for him to obtain information; but in the case of Africa not only in all probability has there been nothing about the history of Africa in his schooling but because of the intense prejudice and feeling that has obscured the history of the Negro race, he is probably firmly convinced that Africa has no history, and that what is happening now is without background, except so far as the European intruders are concerned.

What I think especially necessary is that African news be continually interpreted on the background of what has happened in Africa; not simply to whites but to Negroes and among Negroes.

What I should like to do would be to furnish or suggest weekly or less often, some interpretation and integration of African history and present news. I am convinced, as I do not doubt you are, of the increasing importance to the world of what is happening in Africa today and what is liable to happen tomorrow.

My biography is in WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, and my latest book is, THE WORLD AND AFRICA, published by the Viking Press, 1947.

I shall be glad to talk this over with you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mac Quinn
1035 East 45th
Chicago 15, Ill

CHICAGO ILL. APR 22 11 PM 1948

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

8/19/57

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th St
New York, 18
N. Y.

[Mae Ovington] 4/22/48

Dear Dr. DuBois: Your letter of Apr. 20th rec'd today. Sorry to have missed seeing you last week-end, but will look forw. to seeing you Sun. May 30th & having you as our guest at that time and hope to have lots to tell you about the develop-ment of "University Houses" at that time. And please put my telephone in your book and keep it with your umbrella — Drexel 6763. If possible plan to stay with us more than one day. Are you trying, like Walter White, to kill yourself before your time? My regards to Irene & Miss Perry & Ray Wilkins who'd could be helping them more. Sincerely M.O.

23-46-35

February 16, 1948

Mrs. Mae Owings
1035 East 45th Street
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mae Owings: I am very glad to know that you are coming to my anniversary dinner. I will try to get my assistant to get in contact with some of the persons whom you mentioned, especially Mrs. Perry and Dr. Tobias.

With all good wishes

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Owings]

1035 East 45th St
Chicago, Ill., Mar 8 '48

Dear Dr. DuBois:

So glad to have your recent letter and to know you will be returning to Chicago sometime in April, about April 18, you said. If I am not in when you arrive, our caretaker will show you to the room you occupied last November. My purchase today of the corner bldg. at 61st & Dorchester 49 units - very near the Mid. will no doubt be keeping me very busy for the next 90 days, but I hope to see much of you while you are here. So feel free to come at any time, and make yourself quite at home.

Sincerely yours
Mae Owings

23-4-6

April 20, 1948

Mrs. Mae Owings
1038 East 45th Street
Chicago, Illinois

23-4-7

My dear Mae Owings:

I spoke in Chicago, Friday the 16th, had dinner with my host on the 17th and was proposing to have breakfast with you on the 18th. But I did not have and could not get your telephone number; so I had to give it up. But I am going to be in Chicago again May 28, for the Rosenwald Fund. I shall have to stop at the Stevens where the exercises are being held; but if you will let me, I will have dinner with you Sunday the 30th, and stay over night. Please write me and let me have your phone number.

I hope you are in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-40-36

June 2, 1948

Mrs. Mae Owings
1035 East 45th Street
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mae Owings:

Thank you very much for your hospitality. I arrived safely and am back at work again. I enjoyed my stay.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

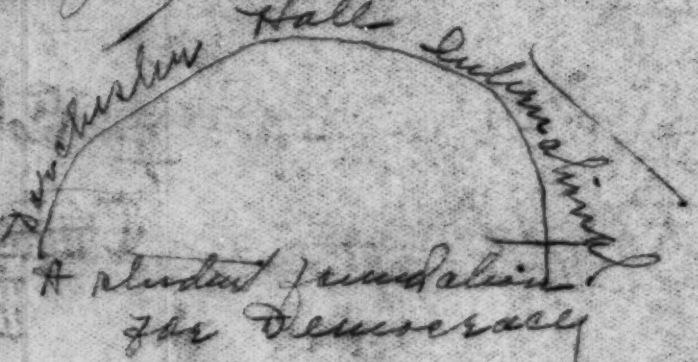
1085 East 46th St. Chicago
Aug 18, 1918

Dear Dr. DuBois: I am sure you will recall meeting Mr. James B. Parsons here on your visit two years ago, and my asking you to review his dissertation for the master's degree on Civil Rights etc etc which you considered an excellent piece of work. He was then selected as one of 200 applicants a total of some 2700, for the law school. His entire work at the University, in my opinion, has been notable. He now hopes to pass the Bar Exam. in October before he gets his Dr. of Laws in December. He also plans a few conferences in Washington sometime in September, and we would appreciate any word you might say, if needed, in his behalf. He will deserve the highest possible assignment that one can be given in his field. His record here at the University during his residence as exceptionally high in scholarship, his qualities of character also, I deem, to be unexcelled. His present address is

23-46-33

6921 Champlain Ave. And if you are in New York, he may desire to telephone you when he is in Washington, or I may telephone you from there at the time.

When I have changed the personnel at 61st & Dorchester, and lowered my present mortgage, what do you think of this for a letter head?



Now don't laugh, for it is already becoming a reality. The Univ. may some day help me get the entire block for a dormitory.

I take your health is holding up. Mine is not so good, but I am trying to preserve what I have, in spite of all the Bandicats.

Most sincerely & cordially yours.

Thos Conigo.

1036 East 47th St. Chicago, Sept 11 '34

Dear Dr. DuBois: For several years I have been observing the trends and the work of the N.A.A.C.P. its policies, politic & otherwise, and I had begun to question whether this great organization you founded were not selling its soul for a "mess of pottage" - like A.U. & others. How right you have always been & how right you now are! Is it possible, as we say, in common parlance, that this unique and much needed institution is now "slipping" - going "the way of all flesh", forgetting what it was born to do - forgetting you? How I admired the fight you have made for its growth these years, never "losing the knee to Baal"!

23-16-34

I am endeavoring to create among the university intelligentsia a foundation for democratic living regardless of race, creed or color, and I am myself surprised at our attainments so far; and convinced that it is within such groups that such aims may be best realized. It may be only a beginning, but we are told that "great oaks out of little acorns grow". You will be interested to know that the "best" in the University is working with me toward the realization of this end.

I read last night with much interest your excellent review of the Fortune biography of John Hope. I admired and loved him for those very qualities of character you so much treasured in him. I sense that it possible, but your writing and clarity of thought seem improved with the years - your humor too, as I was ready to believe that if John Hope and I could have worked unhampered at A.U. we might have transformed the South. Probably I was crazy" I can imagine that you must have had a laugh or two over how you upset the Board of Directors meeting. Remember what Opie Read said about the man who went to heaven & announced that he was from Atlanta, Ga. They are just fly specks on your canvas.

Most sincerely & devotedly yours

1034 Cook Co. Bldg. Chicago
Sept 19, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This message to say I think Mr. Parsons will be leaving here Sat. p.m. Sept. 22 arriving perhaps in New York Sun. a.m. 9 Sept. he'll call you upon arrival, and trust he can find accommodations in a hotel or Y.M.C.A. near you. You can perhaps give him Mr. Pickens' N.Y. address. I hope he can call on the Millions also while there. Our feelings with regard to you and the N.A.A.C.P. are identical, and we are deeply hurt and shocked at the recent action of its Board of Directors.

Mr. Parsons has proved himself to be not only a brilliant scholar here at the Univ. but his integrity + character are unexcelled. Two years ago he received his Masters degree in Political Science, when he might have taken it in Music and other fields. In December, he will receive a Doctorate degree in Law, and will deserve the highest possible assignment given to any one. Your advice and counsel will be much appreciated.

If you need me to help you "battle", just let me know. Our Univ. Foundation for democratic living, regardless of race creed or color is growing splendidly. Of 56 units, 10 are now occupied by Univ. personnel.

Much sincerely + devotedly yours,
Mac Ousley (K)

83-46-30

23-4/6-31

September 24, 1948

Mrs. Mae Owings
1035 East 45th Street
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mae Owings:

Thank you for your kind letter. I have not heard of Mr. James B. Parsons yet, but I shall be glad to talk with him when he comes.

I do not think that there is anything to be done in this case. It might be good for the soul of the organization to send a strong telegram to Arthur Spingarn, the president, at 20 West 40th street. For that will be good for his soul and that of others. The NAACP needs thorough organization.

I hope this will find you well. When I get to Chicago sometime next year I shall be sure to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

[Pacific Peoples Pact]

The Pacific People's Pact

(*Published in Bharat Jyoti, 1 August, 1948.*) V/-

* * *

Ninety per cent. of mankind want peace and hoped that through U.N.O. this desire would be realised. Now the two most powerful members of that organisation are preparing for war against each other and the world is dividing into two camps. There is a Pan-American Pact which aims at furthering unity between Northern and Southern American peoples for defence and progress. There is a Western European Pact designed to encourage unity among Western European peoples and Great Britain; negotiations are now in progress to extend this into an Atlantic Pact to embrace Canada and U.S.A. There is the U.S.S.R., the Cominform and the Communist Party for Eastern Europe, a great part of Asia, South-east Asia, with large numbers of members and supporters in many parts of the world. These Pacts embrace peoples with a certain community of interests which, by uniting, can be furthered. But behind all these Pacts is the fear of war with each other.

32-35-22

Peace and progress will not come this way. Inevitably there will be schisms and deflections; the pull of alien economic, religious and ideological interests will tend to weaken the allegiances of citizens of the pact countries.

Inside the Pan-American Pact territory there are many divergent interests and loyalties; it is inconceivable that the whole continent could progress or secure world peace alone.

Western Union is a pale shadow, inspired by fear of Communism, against which it has not the slightest possibility of progressing or defending itself.

Despite the brave talk of Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery in Paris, Britain could not fight to prevent the occupation of France again, even if she could fight at all. France is already invaded by Communism and corruption; the enemy is already in occupation.

6 The Base of Western Union consists of the Colonial Empires, which are now demanding independence. Britain and the Western European Powers demand the maintenance of white supremacy: Coloured peoples will not work or fight to preserve that false base for mankind unless they are forced, cajoled or deceived into doing so. This would be a crime against humanity and peace and therefore an indictable offence; it calls for action before the offence is committed.

U.N.O. has definitely failed—it has been torn apart by its own most powerful members. But the peoples of the world still want peace, not another war.

The Pan-Americans demarcated a vast Neutrality Zone by which they claimed the integrity of the whole American Continent could be

secured. The Zone embraces all North and South America, extending from the North to the South Poles, including Greenland, Liberia in the East, across the Pacific to the Philippines.

The Zone encroaches upon the rights and interests of more than three-quarters of mankind and would be strongly contested by them were Americans to attempt to claim authority over it.

The idea of a Neutrality Zone is sound and could be made the base of a far more powerful, comprehensive and satisfactory peace plan.

Let all the peoples around and inside the Pacific and Indian Oceans sign a pact to guarantee the integrity of the two vast Oceans and to develop the human and natural resources of the area for the benefit of all mankind, not solely for any section of it.

All the peoples of Asia, North and South America, Oceania, Arabia and Africa—totalling three-quarters of humanity—are directly and indirectly interested in the area and would undoubtedly benefit by a guaranteed peace and the proper development of its vast resourcs.

On behalf of all innocent, helpless and suffering Colonial peoples who will be conscripted for war between the European owner-powers and, probably, U.S.S.R., immediate action to secure them against its effects and the aftermath should be taken. If the Colonial Empire Powers refuse to do so then, in order to prevent what would be a crime against peace and humanity, both U.N.O. and A.R.O. would be justified in appealing to the peoples of the world to support them in such action.

Enemy subjects were tried and condemned for crimes against peace and humanity committed during World War II, therefore the published intention to commit such crimes should be a cognizable offence. 6/-

As the Press of several nations clearly announces that, if a certain course of action is pursued, the risk of war will have to be faced, action to protect innocent, helpless peoples is amply justified as a warrantable and necessary precaution.

The action required must be strong enough to deter the most powerful aggressors and give confidence to unarmed helpless peoples so that they can support the action.

The first step would be to widely advertise the proposed action by publishing and circulating a plan and describing in simple terms what is contemplated.

A Pacific People's Pact for Peace, Progress and Plenty would embrace all peoples surrounding and inside the area between Africa, Asia and North and South America on the east and west and Antartica in the south.

The Pact would be an undertaking to combine in protecting and developing the whole area according to a blue-print, eliminating, as far as is humanly possible, want, disease and ignorance, complete disarmament and the efficient policing of the area.

A Pacific People's Caretaker Authority should be appointed at once by the interested peoples and given emergency powers to deal with the effects of a growing threat to world peace.

An accurate blue-print of the area can be rapidly compiled from existing maps and charts and this should be divided into exact sections. Each section would be administered by a divisional authority under the Central Caretaker Authority, and these sections would be again divided into convenient sub-sections covering the whole area.

Over the whole area there would be one code of law, one currency, the unit of which would be the Pax, one basic wage, one measurement—the metric system—and one high purpose.

In both U.N.O. and A.R.O. machinery exists for extending and strengthening authority over the Pacific and Indian Oceans; indeed, the Trusteeship Council could be extended for the task.

As a first step all aircraft and shipping should be controlled and none permitted to move without a certificate. No supplies whatsoever will be allowed to reach belligerents or nations preparing for belligerent action.

A Tropical Neutrality Zone between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn should be demarcated and, as a preliminary step, occupied by the Caretaker Authority's Police Forces so that economic sanctions can be immediately available against aggressors.

The preservation of a just peace is the primary and most urgent need.

Parallel steps should be taken for this purpose with action to relieve and rehabilitate the starving children and adults. This calls for immediate action. The Lord Mayor of London recently called for help to save 500,000,000 starving children in Europe and Asia; he said that unless immediate help was forthcoming, many millions would certainly die. Some months have elapsed since this appeal, made on behalf of U.N.O., so presumably millions have died. And the appalling conditions in the Colonial Empires grow worse as the danger of another war increases. No Colonial Empire Power can relieve its subject peoples alone.

The British People subscribed £500,000 for the children, but consented to wasting hundreds of millions of pounds on the East African Ground-nut schemes, the armed forces and the occupation of Palestine, Greece, Germany and Egypt, and elsewhere. Britain alone could save hundreds of millions of pounds annually if a just peace were guaranteed.

The most urgent issue is the saving of hundreds of millions of lives—children and adults—in Asia, Europe, Africa and throughout the whole world. The amount of starvation, malnutrition, under-nourishment and disease in the world is colossal and it cannot be relieved until a just peace is guaranteed, and the resources of man-power and natural wealth are systematically developed.

This work was started by the League of Nations, and U.N.O. and A.R.O. have taken up the task. The preliminary work has been done and it is vital now to have a physical blue-print of the job and some competent body to implement the will of mankind for a just peace and the plans which responsible organisations drew up for relief and rehabilitation.

Both U.N.O. and A.R.O. are divided houses and a new organisation is required to implement the authority given by the people to the three peace organisations.

The principle of the Golden Rule must inspire those drafting a Constitution for the Pacific People's Pact for Peace, Progress and Plenty. The accuracy of the blue-print can be made unchallengeable, and all the essential physical resources of mankind are available. The will of the majority of the world's peoples for peace can be quickly translated into action.

In Europe the danger of war increases almost hourly. In Asia a major war has been raging for months. And the appalling misery throughout the world increases every minute.

Surely a just peace is worth making a great effort to win in order to save mankind more suffering, and avoidable suffering at that.

A. J. SIGGINS.

As the Trusteeship Council
is packed by Colonial Empire
Powers there is no hope of
justice for Colonials there; so
we must devise a safe
framework for them.

W. J. Fallows Ltd., Printers, Wavertree.

Paris Feb 12th 1948

PARIS ET SES MERVEILLES

714 Théâtre de l'Opéra

23-22-2

Dear Dr DuBois.

This card will surprise you. By the time it reaches you I will be back in London from where I will send you full report on my visit here. Briefly it was to help the French Colonial deputies & Stat leaders set up a Pan African Committee. Our Congress has had great ideological support. I posted you ten copies of the Congress Report + 50 to the "Crisis" Book Shop for sale. If you need more for your personal use please let me know. We have distributed 5 000 throughout Africa, Asia & the W. Indies + they ask for more. Thanks for the NAACP's Memo to U.N. It will be reviewed in "Pan Africa" by Dr Kenneth Little Professor of Race Relations at London University. Sincerely, Geo Padmore.

Guy

AFRICAN PRESS AGENCY

(DOMINIONS, COLONIES AND AMERICA.)

Bringing You News and Views of Coloured Races Throughout the World.

George Padmore
London Editor

22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W.1.

16th February, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-32-1

I understand Cedric Dover will be in New York some time this week, and as I have not his New York address I shall be obliged if you will hand him the enclosed letter, as I feel aure he will be calling on you or that you will be seeing him.

I trust that you are enjoying very good health, and that Mrs. DuBois is getting along nicely.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

George Padmore

AFRICAN PRESS AGENCY

(DOMINIONS, COLONIES AND AMERICA.)

Bringing You News and Views of Coloured Races Throughout the World.

George Padmore
London Editor

22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W.1.

February 23, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

22-40-38

I have the honour to convey to you at the request of my colleagues here, on our behalf and on behalf of Africans, African-descended, and British admirers, our heartiest greetings on the occasion of your eightieth birthday. We sincerely trust that you will outlive the allotted biblical span by considerably more than one decade, as we know that you will use all the years that may be given to you in furthering the cause of Pan-Africanism, to which you have devoted so large a part of your life.

Unlike so many who, with shibboleths on their lips and self-interest in their hearts, have been seduced by money and office away from the struggle for the social emancipation and political freedom of our people, you have rejected the path of opportunism and clung steadfastly to your beliefs. Nor have you allowed those beliefs to remain sterile but have kept your mind active and alert to the point of bringing your ideas more into line with the current scene and temper of our people both in the United States, in Africa and the West Indies, in whose hearts you have earned a place as a fighter for freedom and democratic justice.

Holding at heart the belief that freedom and justice are indivisible, you have demonstrated that you are concerned that these prerogatives shall be internationally enjoyed and not confined to any single group, people or race. Your work in the cause of our people, therefore, has not merely a sectarian aim, but the noble objective of international unity in freedom and peace between all peoples.

AFRICAN PRESS AGENCY

(DOMINIONS, COLONIES AND AMERICA.)

Bringing You News and Views of Coloured Races Throughout the World.

George Padmore
London Editor

22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W.1.

22-40-39

This objective is indeed worthy of the devoted work you have performed in its cause, and we should prove unworthy of our respect for your endeavours if we did not pledge ourselves on this most fitting occasion to pursue to a successful conclusion the fight for the social, political and economic freedom of our people in all parts of the world, and of the oppressed and downtrodden everywhere.

May your work be crowned by this achievement!

George Padmore

George Padmore

London, February 16th, 1948

W. E. B. DU BOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

22-40-37

Feb. 23, 1948

Dear Mr. Padmore:

I will see that your letter is delivered to Cedric Dover. Thank you for your greeting: I am 80 today! Mrs Du Bois is comfortable but bedridden. My daughter and granddaughter are spening my birthday with me. Greet Abrahams; he's doing well.

Yours sincerely

W. E. B. Du Bois

March 1, 1948

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N. W. 1
England

Dear Mr. Padmore:

Your card of February 12, sent from Paris, has arrived during the absence of Dr. Du Bois from the city. The Doctor is on a lecture tour to the West Coast and will not return to New York until the middle of April. However, I have written him of your letter and informed him also of the arrival of the several copies of the Congress Report. I know that he will be glad both to hear from you and to receive the copies of the History of the Pan-African Congress.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-40-46

St. Louis, March I, 1948

Dear Mr. Padmore:

I am on a lecture trip to the middle West, California, Texas and Georgia. I pause to thank you much for your kind message on ~~xxuxx~~ my birthday. I appreciated it. I have had an idea. Mull it over without publishing it yet. The Assembly of the U.N. meets in Paris next Fall. How about a real Pan-African Congrees: one voting delegate to each mil lion Negroes, with genuine credentials -- 250 delegates; alternates on strict conditions. That would be 8 delegates ~~fr~~ from the Caribbean, I5 from the U.S.A, one from Europe. Fraternal, non-voting delegates from Asia.

Demand recognized consultants to the Assembly from Pan-Africa.

Think this over. Best regards.

W E B DuBois

April 6, 1948

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N. W. 1
England

Dear Mr. Padmore:

Thank you for the material you sent Dr. DuBois. It has arrived during his absence, but I know that he will be pleased to have it, but I am sure he will find it most useful in his work.

On behalf of the Doctor, please accept our appreciation for your courtesy and thoughtfulness.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Palace Hotel]

Lecture Reservations Hotel

February 5, 1948

The Manager
The Palace Hotel
San Francisco, California

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly reserve for me a single room with bath, for the following period:

March 4 to March 11

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

22-33

UN Petition Corresp

January 16, 1948

Miss Florence Nichol
Pan Africa
58 Oxford Road
Manchester 1, England

Dear Miss Nichol:

We are enclosing a copy of the printed edition of the NAACP United Nations Petition, which has just been released to the public. Under separate cover we have sent you several copies but no doubt they will take some time in reaching you.

We hope work is making good progress there and that you will get the wide reception of your edition that you hope. You know that we are pulling for you in every way.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Enclosure

23-19

Write & ask to have Bulletin sent to you regularly

GEORGE PADMORE

Caribbean Labour Congress

MONTHLY BULLETIN

January, 1948

Secretary's Office:
117 Tower Street,
Kingston, Ja, B.W.I.
Cables 'CALACON'

BRITISH HONDURAS CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

A REPORT of the discussions between the delegation from the Br. Honduras legislature and the Secretary of State for the colonies has recently been received. It appears that the delegation urged that a new constitution be granted providing for:

1. universal adult suffrage,
2. a single chamber legislature with its own president, consisting of twelve elected members and four members nominated by the governor;
3. an Executive Council with the Governor as President, and an equal number of elected members on the one side and officials and nominated members on the other, the Executive Council to be "the principal instrument of government."

The Secretary of State is reported to have accepted the first and third points, but to have stated that he did not favour the Jamaican method of choosing the elected members on the Executive Council by election in the Legislature. This may mean that he proposes to let the Governor choose them as he pleases, or use the Barbados method of calling upon the elected member judged by him to be most capable of commanding a majority in the legislature to choose his companions. As regards the second point, the Secretary of State urged the retention of two officials in the legislature as the medium of explaining the policies of the Executive and the delegation is reported to have agreed to this. The Secretary of State is also reported to have questioned the need for the retention of the nominated members in the legislature if the officials were there, but it appears that after discussion it was agreed that their presence might be necessary to represent "special interests".

So much for the facts. From the above it appears that the delegation has failed to put forward proposals in keeping with the times and is lagging behind the rest of the Caribbean area. While the other colonies are demanding immediate responsible government for each unit — i.e. a wholly elected Executive Council with a ministerial system whereunder elected ministers will explain government policy and pilot legislation, the delegation has failed to demand even an elected majority and concedes the continuation of officials as the Executive's spokesmen in the legislature, and nominated members to represent "special interests".

Let British Honduras reconsider before its too late, and the introduction of such a constitution delays not only her own progress but that of the entire area. Let the people speak and let their demand be clear—self-government for British Honduras within a Caribbean Dominion. But let this also be a lesson to the people and the labour movement in particular as to what can happen when there is no united national labour political organisation to mobilise public opinion and bring pressure to bear on the legislature, directly through members therein and indirectly by popular demonstrations.

ANTIGUA DEMANDS CONSTITUTION ADVANCE NOW

The Antigua labour members in the Leeward Islands legislature have obtained a mandate from their constituents to press for immediate improvement in the Leeward Islands' constitution pending the consideration by the Secretary of State of the CLC's demand for federation of the British Caribbean with united responsible government and federal dominion status. The mandate in the form of a resolution, which won the acclamation of recent island-wide demonstrations in which thousands participated, demands the acceptance of:

"(a) The principle of universal suffrage for our local and legislative elections;

(b) a wholly elected Legislative Council; and

(c) An Executive Council comprised of a majority of members elected by the Legislative Council."

Full support for this resolution is assured from the St. Kitts Labour members and from some of the independents.

MEMORANDUM OF THE CARIBBEAN LABOUR CONGRESS ON THE TRADE UNIONS (Amendment) BILL LEEWARD ISLANDS

In December 1947 there was circulated to members of the Leeward Islands Legislature a draft Bill entitled an Act to Amend Further the Trade Unions Act 1939 with a memorandum of objects and reasons attached dated 20th November 1947 and signed by the Attorney General.

The opening paragraph of the Attorney General's memorandum reads: "The object of this Bill is to bring the trade union legislation of this Colony closer into line with that of the United Kingdom." On examining the Bill, Hon. V. C. Bird, MLC, (Vice President of the CLC) and Hon. Robert Bradshaw, MLC, (Assistant Secretary) were of the opinion that this statement was incorrect. Mr. Bird saw the Governor of the Leeward Islands who gave his personal assurance that there were no restrictions contained in the Bill which are not contained in British trade union legislation. Still in doubt, Mr. Bird who was about to leave the Colony on an official delegation to the United States, advised the Governor that he would immediately resign his appointment on the official delegation unless he received the assurance that the Bill would not be introduced in his absence. Having received this assurance Mr. Bird proceeded to the United States via Jamaica in order to confer with the Secretariat of the CLC and Mr. N. W. Manley K.C. (a Vice President of the CLC).

Upon examination it appears that the Governor's assurance to Mr. Bird that the Bill contained no restrictions which are not in accordance with the British trade union legislation is incorrect. The Leeward Islands Bill is based on the English Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875 which made it an offence to break a service contract relating to gas or water works (section 4) or which would involve danger to human life or serious bodily injury or expose property to destruction or serious injury (section 5).

But the Leeward Islands Bill cannot be said to follow the English legislation because it is designed to extend the restrictions of the English 1875 Act to shipping and transport services and health, sanitary and medical services. Furthermore any introduction of further restrictions on Trade Unions is contrary to the spirit of the Trades Disputes and Trades Union Act of 1946.

The Leeward Islands Bill is oppressive in the extreme and a clear piece of class legislation in that the restrictions are extended not only to Government or Municipal employees or other statutory authority but also to private companies, undertakers or contractors engaged in the supply of electricity, water, ship or other transport, health, sanitary or medical services.

The deprivation of the right to strike against the Shipping Companies which operate in the Leeward Islands would indeed

and is undoubtedly designed to, deprive the Trade Unions of at least 75% of their power and authority. In the particular circumstances of the Leeward Islands whose main productive enterprises are exported by ship, a trade union the majority of whose members are employees of the sugar industry, would have practically no bargaining power if it was unable by strike action to prevent the sugar from being shipped.

The Leeward Islands Bill is therefore something to be vigorously resisted by all parties who are genuinely interested in the existence of free trade unionism and democratic rights and it is a piece of legislation which is utterly condemned by the Caribbean Labour Congress and its affiliate organisations and which we earnestly hope will be condemned by the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labour Party and will be withdrawn on the instructions of the British Labour Government.

THE CARIBBEAN LABOUR CONGRESS

G. H. Adams, M.C.P. President (Barbados).

T. A. Marryshow, M.L.C., Vice President (Windward Islands).

H. N. Critchlow, M.L.C., Vice President (British Guiana).

Albert Gomes, M.L.C., Vice President (Trinidad).

N. W. Manley, K.C., Vice President, (Jamaica).

V. C. Bird, M.L.C., Vice President (Leeward Islands).

Richard Hart, Secretary, (Jamaica).

R. L. Bradshaw, M.L.C., Assistant Secretary (St. Kitts).

WORKERS PARALYSE BARBADOS WATERFRONT

The Barbados Workers Union gave a firm answer to the Shipping Agents manoeuvres when all work at the waterfront ceased on January 3rd. The Union which has an agreement with the agents was suddenly notified by the latter of their intention to terminate the agreement and employ workers in future on their own terms. The Union did not agree with this proposal and a conference was arranged to discuss the matter. Negotiations commenced and the Acting Labour Commission suggested that the terms of the old agreement continue in force pending the conclusion of the negotiations. Nevertheless the Agents posted notices and informed the workers that they would only be employed on the employers' terms. The workers immediately ceased work and the waterfront was paralysed.

Shippers Come To Their Senses

This brought the Agents to their senses very quickly and on January 7th work was resumed on the terms of the old agreement which will continue in force during the current negotiations. Officers of the union view this move of this Shippers as a plan to weaken the B.W.U. aid and in roduce a rival union.

Writing to the C.L.C. Secretary on January 9th, F. L. Walcott M.C.P., Secretary of the B.W.U. reports the receipt of assurances from other affiliate unions of their refusal to handle Barbados cargo and ask that the oppreciation of the workers of Barbados at this "demonstration of unity and solidarity shown by our comrades in this common struggle" be recorded.

BERMUDA GOVT. PROHIBITS NEW SCHOOL

The Board of Education in Bermuda has refused to permit the opening of the new St. Anthony's Convent School by the Roman Catholics. In a vigorous protest Rev. Father Therisult stated that the school premises before purchase had been a 'house of ill-fame' and had remained unmolested by the Government, but when the attempt was made to convert it into a center of Christian culture there sprang out in front of them "a law, a board and a policy all shouting with one voice 'non licet".

The matter has been taken up by Dr. E. F. Gordon M. C. P., President of the Bermuda Workers Association and coloured member of the legislature who declared that the only reason the government was tryiny to close St. Anthony's School was that it would allow black and white children to mix and be educated together. Bermuda's educational system is ridden with the race segregation policy of the ruling white oligarchy.

Dr. Gordon, who was Bermudan Labour's delegate to the 1947 C. L. C. conferedce in Jamaica and has repeatedly courageously challenged Bermuda's "race theorists", has declared "I will get that school open."

OILWORKERS UNION PLEDGES DESTRUCTION BUTLER-FACISM

Annual Parley Adopts Programme

The eighth Annual Conference of the Oilfield Workers Trade Union (TUC), held in December at San Fernando, Trinidad, pledged itself "to wage a total struggle for the complete destruction of Butlerism in Trinidad" in the words of its President J. F. Rojas.

The conference was attended by 200 delegates and observers from the unions' 12 branches, representing a total membership of 9,000 oilworkers. A comprehensive report on the year's activities was presented by Secretary Ralph Mentor, and a report on the claims for wage increases submitted was given by Assistant Secretary McDonald Moses.

A 13 point programme was adopted by the Conference covering: organisation of the industry; wage increase demands to be made for members only; improvement of the union's paper 'the Vanguard'; support for the TUC, CLC and World Federation of Trade Unions; support for political federation with self government; and other matters.

PARISH BOARD INSISTS—RECOGNISE THE UNION!

Following on their sweeping victory in the recent Parochial Elections, the new PNP Councillors who control the Manchester Parochial Board (one of Jamaica's thirteen local bodies) have insisted that employers respect the rights of trade unions.

The Tramway Transport & General Workers Union (TUC) had made claims for employees of the Electricity Power Plant at Mandeville, the parish capital, and the Company had refused to negotiate. The Union issued a strike ultimatum to take effect at the end of December.

In the meantime, the Company's application for an extension of its franchise to cover another town in the parish came before the Board. PNP Board Chairman S. E. Brooks introduced the resolution"—no franchise extension till you re-recognise the Union." Safely ahead of the deadline the Company and the Union sat down to negotiate. TUC officers T. A. Kelly and V. B. Edwards, pinch-hitting for Ken Hill who was ill, negotiated wage increases for the entire staff averaging £32 per year per man, a reduction of working hours from 48 to 45 per week, with overtime pay thereafter, transportation for linesmen and annual vacation and sick leave with pay.

Caribbean Briefs

Kingstown, St. Vincent—On the motion of Hon. George McIntosh M.L.C., President of St. Vincent Workingmens' Association (C.L.C.) the legislature has obtained the setting up of a twelveman commission to consider the need for salary and wage increases for government employees' both clerical and manual.

Basseterre, St. Kitts—It is understood that the St. Kitts—Nevis Trades and Labour Union has decided to request the Sugar Producers Association to alter

the method of payment of cane cutters for the 1948 crop. The union desires to abandon the system of payment by the ton of cane cut to that of payment by the "line" which is the practise in Antigua The S.P.A. have opposed any change in the present system. A union spokesmen states: "In the opinion of the union, the 9,045 persons now on the membership roll are the best people to say under what conditions and by what system they will work, and the organisation is determined on effecting the change and has decided not to start the crop by any other system."

Port-of-Spain Trinidad—The Federated Workers Trade Union has advanced demands for an increase of 4 cents (twopence) per hour on the basic wage of government employees and for other improvements. These demands are being considered by the Finance subcommittee of the government's Economic Committee.

Bridgetown, Barbados—In the first week of January the Barbados Workers Union was compelled to call a strike against the Shipping Agents who refused to negotiate an agreement with the union when the old agreement expired. This was seen here as part of a plan to encourage the formation of a rival union on the waterfront and smash the B.W.U. The strike quickly brought the agents to their senses and was settled within a few days upon their agreeing to renew relations. The B.W.U. is very strong on the waterfront where nothing can be done affecting the workers without prior consultation with the elected delegates. The workers value this protection highly. Unions in the Windward and Leeward Islands, Trinidad and B. G. were notified of the strike immediately, but the strike was settled before it became necessary for them to refuse to handle any ships.

Kingston, Ja. It has been announced that agreement between the various Governments concerned for the establishment of the West Indian University has been reached. The recurrent expenditure will be borne in proportion to population as follows:—

Jamaica 45.4%; Trinidad 17.9%; Br. Guiana 12.9%; Windward Islands (combined) 10.3%; Barbados 7.4%; Leeward Islands 3.9%; Br. Honduras 2.2%

The Bahamas will not participate, the traditional policy of the tiny white oligarchy who rule there being to avoid contaminating contact for their ordinary people with "turbulent" West Indians.

The Jamaica Government has provided 673 acres for the site and pay £250,000 for the erection of a 500 bed teaching hospital for the university.

Kingston, Ja. — According to official figures the cost of living index is now 205.84% of the August 1939 figure. There is much local criticism of the accuracy of the official estimate. During the war at the time that the official figure stood at about 165 the local merchants party (J.D.P.) employed its own investigating staff and reported the Cost of Living index to be 200.

Nassau, Bahamas — The Bahama Islands, often referred to as the American tourist's paradise, have shown an adverse dollar balance for the first nine months of 1947 necessitating a withdrawal of nearly $4½ million from the Sterling Area Reserve in London. Despite this American tourists are not to be required to convert dollars brought into the colony. In the first 8 months of 1947 it is reported that 27,000 tourists visited the colony.

Basseterre, St. Kitts — In the Leeward Islands Legislature in December discontent was expressed by Labour representatives at the Federal Labour Officer F. K. Payne. A question was introduced by Hon. Robert Bradshaw M.L.C. (St. Kitts) which read: "Is Government aware that the Antigua Trades and Labour Union and the St. Kitts — Nevis Trades and Labour Union entertain no faith whatever in the Federal Labour Officer." Mr. Payne before he obtained the Leeward Islands post had been manager of the Kingston Employment Bureau, Jamaica, a post in which he would obtain no trade union experience. Asked about Mr. Payne's suitability for either post, a Jamaica trade union leader replied with a smile "he is English, we know of no other qualification."

Belize, Br. Honduras — British Honduras Civil Servants voted in December to register their association as a Trade Union under the B.H. Trade Union Ordinance 1941. This they reckon will improve their bargaining position vis-a-vis Government which they charge with neglect of its employees and ignoring the association.

Bridgetown, B'dos. — C. Henderson Clarke K.C., prominent senior barrister who formerly held retainers from large shipping interests, has issued a statement declaring his decision to join the Barbados Labour Party. Simultaneously the noted K.C. stated: "In as much as I consider it incompatible for me to hold my retainer on behalf of the Barbados Shipping and Trading Company, whose material interests would inevitably clash with those of the Barbados Progressive League" (ie. BLP and Barbados workers union), "I have notified.. (the agents)....that I am no longer desirous of holding my annual retainer and in fact have given it up."

Continuing, Mr. Henderson Clarke paid tribute to B.L.P. & B.W.U. President G. H. Adams: "The systematic campaign of calumny and misrepresentation which has been directed against Mr. Adams indicates the powerful influences that are at work to wreck the Labour Movement and to prove the incapacity of my people to govern themselves.

"It is my considered opinion that Mr. Adams deserves support in the great task he has undertaken for the welfare of his people, at great personal sacrifice to himself. I have therefore pledged myself unconditionally to devote whatever ability I may have to the furtherance of that cause."

Basseterre, St. Kitts.—The three agricultural workers whose dismissal on 11th August 1947 precipitated a general strike, were on December 10, as a result of the negotiations which commenced when the strike was settled, reinstated with pay for the period of their dismissal. This is regarded here as a triumph for the union and a confirmation of the justness of the action taken.

Nassau, Bahamas.—Rudolph Burke, a black man, President of the powerful Jamaica Agricultural Society, was 'Jim-crowed' here on Xmas eve while passing through on his way home from Britain where he had been on an official trade mission. When the BSAA plane reached Nassau Mr. Burke was told that he could not stay at the exclusive "British Colonial Hotel" with his two colleagues. One of these was white, the other though coloured could 'pass'. Indignant protests were made by all three members of the delegation to the Colonial Secretary but to no avail against the rigid colour bar. T. Arnold Toote, coloured member of the House of Assembly, came to the airport in person and arranged for Mr. Burke to stay with friends.

The JAS has now officially protested to its Nassau counterpart.

Kingston, Jamaica.—The strike at the Gleaner Company

was settled on Xmas eve when the parties agreed to submit to arbitration. Both sides have agreed to the appointment of Sir H. I. C. Brown. During the last week of the strike the Trades Union Congress put out a daily strike bulletin which was eagerly bought up on the streets. The strikers stood firm throughout, despite mass arrest of pickets, prosecution of the leaders, and the use of tear-gas by the police. Tremendous public sympathy and support was evidenced.

Castries, St. Lucia —Negotiations have commenced between the Seamen & Waterfront Workers Union and the Shipping agents here on the terms of an agreement to take effect at the expiration of the current agreement at the end of January. The Union is seeking several improvements in the waterfront, the recruitment of labour through the union, increased rates of pay and overtime and other matters.

Georgetown, B.G.—Widespread protests have been recorded here at the appointment by the Governor of F. J. Seaford O.B.E., unsuccessful candidate at the recent general elections, to a nominated seat in the legislature. During the election campaign the Labour Party, the Man Power Citizens Association and the East Indian Association all made it clear to the Governor that they were irrevocably opposed to the post election nomination of unsuccessful candidates. Seaford is one of the wealthiest men in B.G. and the spokesman of the reactionary anti-federation elements whom the people rejected at the polls. The Political Affairs Committee Bulletin declares:

"The time is ripe when the constitution of B.G. must be changed to be rid of this anachronism. If more members are required in the Legislative Council, let the country be redivided into 20 or 24 constituencies. Should the services of highly skilled and technical men of the type of Mr. Seaford be required by all means let them be asked to show their public spiritedness by appering before committees and boards. The time is overdue for a wholly elected Legislative Council and the people are ready for a truly democratic government in British Guiana."

Port of Spain Trinidad—The formation of a new political party to be known as the "Caribbean Socialist Party" has been announced. Its first officrs are: President Dr. P. Solomon M.L.C. (former vice President of the W.I.N. Party); 1st vice President —Victor Bryan M.L.C. (former independent member who recently defeated Albert Gomes M.L.C. in municipal elections); 2nd vice President—A. James M.L.C.; 3rd vice President—C. P. Alexander; Secretary—R. F. Lashley; Asst. Secretary—E. N. Hunter; Treasurer—Dr. E.A. Lee (former San Fernando Councillor of W.I.N. Party who had resigned). The other members of the first Executive Committee are Councillor L. F. Sukeran; Councillor J. B. Kelshall (San Fernando Chairman of W. I. N. Party and President of the Trinidad Tobago Youth Council and the Caribbean Youth Federation); E. Richards, E. C. LeMaitre and O. Mathurin (member Executive W. I.N. Party).

San Fernando, Trinidad—It has been announced that wage negotiations for the oil industry are now in progress between the Oilfield Workers' Trade Union (T.U.C.) and the Oilfield Employers' Association with a view to the signing of a new agreement to replace the current two years agreement due to expire shortly. The Union's team is being led by President J. F. F. Rojas and Secretary Ralph Mentor.

Kingston Jamaica—G. H. Adams M. C. P. President of the Caribbean Labour Congress who was in Jamaica during the second week of January as a member of the University Provisional Council, took the opportunity of conferring at length with members of the C. L. C. Secretariat on both current activities and on organisational matters. Mr. Adams also conferred with leaders of the P.N.P. and T.U.C. and attended a meeting of the P.N.P. Executive.

Kingston, Jamaica—Dr. Demetrio Porras, President of the Socialist Party of Panama and their candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections, visited Jamaica on 12th January and conferred with the C. L. C. Secretary concerning the problems of West Indians resident in the Republic of Panama. Dr. Porras also held a conference with the Executive Committee of the Peoples National Party on the question of establishing closer relations between the two parties. Dr. Porras who is the founder of the Socialist Party has recently returned from London where he held the post of Panamanian Ambassador and was also Panamanian representative on the United Nations Organisation.

Basseterre, St. Kitts—The Secretary of State for the Colonies has replied to representations concerning the flouting of the wishes of the people and a majority of the legislature by the Administrator by saying that he had the support of his Executive Council in the action taken. It has apparently not occurred to the Colonial Office that the Executive Council is weighted against the people by officials and nominated representatives of "special interests". The 'Workers Weekly' of January 10th comments: "That could not happen in any democratic country..It is clearly seen that the proper remedy to such civil injustices is the institution of self government. Various sorts of evils are bound to arise when a country is ruled by officials who are not responsible to the people and therefore cannot be called to account to the people for the things they do."

Stan Creek, Br.Honduras—The elections to the Stan Creek Town Board held Dec. 27th resulted in a clean sweep for the candidates of the General Workers Union. The Board consists of five elected seats and the remainder are nominated seats. G. W. U. candidates won all five elected seats. The G. W. U. is one of the organisations affiliated to the C. L. C.

Punta Gorda, Br.Honduras—The General Workers Union here has announced the granting of an interim increase for port workers pending further negotiations between the Union and the Shipping agents. The interim increase will be 50 cents per day on the present $1.50 cents per 8 hour shift.

Items of Interest

Monrovia, Liberia.—A new company known as the Liberia Company has been incorporated in the U.S.A. for the economic exploitation of Liberia. The company is to have a working capital of $1 million and, when several planned subsidiaries have been formed, an overall capital of $100 million. There are to be 15 American and 5 Liberian directors. Liberia, a nominally independent Republic, is very much under the economic control of the U.S.

The Firestone Company; which has vast rubber plantations here, is the biggest single investment to date. The country is indebted to the Finance Corporation of America which loaned a large sum in 1926 under an agreement which **inter alia** contains provision for financial supervision by U.S. officials.

Lagos, Nigeria.—Following on the suppression of a strike at Baruta, Nigeria, which had been

caused by terrible conditions under which the workers labour, the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria decided to request the Secretary of State to appoint a Commission of Enquiry. After some delay the Secretary of State has refused. The Government had taken sides with the employer, the U.A. Company and even the magistrate who tried some of the strikers criticised the police for acting in a manner which excited violence. Twenty strikers were sentenced to imprisonment.

Accra, Gold Coast.—The strike of African gold miners which commenced September 30, 1947 was settled November 3, after negotiations between the strikers and the Chamber of Mines. The claim for wage increases was submitted to arbitration and the workers resumed on the mineowners giving the workers an advance of ten days pay, repayable over six months by which time the introduction of wage increases is anticipated.

A strike of Railway workers was called by the Railway Employees' Union on October 23 which paralysed the service throughout the country, after negotiations with the government had broken down. On November 1 negotiations were resumed and workers returned to work on November 6.

Singapore.—The entire Malayan community, including the large Chinese population, is united against the constitution for the Malay States being introduced by the British government. On October 20 a nation-wide one day strike and cessation of all business activity ("hartal") was organised by the All-Malaya Council of Joint Action as a protest against "the unfairness, injustice and undemocratic nature" of the contitutional proposals. Even the reactionary 'Crown Colonist' admitted the complete success" of the stoppage and reports that the AMCJA offered as an alternative to the British government's constitution "a complete set of constitutional proposals which it and its numerous constituents had drawn up. . . .complete in every detail down to a schedule dividing authority between the proposed Federal and State legislatures."

Malta.—The Maltese General Elections held in the latter part of 1947 resulted in a clear majority for the Maltese Labour Party. They won 24 seats against a total of 16 seats for the other four parties. This is the first election since Malta obtained responsible government.

PANAMA — By the unanimous vote of the National Assembly the Republic of Panama has refused to ratify the Canal Defences agreement negotiated by the Government with the United States whereunder territorial concessions for bases were to be granted. A huge demonstration estimated at 20,000 in which West Indians resident in the Republic and Canal Zone were well represented, marched to the Assembly on the day the agreement was to be debated. Scenes of wild popular rejoicing followed the rejection. The united opposition was led by the Partido Renovador, the Partido Socialista, the Partido del Pueble (communist), the Panama Students Federation, the Patriotic Youth Front, the National Federation of Trade Unions and the Professors' Association.

Havana, Cuba—It is reported that 30,000 tons of Cuban refined sugar have been sold to India at 6:25 cents per lb. (f.o.b. Cuba) which is approximately £30 per ton. This is considerably below the price originally being negotiated for 200,000 at £44 per ton in exchange for Jute bags from India which fell through because of India's shortage of dollars.

London — Board of Trade Returns for 1947 show United Kingdom sugar imports as follows: Cuba 1,085,840 tons; Dominican Republic 307,385; B.W.I. and B.G. 307,348; Haiti 25,612; Peru 19,761, other sources 3 tons. Thus B.W.I. and B.G. sugar constitutes 18 per cent of total U.K. imports. The corresponding percentage in 1946 was 24. This of course does not include shipments to Canada.

Australia — The Federal Arbitration Court after 22 months of sessions has ruled in favour of the Australian Trade Unions' demand for a 40 hour week. The 40 hour week will become law from January 1948 and will affect some 900,000 workers. Speaking in Canberra after the decision had been published M. E. McCarthy, the Commonwealth Price Commissioner, stated that the introduction of the nation wide 40 hour week would not cause an automatic increase in prices. . . . The approval of the Prices Commission would have to be obtained before any price increase could be brought into operation. (W.F.T.U. Bulletin).

London — At the 1947 Conference of the British T.U.C. at Margate, F. L. Tonge, delegate of the Railway Clerks Association, successfully moved the following resolution:

"That this Congress believing that the British Colonial and Mandated Territories require a free Trade Union Movement with the same rights and privileges as British Trade Unions so as to ensure that working conditions are safeguarded and a higher standard of living secured requests the General Council to give all possible assistance to Trade Unions in those territories.

"Congress further requests the General Council to collect and forward to the World Federation of Trade Unions information on the measure of Trade Union Organisation in the different British Colonial and Mandated Territories in order that the Federation might consider, in relation to similar information from other affiliated Centres, the whole problem raised by the economically low standard of colonial peoples everywhere."

Speaking in support Mr. Tonge made a strong speech, illustrating his points by reference to the Nigerian trade union movement. At a previous T.U.C. Conference the same speaker had likewise urged encouragement of colonial trade unions. His approach to the question is welcomed by West Indian trade unionists as an enlightened one, particularly as he recognises the importance of and does not attempt to by-pass the W.F.T.U. in which colonial trade unionists place much hope.

Freetown, Sierre Leone (West Africa) — In response to persistent agitation for constitutional reform, in the process of which leading nationalists and trade unionists Wallace Johnson, Boyle and Thomas were imprisoned during the war a new constitution is at last to be considered for Sierre Leone. The Governor's proposals, put forward "as a basis for discussion" include a legislature with the Governor as Chairman, seven officials and sixteen "unofficial members". Further details are not known here as yet, but it is clear that if the "unofficials" are non-elected or partially non-elected, the proposed legislature will be a poor caricature of democracy In any event an elected majority in a legislature cuts very little ice without representation on an Executive Council.

VIET NAM

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Viet Nam, the ancient name for the territory conquered by the French and called Indo-China, was occupied by the Japanese during the war. The nationalist forces led by Ho Chi Minh drove out the Japanese and set up a democratic republic in favour of which the old feudal emperor resigned, accepting the appointment of Adviser to the new Government. Then the

French tried to reoccupy the country. The Viet-Namese resisted and the French eventually made a treaty with them recognising their independence within the "French Union." Subsequently when they felt stronger the French renewed hostilities in violation of the treaty. This article, from the "Viet-Nam News Letter" is published for information.—Ed.

It appears from Press despatches that the French authorities in Indochina are now launching a threefold attack against the Viet-Nam, political, financial and military.

1.—POLITICAL

In the South, the French set up two puppet Governments, which, lacking as they did the slightest measure of popular support, were doomed to failure from the start. The first puppet Government of June 1946 was presided over by Dr. Thinh, who committed suicide on November 9, 1946; and his successor, Dr. Hoach, finding himself in no better position, has recently resigned. Having got control of Hanoi, the French established a Provisional Committee of Administration headed by Dr. Tri, and in Annam they proceeded to instigate a monarchist movement, which was backed by ex-Mandarins of the Court of Hue. Here again the universal distrust of the people of any form of French rule and their faith in their own legal Government prevented these Committees from meeting with even a modicum of success. In Annam, for instance, the Committee's repudiation and subsequent collection of Viet-Nam Government notes produced no more than 38,000 piastres out of the 400,000 in circulation.

As a substitute to these Committees, the French are now seeking a man or body of men in Viet-Nam who enjoy a certain amount of influence and support among the people, to make use of as their pawn in their political campaign. They have made approaches to ex-Emperor BAO DAI, now living in voluntary exile in Hong-Kong, whose popularity is credited to his abdication in August 1945 in favour of a democratic Republic. They have also found in the French occupied area a few unscrupulous politicians, ambitious job-seekers, willing to act as their tool. These were the men who formed the so-called Viet-Nam delegation which went to Hong-Kong for discussions with BAO DAI. But it is not out of place to mention here that early in October many outstanding personalities from Tonkin and Cochinchina crossed the boundary line to join the Nationalist forces in Viet Nam. Six junior officers of the French trained Military School in Dalat had already joined the Maquis in August.

On September 10th, the French High Commissioner for Indochina, M. Emile BOLLAERT, delivered a speech in which he put forward proposals for peace with Viet Nam, which were flatly rejected by the Viet Nam Government. The proposals concerned the internal authority of Viet Nam; who was to have no army other than a police force which, in times of emergency, would be integrated with the French troops, and France was to have control of Viet Nam foreign affairs. These proposals were to be accepted or rejected, in toto. It was thought that perhaps the ex-Emperor would be willing to accept the terms, but not only did he, too, turn them down, but his "supporters", who claim to be representative of the Viet Nam people, went so far as to appeal to the United Nations for a settlement behind his back, thus demonstrating the paucity of influence BAO-DAI actually exists.

The French are still hoping to reach some sort of agreement with BAO-DAI, but he has made it clear that he is unwilling to assume responsibility at this juncture, and from his speech given in reply to that of the High Commissioner, it is obvious that his views on the matter are in accord with those of the Viet-Nam Government. In some sense, even, they go further, since BAO-DAI talks of an "entente" or treaty between France and Independent Viet-Nam, not of an Independent Viet-Nam within the French Union as envisaged by President HO-CHI-MINH.

2.—FINANCIAL

The French problem revolves itself therefore round their attempts to get popular support for the ex-Emperor in Viet-Nam. In their own words, their present offensive against the Viet-Nam Government headquarters in Tonkin is nothing more than a "preliminary step to pave the way for eventual negotiations with ex-Emperor Bao-Dai." The motives of their large-scale military attack are political, as has been described above. They allege that they are seeking to get control of the boundary lines through which the Vietnamese forces are being supplied with weapons and ammunition to carry on the fight. They are well aware that, in order to maintain these supplies from China and Siam, the Nationalists must barter rice and more important, currency (piastres issued by the Bank of Indochina) and to prevent this the Bank recalled all the 100-piastre notes it had issued, knowing that the Vietnamese Government had large stocks of these.

But they have not found the Vietnamese ready to part with their notes; on the contrary, with no imports and manufactured goods coming into the country from France and abroad, trade has been confined within the boundaries of Vietnamese controlled territory which represents about 94% of the total area of Indochina, and the notes have become virtually useless except for trade among the people themselves; the peasants are therefore not willing to surrender them.

2.—MILITARY

The goal of the present French offensive is the destruction of the head of the nationalist movement, the Viet-Nam Government itself in its own H. Q. in Tonkin. Viet-Nam Government have changed their strategy accordingly, and have refused to meet French troops or oppose French advances towards their H. Q. Instead, taking advantage of the slackening of French control in the South and Centre, they have concentrated their efforts on those parts and intensified their guerrilla activities.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the threefold French campaign is unlikely to meet with the success for which the French authorities are hoping. In the military sphere it is encountering no opposition to the head of its onslaught and heavy counter attacks in the regions where it is most weakened. Financially it is receiving no co-operation from the peasants. And lastly, the growing national consciousness of the Vietnamese people which has been their sustenance and inspiration during their two year old fight for freedom and their innate mistrust of anyone with whom the French may seek compromise and who is not backed by the National Government, render the failure af their all—out offensive a foregone conclusion.

Stop Press

Caribbean Briefs (continued)

Kingston, Jamaica.—The trials of pickets and union leaders arising out of the recent Gleaner strike have commenced. The arrests were so numerous that all could not be tried at the same time. The first batch of 18 pickets were all found not guilty of "intimidation" at the close of the prosecution's case. At the close of the trial of the second batch the Judge has ruled that there is a case to

answer. The trial of TUC Secretary F. A. Glasspole, MHR, Vice-Chairman Councillor Ken Hill, Councillors Wills Isaacs and T. A. Kelly and others has been adjourned to January 30. The defence is being conducted by N. W. Manley, K.C. instructed by T. N. Willoughby, Solicitor.

Kingston, Jamaica — All public meetings or assemblies have been banned temporarily by the Governor under the Emergency Powers Law [which Bustamante has made no effort to repeal since his party came to power). Cause of the trouble is the popular past time of city crowds of booing the "chief" whenever he appears. That ridicule should be his fate drives him to fury. Following two recent booings Mr. Bustamante called upon his followers to go on the rampage against his opponents, and threatened civil war within forty eight hours if the Governor didn't "give him protection." But the great majority of his followers just didn't respond. Without mass backing the acts of terrorism and stabbing carried out by his trained thugs and hirelings were easily traced to the individuals responsible. A score of them were arrested. The two P.N.P. Group headquarters attacked in the west of the city proved more than a match for the attackers. For some reason the maniac who started it all is still at large and being humoured, but the misguided followers who answered the call are still wondering what hit them.

Kingston, Jamaica — On 20th Hon. W. A. Bustamante was found guilty of assaulting a constable and obstructing him in the execution of his duty and fined £5. The incident occurred on the night of the pre-election clash when 2 men were killed. The constable was attempting to arrest one of Bustamante's followers. An appeal has been filed.

RETAIL SUGAR PRICES UP IN JAMAICA

Local Organisation Alleges "Deal"

Vigorous protests have been made by the Trades Union Congress against the Government's decision to increase the price of sugar to the local consumer. Increases in "Brown Albion" have been ordered as follows:—A. grade 3½d to 4d per lb.; C. grade 3d to 3½d; D. grade 2½d to 3d. "Granulated" goes from 4d to 4¾d. Prices of the cheapest grades of Rum have been similarly increased.

In a statement issued by the T.U.C. it is pointed out that the government has constantly permitted increases in the price of the staple commodities purchased by the masses instead of controlling the cost of living. The statement refers to the increases as "evidence of a deal between Bustamante and the Sugar Manufacturers Association at the expense of the consumer" and alleges that it is not surprising in the light of this to observe "the recent restoration of friendly relations between the Sugar Manufacturers Association and the Bustamante Union" even though the latter has lost the confidence of the sugar workers.

The statement continues: "What the SMA will have to pay Labour out of the recently awarded increase in the export price is being returned to them out of the workers' pocket. Thus those who need it least will take the fruits of the increased price to be paid by the British and Canadian Governments."

The statement goes on to point out that when the Caribbean Labour Congress made the demand for an increase in the export price it asked "that such increase shall be utilised so as to improve the conditions of the workers in the industry and to increase the price paid to the small farmers." Instead of utilising the increase for this purpose the Bustamante government was utilising the increase for the benefit of the Sugar Manufacturers. But "the sugar workers and small farmers will see through this manoeuvre and realise that the wage increases they hope for are being taken away in advance by ever rising prices."

Jamaica is the only sugar producing territory where the so-called representative of labour has agreed to a wage increase, ironically enough in the place where it would have been easiest to block it. Cabling from St. Kitts, President Bradshaw expressed his union's complete condemnation of the Jamaica Government's action and expressed their determination to resist any proposal for a parallel increase should the same ever be made in the Leeward Islands.

[PAN-AFRICAN FEDER. JAN. 1948]

Per Pro. PAN-AFRICA,

The Pan-African Federation,
C/o 211, Oxford Road,
Manchester, 13, England.

News Release 1/48.

Dear Brothers:

Reports have probably not reached you of recent outbreaks of violence in Liverpool, lasting for three nights, and directed against the African community. As the representative of the Pan-African Federation in the North West Area, I immediately visited Liverpool to investigate the outbreaks, and now wish to bring to your attention the following facts.

Why Liverpool?

It is no accident that hostility to our people should have reached the point of violence in Liverpool. This city grew rich on the slave trade, it has lived for four centuries on the toil of black folk in Africa, in the West Indies, and in the Southern States of America. Today, more than ever, Liverpool depends on us, on our palm and groundnut oils, on our cocoa, our sugar, our cotton and our dollars. She can get them only if Africans remain to her what they have always been - mere instruments to prosperity.

Our Community and How They Came.

Liverpool has had an African population for over a century. From a very small group, the community has expanded through two World Wars, until today it numbers some 8,000. Of the able-bodied adults, about 30% are seafarers; another 10% are gainfully employed ashore; and the remaining 60% are kept more or less permanently unemployed as a result of racial discrimination, and have to be supported by the Public Assistance to which all needy British subjects are entitled.

Some of these men have lived in England many years; others among the young people were born here. But the majority came to England from the West Indies and from Africa to assist in the war effort between 1939 and 1945. Others have arrived since the end of the war in answer to appeals for more manpower to help in Britain's struggle for survival; they felt that here surely they would find the employment and economic security denied them in their homelands.

But instead, their presence has served only to arouse the hostility of Englishmen, proverbially insular, seeing in all "foreigners" a threat to their inflated position, and above all, despising the African race. This fact is true despite the superficial evidence to the contrary shown during the war years. The majority suffer from a deep racial antipathy founded on colour, which is particularly directed against those ~~members of our race~~ who have settled among them. ~~Our~~ people are refused employment, they are ignored or insulted, ~~yet they are called upon to fight Britain's battles~~. They are begrudged the unemployment relief they receive on the grounds that they have not contributed towards it; yet the earnings of the colonial territories from which they come are controlled by the British Government and form the very basis of British borrowing power. And so blind are they, that they even spurn the hand that helps to feed them failing to realise that out of the billions of dollars received from America, 1/10th comes from the toil of kinsmen of that very community they reject.

Climax.

For three nights, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of August, our people in Liverpool were subjected to unprovoked attacks on their persons and their homes, by gangs of Europeans. Instead of giving them protection, the City Police, it is alleged, joined in the attack, injuring many of our people both men and women, with their truncheons. Some eighty of our men are now in prison awaiting trial, bail having been refused in the majority of cases. The injuries inflicted on our people and the damage done to their homes have not yet been assessed. Investigations have still to be made, and the Police have professed their ignorance of the causes. But need we add that the blame for the outbreaks has immediately been placed on the shoulders of our people?

Police Intimidation.

We are, however, fully aware that the situation is not one of their making. African resentment is seething against the Police for their part in aggravating a small incident into a major offensive. Opinion is united in declaring that the Police gave active encouragement to lawless gangs of European hooligans, and made the resulting violence a pretext to descend on African clubs and homes, to assault with brutality the people they found there, and to break up household furniture and personal possessions. Relations between Africans and Europeans in the district have returned to normal, but an augmented Police force remains - and with it mounting tension. This flaunting of Police authority can serve only to increase the irritation of the African community among whom the feeling is general that the Police are there not to protect them from further outrage, but to intimidate them into silence.

The impression thus given to the rest of the country can be judged from the few newspaper reports we have seen. African aggression is assumed without question. But twice in a generation (1919, and today) our people have been subjected to these attacks in Liverpool, and we can no longer blind ourselves to the hostility of the English people; it renders them incapable of according to an African and his family the normal rights of citizenship, and it brands him "savage, hooligan" when he demands them. Today it is Liverpool, tomorrow.....where?

Its Importance to You.

This is not an isolated outbreak in one city; it is a barometer which our people everywhere will ignore at their peril. The people who attack us with brutality in Liverpool are the people who hold the whip lash over our millions throughout the world. For our people everywhere, we must make a united and determined protest now. Our demands are:-

1. That a full and impartial investigation be made into the recent outbreaks of violence in Liverpool.

2. That full compensation be given to our people for the injuries to themselves and the damage inflicted on their property.

3. That the individuals responsible for these outrages be brought to trial.

HOBTA 69

4. That African men and women be included in the City Police Force as a means of preventing further outbreaks of this nature, and also as a means of weakening the prejudices shown by both Police and civilians.

To make this protest effective, we need your help. We suggest that you write to the undermentioned authorities, expressing your indignation, and giving support to these demands, which we are laying before them immediately.

You should write to:-

Mr. C. Attlee,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street, London, S.W.1.

Mr. Chuter Ede,
The Home Secretary,
Home Office,
Whitehall, London, S.W.1.

The Lord Mayor,
The Lord Mayor's Parlour,
Town Hall, Liverpool.

The Chief Constable,
Liverpool City Police,
Liverpool.

The Chairman of the Watch Committee,
The Town Hall,
Liverpool.

The Bishop of Liverpool,
C/o The Cathedral,
Liverpool.

Cardinal Griffin,
Archbishops House,
Westminster,
London. S.W. 1.

The Archbishop of Canterbury,
Lambeth Palace,
London.

The Archbishop of York,
Bishopthorpe,
Yorkshire.

Most Rev: R. Downey,
Archbishops House, Liverpool.

Mr. H. McLachlan, 11, Sydenham Ave.,
Liverpool 17, (for the Free Churches

President of the Free Church Council,
Rev: L. Redfern, 14, Gordon Sq., WC1

A Defence Fund has now been opened to help defray the expenses of the trial.

July 7, 1948

Miss Florence M. Nichols
PAN - AFRICA
58 Oxford Road
Manchester 1, England

Dear Miss Nichols:

It has been some time since we last heard from you and we have been wondering just what was done in regard to your printed edition of the NAACP petition, which was presented to the United Nations last October 23. You wrote at one time that it was about ready to come off the press, but to date we have not seen any copies of it.

We would appreciate some word from you concerning this matter.

Meanwhile, we hope your work is coming along. Incidentally, the Liberia Company, Stettinius Associates, Inc., 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, contacted us about Pan-Africa. We gave them your address and told them to write you for full information. You may hear from them. You recall this is the American company formed last year to "develop" Liberia.

Good wishes for your work.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Telephone: XXXXXX Ardwick 2856

PAN-AFRICA

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LIFE HISTORY AND THOUGHT

Publisher & Managing Editor - - T. R. MAKONNEN.
Research Secretary - - - - FLORENCE NICHOL

Published at XXXXXXXX
58, OXFORD ROAD
XXXXXXX
ENGLAND

Dr. H. Smythe,
Dept. of Special Research,
NAACP,
New York, USA.

211, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13.

9th July 1948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Since our somewhat lengthy correspondence with regard to the publication of the NAACP Petition, there seems to have been a regrettable gap in the contact between us. We trust that you received the copies of the issue of PAN-AFRICA in which the Petition was printed, and you will doubtless be pleased to hear that this issue has proved to be a most popular one.

We are most anxious, however, that the contact between us should not end there, and while we do still hear of your activities by indirect means, we feel our relationship should warrant a more direct and continuous contact.

We feel it is time that PAN-AFRICA paid its respects to Dr. DuBois and for the purpose we are wanting material on his life, his activities, his aims, his methods of work, all against a background of the times through which he has lived, and the very great influence which he has exercised on them. Such an analysis would act as an inspiration to the present leadership in Africa, and to the future, more especially since Africans for the most part are in complete ignorance of the great work which Dr. DuBois has achieved on their behalf. Professor Dover tells us that messages of some significance were sent to the Dr. on the occasion of his 80th birthday. If copies are available, we would appreciate adding them to our files. Any help or suggestions you can offer towards a serious appreciation of Dr. Dubois along these lines will be welcome.

I am also thinking, in connection with this, of establishing prizes for essay competitions, and bearing the name of Dr. DuBois. Perhaps you would give your comments on this suggestion which I believe would be an ideal way of furthering

the ideals of a very great man.

I know you must be a very busy person, but hope you will nevertheless find the time to co-operate in bridging the gap which still divides our people in the Old world and the New.

Yours very sincerely,

ato. T. R. Makonnen.

T. R . Makonnen.

23C-32-7

July 16, 1948

Mr. T. R. Makonnen
Pan-Africa
211 Oxford Road
Manchester 13, England

Dear Mr. MaKonnen:

I want to thank you for your prompt reply to my letter concerning the disposal of the NAACP petition by Pan-Africa, and for the other things you said concerning Dr. DuBois. Unfortunately, we have never received any copies of Pan-Africa which contain your publication of the petition and that was why I wrote you. You know we would appreciate receiving a copy or so, if you have any available. We thought it had been published, since the last communication we had from Miss Nichols in January was that proof was being read on it and publication would soon follow. We shall look forward to seeing your edition of it.

Like yourself, we hope that the lapses between our correspondence will not tend to be so long hereafter, for we want to keep each other informed on things that are of the utmost importance to both of us. We shall be writing you from time to time.

The things you said concerning the perpetuation of the spirit of Dr. DuBois are understood quite well and your idea is most excellent. For a man like him, as you know, existence has never been easy, but it is gratifying to see that after all these years the fruits of his struggles are beginning to ripen. What he has done must go on and the method you propose is one of the best possible ways to achieve this end.

Under separate cover I am sending you some material -- speeches he has made, some of which are published, material on his eightieth birthday, including copies of greetings received, suggestions by Cedric Dover for a dedicatory volume to Dr. DuBois, a manuscript on comments on his life written by himself, his eightieth anniversay speech, etc. -- concerning him which I believe you will find of help.

As a suggestion, it would be a commendable idea if an exchange fellowship could be established for American and African students in the social sciences known as the W.E.B. DuBois Exchange Fellowship. This is difficult to do, I know, since the authorities both here and there who would have to pass upon such a thing and arrange for its financing would not be favorable to something in his honor. Nevertheless, I still think

it can be done and it ought to be done. Here there are several foundations who can do this, or at least underwrite such a thing in part. The Federal government might be induced to help, although this is most doubtful. Then there are individuals who could help, people with money. It might prove fruitful if you wrote some of these people from England and made the proposition. Here are some addresses to contact:

Dr. Fred McCuiston, General Education Board, Rockefeller Center, New York, New York
Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President, Liberian Foundation, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
The Director, Carnegie Corporation of New York, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York
The Twentieth Century Fund, 330 West 42nd Street, New York New York (write the Director)
Dr. Channing Tobias, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York, New York

This is only one suggestion. As other things come to mind and I have more time to devote to such a project, I shall contact you.

Incidentally, St. Clair Drake, whom you probably recall from his recent trip to England and the co-author of the volume Black Metropolis, has contacted Dr. DuBois, especially concerning the Somalilland question and told us you had sat in as a consultant or something to that effect when the Somalis met there recently. We appreciated this, since Doctor is at present concentrating on an African project which requires the latest available information on things in Africa. Should you have anything you would like to send we shall appreciate your letting us have it.

We are quite occupied here, but who isn't, as you well know about yourself and your office. Nevertheless, I shall try to keep you posted of developments as they come to our attention about the things of mutual interest. Looking forward to a few copies of the Pan-Africa containing the NAACP petition and sending you best wishes for continued success in all you do, and greetings to Miss Nichol, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

PAN-AFRICA

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Published at –
58 OXFORD ROAD
MANCHESTER 1
ENGLAND

Dr. H. Smythe,
Department of Special
Research,
NAACP,
New York, USA

211, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13.

21st July 1948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Many thanks for your letter and the observations you made on my suggestions. We are somewhat at a loss to understand what happened to your copies of the journal, since Miss Nichol has confirmed their despatch on the 6th February. As I mentioned before, this issue proved a popular one, and we have in stock only two rather weary looking copies which were returned to us, their owners having departed for Africa without leaving a forwarding address. We have however, recalled a few unsold copies from one of our agents in Nigeria, and these should reach us sometime in the near future when more presentable copies will be mailed to you. At the same time, we shall be sending you a bound copy of the 1947 issues for your library.

As a matter of fact, I am very much in touch with the Somali question and the leaders of the Somali League in this country. I have been thinking for some considerable time that a comprehensive survey of Somaliland and its problems is very badly needed. I am having material collected for this purpose and will be only too happy to let you have what I am able to gather. I shall also have copies made of correspondence which has recently been appearing in the colums of the London "Times", on the question of the ex-Italian colonies and their proposed return to Italian domination. I understand also that there has been a Conference in Milan on the subject of the Italian colonies, and representing all Italian opinions. I am endeavouring to get hold of reports on or by this Conference which should prove of value both to us and to you.

I am womdering to what extent you are supplied with material relating to colonial affairs appearing in this country, such as the reports and research publications of the Fabian Society, Government papers, copies of the

publications devoted to African and colonial affairs, such as "The Crown Colonist", "West African Review", "East Africa and Rhodesia" and so on. If you are not served regularly with the most important reports and discussions, I shall be only too pleased to see that they are sent to you. Bulletins are issued by the Central Office of Information and the Colonial Office, and I have no doubt that if you are not already on their mailing list, it will be a simple matter to ensure that you are in the future. Please let me know without delay.

The material you have so kindly sent has not yet reached us, but should do in 10 days or so. W e are planning to start a "Who's Who" corner in the journal, and for the purpose would appreciate photographs of the Doctor, and also of yourself.

The observations you have made on the fellowship project are most useful, and I am busy sounding many of our professional men in this country on the possibilities. I hope to be able to add more to the pool of ideas in a little while, and I am more than pleased to know that I shall have your full support and co-operation in the working out of a suitable scheme.

Yours very sincerely,

ato T. R. Makonnen

T. R. Makonnen.

23c-33-11

Pan Africa Journal

July 26, 1948

Mr. T. R. MaKonnen, Editor
PAN - AFRICA
211 Oxford Road
Manchester 13, England

Dear Mr. Kakonnen:

Your letter of July 21 arrived this morning and I am going to answer it right off. It was very good of you to write so quickly. Like yourself, we, too, are puzzled about the edition of Pan-Africa containing the petition. However, as you say, you are sending us a few copies later on, that will take care of the matter. Thanks for your efforts in this regard. Also, please accept our sincere thanks for the bound volume of the journal you are sending for our libary. That you may see some of the type of work the Association here is doing, we are sending you under separate cover copies of pamphlets and leaflets put out by the organization. They may be useful in your work, but at least they will enable you to see what the NAACP is doing, in part.

I think it would be a good idea if you wrote our publicity director, Mr. Henry Lee Moon, and asked him to send you the weekly releases. I have just given his secretary your address and told her to put you on the list, also that you would write Mr. Moon directly. You might find these releases of use and they will help to keep you abreast of what goes on here.

Your offer to supply us with material and reports is most gratifying. We have a difficult time keeping up with the latest moves in Af[illegible], although we do try to secure all the material we can. We would appreciate it very much if you would see that we receive reports and research publications of the Fabian Society, Government papers, and copies of publications devoted to African and colonial affairs, such as The Crown Colonist, West African Review, East Africa and Rhodesia and so on. We are not served regularly with any of the important reports and discussions and it would be a great help if you could see that we are sent them and placed on the mailing list of the Central Office of Information and that of the Colonial Office to receive their bulletins and other materials they send out.

If possible, I am going to try and send the photographs of Dr. DuBois and myself with this letter. Also, I think you might want to write to Professor St. Clair Drake, 3767 South Lake Park Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, in this regard. You will recall meeting him at the meeting of the Somalis in England during the spring. He is back home now, but has written me several times, since we are old friends from school days at the University of Chicago. Also, although he is now in Central America, you ought to write Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins, anthropologist, Howard University, Washington, D. C. He is a specialist in African linguistics and devotes much of his time to other problems concerning Africa.

P.S. I think it would be a good idea for you to write Mr. James Ivy, Managing Editor, The Crisis, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., and ask to be placed on the exchange list to receive the Crisis in exchange for Pan-Africa.

Dr. DuBois is currently at work on a piece on Africa that will attempt to draw together in a single article the various components operating in behalf of Africans and their fight for independence and release from colonial exploitation. Whatever comes of it I shall let you know, and, if possible, a copy shall be sent to you.

I do not know whether you have been in contact with the Council on African Affairs here. That organization has been having some internal troubles, but it is beginning to operate again. It might pay you to write to Dr. A. W. Hunton, Educational Director, Council on African Affairs, 23 McDonough Street, Brooklyn New York, U.S.A. Dr. Hunton should be able to keep you posted of what they are doing here in regard to Africans---the organization sends out releases regularly and protests widely against any sort of reported mistreatment of Africans both here and abroad. Their major purpose is to work on behalf of Africans abroad to bring about a greater understanding here of the situation there in Africa.

Sometime when you write, will you tell us something about The National Council for Civil Liberties, 11a, King's Road, London, S. W. 3. We have heard from them but they are a new organization and perhaps you could tell us about them and their work. They seem to be all right and fighting for the right things, and we are favorably impressed with the material they sent. Thanks for doing this.

Later on I plan to make more suggestions, aside from the fellowship mentioned in my last letter. Something on a more practical line would be even more worth while. I think, personally, that the finest thing that could happen would be for Americans, both Negro and white, to be able to go to the various parts of the African continent and see first-hand what the situation is. That is, something along the lines of a sort of internship could be developed, in which individuals would go to Africa and work with the people, live with them, and as soon as they had acquired some understanding of the culture and psychology behind it, then they could begin to function with the people themselves in working out their problems. The mistakes that other peoples have made as they emerged from colonial domination could be avoided in this way, since the Africans could profit by the experience of others and thus facilitate faster progress away from alien control. If the African towns and villages could provide possible living accommodations for such internes, then some way could be worked out to secure the rest of their expenses and a fund provided to pay such individuals a moderate sum for the work they perform. Of course, such internships would run for at least two years, for it would take a year for the persons to come to know their respective communities and be in a position to render any real service.

This is all for now, but I shall be writing you again, soon. With best wishes for continued success in your work, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Enclosures

(Pan-Africa)

58, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13.

Mr. E. Nicholls,
First Assistant Chief
Constable,
Liverpool City Police,
LIVERPOOL.

7th August 1948.

Dear Sir:

I was glad of the opportunity afforded me by Mr. Livermore, to meet you on Wednesday last. The talk we had was most instructive in enabling me to gain some idea of your point of view, which is important in coming to any definite conclusions on the recent outbreaks in Liverpool.

I would like to stress that I feel this is a matter which cannot be taken lightly, since Liverpool has now witnessed two such outbreaks in a generation. I was particularly curious, therefore, after leaving your office, to find out as far as possible, what lay at the bottom of this hostility, but up to the time of writing I am, like yourself, without sufficient material to come to any very decided conclusions. I cannot say that the meeting at Stanley House was very helpful in determining the underlying causes, but it is obvious from the hostility shown to Mr. Owen, and to the remarks made by the chairman that my people are not satisfied that justice has been done to them by the upholders of the law. The reasons for this belief will, I hope, be revealed in the course of an investigation which my organisation is undertaking.

I am sufficiently aware of the workings of government to realise that any observations of mine will not necessarily be accepted by those whose long experience has taught them to distrust theory. Nevertheless, I feel that I would be failing in my duty were I to avoid making these observations.

It is clear to me that the concentration of large numbers of European policemen in the so-called "African" district of Liverpool since the outbreak of violence, is acting as a provocation to my people. They take it as a reproach, which they feel to be totally unwarranted. It is, indeed, a constant source of wonder to me that Europeans continue to be so ignorant of African psychology and the ways of African life. My people, especially, perhaps, those of the West Indies, are the most law-abiding of any people in the British Commonwealth. In saying this, I am casting no reflection on my own people

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in Africa, where the general absence of any organised force throughout wide areas of the Continent does not result in lawlessness, for a sense of social behaviour and obligations is deeply ingrained in African people. The assumption, therefore, that they must now be kept under more intensive police watch not un-naturally angers them, more especially since the situation is not one of their making. It is the general opinion that the greater numbers of police in the district are not there to protect the Africans from a recurrence of their recent experience, but rather to intimidate them into silence. The normal life which still goes on between Africans and Europeans in the district, points to the conclusion that the continuing tension stems from the presence of the police rather than from hostility in the community itself. It should be borne in mind that Africans have as great a respect for force as any other people, but when this force is constantly impressed upon them, as it now appears to be in Liverpool, the outrage to their self-respect is much greater.

It must be appreciated that while you, both as an individual and as a senior Police Officer, may be fully aware of your duties to all sections of the community in Liverpool, the same high principles do not necessarily motivate all members of your Police Forces. Policemen have their prejudices in common with other sections of mankind, and they do not shed them with their civilian clothes. Indeed, their uniform may serve as a shield behind which prejudices can be given full reign - a fact fully substantiated by recent events. Many evils are committed in the name of law and order, and nothing is calculated to bring that very law and order into disrepute more surely than an insistence on its maintenance regardless of all other factors.

I appreciate your position as deputy head of the Police Forces in Liverpool, but it would be as well to pause for a while to consider the meaning of this phrase, "law and order". We may well ask, " law and order in whose interests and to what end ?" I have found a general tendency in this country, which one does not find in Africa, to regard law and the enforcement of law as something outside and above the individual citizen. But this should not be so. Society exists only in the individual and is built on the social contracts of individual rights and obligations. Looked at in this light, law and order is not enforced, nor is it an end in itself : it is merely a natural expression of peaceful society, and exists in the general consent

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and will of at least a majority of the citizens. To talk, therefore, of " maintaining law and order at all costs " is contradictory, and indicates a lack of understanding of the true nature of society. More important still, it creates doubts and suspicions which are not healthy for the well-being of the community as a whole. My people cannot forget that "law and order" is also maintained in the Southern States of America, and our people can be lynched there with impunity in its name and by its very enforcers. Nor are some of us without personal experience of "law and order" in certain colonial territories, in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone ; in Kenya, Tanganyika and the Rhodesias ; and in the Belgian Congo and the Union of South Africa, where our men are deported for exercising what, to the citizen of Britain, is but a citizen's right. Under these circumstances we find ourselves in a position where the ends justify the means, and law and order becomes a mockery. Moreover, it is well to reflect that at no time in history have my people created a precedent in disregarding the rights of others. Their hospitality to strangers has been proverbial, and their hostility has been aroused only after long and persistent abuse of their humanity. Even then history records no instance in which Africans have turned on a defenceless minority. The very city of Liverpool itself is a monument to the exploitation of African humanity ; yet I do not exaggerate in stating that no people in the world,has a record to equal that of the Africans in upholding those principles of humanity upon which the very law and order are founded.

The African community of Liverpool may appear to have been docile in the past and indifferent to their rights as citizens, while adhering strictly to their duties, but the city of Liverpool would be making a grave mistake to accept that pattern as static. If the Police in Liverpool are to win the co-operation of the African community in the future, they must respect the rights which Africans share in common with the other citizens, and give protection in preference to coercion. As a result of their recent experiences, I doubt indeed, whether a Police Force there consisting solely of Europeans, will be able to win the confidence of these people. While we are opposed to the idea of co-opting men for the task, I do feel that the situation is such as to demand the inclusion of representatives from the African community in the City Police Force. In addition to giving the Africa ns themselves some confidence that they and their homes will be accorded respect and protection, such a course would also have a salutary effect on the outlook and behaviour of those policemen who have so far failed to inspire such confidence.

EL PL 90H

I am aware that, even should you agree that such a step is essential, its implementation would not finally rest with you, but since you have expressed your sympathy with my people and have personal acquaintances among them, I feel it may help you in advising on future policy. I am taking steps to acquaint the City Fathers of the facts as they have come to my notice and the general consensus of opinion, and I shall not fail to put this suggestion to them also, since I feel that while it will not remove the deep-seated causes of hostility, it will at least create an atmosphere in which progress could be made.

My Committee will be spending some time in Liverpool in an endeavour to get to the bottom of the matter, and we shall not hesitate to contact you from time to time.

Yours faithfully,

T. R. Makonnen.

[E.N.C. - Pan-Afr. Federation]

To the Lord Mayor and City Aldermen of Liverpool

HLPL 90H

XXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXX

211, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13.

14th August 1948

Dear Sir:

As the representative of the Pan-African Federation in charge of the North West area, I am making protest on behalf of the Federation against the injustices now being perpetrated on our community in Liverpool. As citizens of Liverpool, helping to maintain the government of the city, our people have every right to expect that they will be protected from outrages of this nature in common with other sections of the community, and that full investigation should be made if and wehn such outrages take place.

We are horrified that no steps have been taken by the City Authorities to investigate the recent outbreaks of violence which have disgraced the name of Liverpool. Up to the time of writing, that is more than two weeks after the first disturbances, neither civic leaders nor city government haveeeeen expressed their unprejudiced concern that such outbreaks have taken place in their city. We are left with no other conclusion than that the aggression of the African people is taken for granted.

We wish to make it quite clear that such negligence and injustice is to be condemned. We are not indifferent to the history of Liverpool and the indictment against it in terms of human misery and slavery through the centuries, but we had though t that after two world wars and the deepening economic crisis a change of heart would be noticeable in the city. But the prejudices which have motivated the actions of Liverpool over a period of four centuries are still apparently at work, and the importance of the African and the West Indian trade to the life and prosperity of the city is disregarded.

If moral authority means anything, it is on an occasion such as this that its exercise is called for. By your complete indifference as a body to these events you have demonstrated your incompetence, and revealed a scandal which Africans the world over will not forget.

The seriousness of the situation is such that we feel it is not too late for the city authorities to carry out their duties by making a thorough and impartial investigation. As representative of the Pan-African Federation, I am instructed to demand that this investigation be made in the interests of the future relationship between our peoples.

Yours faithfully,

T.R.Makonnen.

PAN-AFRICA

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Publisher & Managing Editor - - T. R. MAKONNEN
Executive Editor - - - - DINAH STOCK
Research Secretary - - - FLORENCE NICHOL

Published at –
~~58 OXFORD ROAD~~
~~MANCHESTER 1~~
ENGLAND

211, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13.

27th September 1948

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Forgive me for taking so long to acknowledge your letters and information concerning Dr. DuBois and the NAACP. Mr. Makonnen asked me to write to you some days ago, but we have been so fully occupied arranging meetings and one thing and another, that I have not been able to get round to it until today.

However, we have not slept on your information. I need not say how completely we are in agreement with Dr. Dubois. A copy of the Memorandum, and of the Resolution passed by the Board of Directors has been passed onto George Padmore who is at present in Paris. The support of leading members of the community here in Manchester has been enlisted for the sending of a strong resolution to the NAACP, but we are awaiting Mr. Padmore's observations before sending this. Mr. Makonnen has also suggested to Mr. Padmore that he should speak to Walter White and make clear to him the Federation's stand on this matter. We have written to Mr. White (copy enclosed), but the letter does not mention the controversy. We felt it would be best to put forward certain suggestions along the lines which have apparently precipitated the split, and see what his reply would be. Immediately word comes from Mr. Padmore, we shall take steps to publicise the Federation's views of the whole controversy, and Mr. White cannot then complain he did not have due warning from us. We do feel very strongly on the matter, and would like you to assure Dr. DuBois of our sympathy and all the support in our power.

Mr. Makonnen feels, however, that this latest development is no more than could be expected, since the NAACP has shown a consistent antagonism to Dr. DuBois' principles from those early days when he edited the "Crisis". His worth they were compelled to realise only because white Americans realised it and honoured him for it. But apparently, like the Bourbons

they learn nothing and forget nothing, and the Doctor's sincerity is too much for them.

Needless to say, we cannot feel toostrongly about the U.S. foreign policy, especially as it touches the colonial peoples; and if Dr. DuBois were not sure of it before, which I know he was, there is no doubt that he has earned the respect and gratitude of Africans throughout the colonial territories. I will let you know as soon as we receive a reply from Mr. White.

Yours very sincerely,

Florence M. Mahol

Dr. H. Smythe,
Dept. of Special
Research,
NAACP,
20, West 40th Street,
New York,
U.S.A.

COPY LETTER

211, Oxford Road
Manchester 13
England

24th September 1948

Dear Mr. White:

It has recently come to our knowledge that you have been appointed to the position of advisor to the United States Delegation to the United Nations Assembly in Paris. May I take this opportunity, on behalf of the Pan-African Federation, to offer you our congratulations.

At the same time, however, we cannot let the opportunity slip to express our uneasiness over the policies being adopted by the United States towards Ethiopia, towares the question of the ex-Italian colonies, and towards the colonial peoples in general. We are not in a position to judge the extent to which these subjects have been debated in the United States, nor what is the nature of the opinions expressed. We can conclude only that discussion has taken place and opinions have been expressed such as to lead to your inclusion in the Delegation.

We feel towards our kinsmen in the United States very much as the people of Europe feel towards their kinsmen there. Since the United States has now assumed a leading role in world affairs--one might say a determining role--it is obvious that our kinsmen in common with their white fellowcitizens must also be projecting themselves into the international arena. These kinsmen of ours, and whom you are representing in Paris, are in a better position than anyone else to help us in our fight for independence and recognition. The very fact that they now have a spokesman in the U. S. Delegation ~~them~~ indicated the extent to which they have succeeded in organising themselves into an articulate group, capable of making its views heard and respected. Just as the small and weak peoples of Europe have looked towards their kinsmen in the United States to give them help and encouragement, so we look towards our Afro-American kinsmen.

On behalf of the Pan-African Federation, therefore, I am asking you, at this rather late date and without departing from your committments, to use your good offices for the benefit of your oppressed kinsmen not represented in Paris.

Needless to say, we are anxious about developments concerning South and East Africa, and the manner in which the patterns set there are gradually engulfing the whole continent of Africa. Again, very little is is ever said about our kinsmen under Belgian and Portuguese rule, but sufficient is known to warrant our deepest concern. The treatment of Ethiopia, and the fate of ~~the~~ our Somali brothers are also matters which should command the active attention of any delegation in which Afro-Americans are represented.

We feel sure that you will appreciate the interest with which all African peoples will follow your activities in Paris, and we hope you will not let slip the opportunity afforded for closer understanding.

We trust we may hear from you when you have a little time to spare in the midst of your many duties.

With best wishes for a successful and happy mission,

Yours sincerely,

(signed( ) T. R. Makonnen.

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PAN-AFRICA

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Research Secretary - - - FLORENCE NICHOL

Published at –
58 OXFORD ROAD
MANCHESTER 1
ENGLAND

211, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13.

5th October 1948

22-40-102

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Knowing your great interest in the academic work of our people, and the encouragement you have never hesitated to give, I feel sure you would be happy to hear of Dr. Danquah, if you have not already discovered his work.

Dr. Danquah is one of our leading African scholars, a native of the Gold Coast and a member of one of the ruling houses of that country. He graduated LL.B in 1925 from London University, and was called to the Bar at Inner Temple. He was appointed John Stuart Mill Scholar in Philosophy, Mind and Logic and was awarded a Ph.D. for his work in that capacity. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, and in his own country is a leading member of the Gold Coast United Convention, and is also a Member of the Legislative Council. In his latter role, however, his position is somewhat anomalous, as you will appreciate, since he is a representative of the Ashanti Kings and not of the people with whom his sympathies lie.

It is, however, to his academic work that I would like to direct your attention. Dr. Danquah is a pioneer in that he has made what we consider an historical contribution through his many writings, the most outstanding of these being his two books on the Akan people, "Akan Law and Custom", and "The Akan Doctrine of Gos".

As far as I can gather few of Dr. Danquah's writings have come to the attention of American scholars. This I feel is most unfortunate, especially for those Americans of African descent.

Dr. Danquah has recently returned to this country as a member of the Gold Coast Delegation to the African Conference, now being held under the auspices of the Colonial Office. In discussing his work last week, I mentioned to

22-40-103

him that you, by virtue of your wide academic connections and experience would be in a position to put him in the right channels for a wider distribution of his work.

Personally, I consider his work to be of great sociological and philosophical value, particularly to American scholars who are showing so much interest in anthropological studies and in the history and the institutions of African peoples.

I would also express the hope, but without knowing Dr. Danquah's own views on the matter, that at some future date he should be invited to lecture at the outstanding institutions in America such as Atlanta, Fisk, Wilberforce, Lincoln and Howard. I feel that it is in the interests of all our people that African scholars, whether in the New World or the Old, should be known to, and recognised by, their kinsmen, and I have no doubt at all that Dr. Danquah deserves a place among the foremost.

Dr. Smythe has been keeping us in touch with events in New York, and while I cannot add much by way of comment at the moment, you may rest assured that you have our whole-hearted support.

With very best wishes for continued health and strength in your work,

Yours sincerely,

T. R. Makonnen

T. R. Makonnen.

Dr. DuBois,
Director of Dept.
of Special Research.
NAACP,
20, West 40th Street,
New York 18,
New York, USA.

xxxxxxxxxxx

October 18, 1948

Miss Florence Nichol
Pan - Africa
211 Oxford Road
Manchester 13, England

Dear Miss Nichol:

I want to thank you for your very fine letter of September 27, which I find upon my return from my vacation today. I know you are overloaded with work and so understand fully any delay in your writing. Since your situation is similar to ours, you will bear with us in such circumstances, too.

As you know, the eruption that has come in regard to Dr. DuBois and his position in the NAACP has been quite taxing on him, and he has been working hard, nevertheless, to see that something is done by the Association in regard to taking a stand on the question of Africa and the colonies. Of course, working alone his fight is doubly difficult, but he is carrying on and whatever develops you will be informed immediately.

Since I know you, Mr. Makonnen, and the others there would want to know the details of this whole matter that has resulted in the ousting of Dr. DuBois, I am enclosing the statement released by Dr. DuBois in rebutial to that sent out by the NAACP. You can read his MY RELATIONS WITH THE NAACP and draw your own conclusions.

Dr. DuBois was quite pleased to see your letter and its enclosure.

Within the near future I shall be writing you again. Until then, keep on with your fine work and I shall try to keep you posted of what develops here and where Dr. DuBois can be located after his taking leave of here on December 31.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

H H Smythe

[Pan-African Federation]

PAN-AFRICA

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MANCHESTER 1
ENGLAND

Copy of letter sent to all Delegations to the United Nations.

211, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13.

25th October 1948

23-20-18

We have been greatly perturbed by news reaching us of the attitude taken up by Mr. Grantley Adams as a member of the British Delegation in defending the colonial policy of the British Government. While it may be a little late for us to voice our protest, we nevertheless feel that we would be failing in our duty were we to allow his statement to pass unchallenged.

During the past year, we have followed closely the discussions concerning the transmission of political information by the colonial powers to the Trusteeship Council, and we had looked forward to the Paris meetings with the hope that those delegations pressing for the transmission of such information would receive the support they deserve.

The attempts made by humanists over the past fifty years to show that colonial possessions are incompatible with peace and justice, have not escaped our notice. By their very nature, colonial possessions are the breeding ground of conflict and war, not only between the colonial peoples and their rulers, but also between the rulers and other sovereign powers without colonial possessions. For example since the unification of Italy in 1860 and of Germany in 1870, Europe and Africa have been torn with conflict arising out of and perpetuated by the belief of these two nations that as sovereign states they also have the right to colonial possessions.

The move within the United Nations, and on the part of some of its members to insist on closer and more complete international supervision, not of the colonial peoples themselves, but of the European powers who claim to rule them, gave us hope that at long last not only would the stigma of colonial status be abolished, but that a major cause of war and exploitation would also be destroyed. The transmission

of political information would be an important step towards undermining the monopolistic concept of colonial possessions upheld by Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and South Africa, and break the strnagle-hold they now maintain over freedom of speech, of the press and of movement.

It came as a great shock to us therefore, to learn that Mr. Grantley Adams, claiming to represent the colonial peoples in general, and those of the British colonies in particular, had proved to be an spologist for imperialism, and an enemy of the cause for which progressive people have fought so long. None of the colonial peoples were consulted on the appointment of Mr, Adams, nor on the stand he should take on this question. Indeed, it is one of the main curses of the colonial system that only those unfamiliar with and least in touch with the people are allowed to speak in their name. We know nothing of Mr. Adams, and he apparently knows even less of us. While it is true that he is a person of African descent, we maintain that if the opinions of the African peoples were required, there are many eminent men in Africa who could speak with confidence of the support of their people. But they would not speak as Mr. Adams has spoken.

23.20.19

We wish most emphatically to express our indignation, and to send our congratulations to those delegations who have made it part of their duty to raise these questions concerning our status. The opinions expressed by Mr. Adams are not indicative of our inability or of our indifference, and we hope that their effect will not be to deter the future efforts of those who insist on the implementation of the United Nations Charter. As the enclosed resolution makes clear, we do not in the least share the views of Mr. Adams, and we hope that before the end of the session an opportunity will arise to inform the Secretary-General that Mr. Adams has been repudiated by the people in whose name he presumes to speak.

Yours faithfully,

T.R. Makonnen
Acting Secretary
The Pan-African Federation.

[Enclosure]

23-20-20

This meeting of the Pan-African Federation declares:-

1. Its support for the views regarding the political development and ultimate independence of the "non-self-governing" territories, originally expressed at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in 1945, by the Delegates of the USSR, of the Philippines and of China, and again repeated in Paris this month; and in view of the expressed intentions and principles of the Trusteeship Council, deprecates the policy adopted by Great Britain in refusing to transmit information of political developments in its report to the Council.

2. Its lack of confidence in the British Government arising firstly out of the speeches made by its Delegates to the United Nations, consistently blocking all attempts to introduce the principles of true democracy and humanity, and secondly out of events and developments in East and West Africa which have since confirmed the implications of these speeches.

3. Its horror on learning of the views expressed recently by Mr. Grantley Adams before the Trusteeship Council, attacking the critics of imperialism, and defending the policy of Great Britain in the name of the colonial people themselves.

4. That at no time has Mr. Grantley Adams been given a mandate from the African peoples and that he does not represent their views.

5. That the inclusion of Mr. Grantley Adams in the British Delegation does not indicate any desire on the part of the British Government to introduce the principles of democracy since the colonial people were not consulted on his appointment, and the people of Africa do not recognise as their representative a man who while being of African descent is so ill-informed of their hopes, their aspirations, and the difficulties and disabilities under which they live.

6. That Mr. Grantley Adams must be recognised as the spokesman only of his masters, the British imperialist government.

7. That a protest making these points clear be forwarded to Mr. Trygve Lie, and those nations represented in the Trusteeship Council.

The Pan-African Federation,
Manchester,
Liverpool,
Cardiff.

re Smythe

October 25, 1948

Miss Florence Nichol
Pan - Africa
211 Oxford Road
Manchester 13, England

Dear Miss Nichol:

We know you are terribly busy, but we have a favor to ask of you. We are working on a project surveying the current situation as regards education in Africa and are greatly in need of data. Would it inconvenience you too much to let us have as soon as you can information, the latest you have available, concerning this subject, especially in regard to the problems faced, number of schools, no.of students, comparative figures for whites and Africans, government expenditures on indigenous schools and others, and so on. We would like to have this information from all parts of Africa -- South, North, West, East and so on, and for the respective colonies, protectorates, independent countries and the like. As you know, we do have some material, but it is not recent enough, and we have no material at all pertaining to North Africa, the Portuguese possessions, the Belgian holdings, and for South Africa.

Under separate cover we have sent you some material that Dr. DuBois drew up on the internal controversy here. I hope it reaches you in good time and that it helps to clear the record on the matter. As you know, Mr. Walter White returned from the United Nations meeting in Paris this week. We do not know whether your communications have reached him, nor whether you have heard from him. You should find the material in the data we sent, MY RELATIONS WITH THE NAACP, by Dr. DuBois, quite informative.

With thanks in advance for your help in this latest request, and sending along our regards to both you and Mr. Makonnen, as well as the rest of the staff, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

PAF Document 4/A/2.

[Pan African Federation]

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SUMMARY RECORDS OF STATEMENTS MADE
BY THE CHINESE DELEGATION IN THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

Summary Record of Statement by Mr. Cheng Paonan (Alternate Representative) to the 4th Committee, 11 October 1948, document A/C.4/SR 54.

Subject of discussion: Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories:

(i) Summary and analysis of information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter: report of the Secretary-General;

(ii) Information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter; report of the Special Committee (A/599)

Mr. CHENG PAONAN (China) declared that in his delegation's view the report represented the considered opinion of the large majority of the Special Committee. As regards Chapter XI of the Charter and in particular Article 73, the Chinese delegation considered that it imposed obligations on the Administering Authorities to govern the Non-Self-Governing Territories with a view to their eventually becoming self-governing. The General Assembly in its Resolution No. 144 (II) had emphasised the importance of the principles laid down in Article 73, Paragraph (b).

He paid a warm tribute to the Rapporteur and the Secretary of the Spacial Committee for the excellent services they had rendered and also stressed the spirit of collaboration which had animated the members and which had enabled a very large measure of agreement to be reached. Although reservations had been expressed both regarding the report and the draft resolutions, he nevertheless felt that the Special Committee's report represented the best possible result.

Resolution I was mainly concerned with the standard form and a revised timetable for submitting information, and his delegation considered that the information might be more usefully submitted to a special committee, which might be appointed by the General Assembly. He also hoped that it would still be possible for Administering Authorities voluntarily to transmit political information, and noted that many authorities had submitted such information to the Special Committee: the present terms of reference of that Committee, however, did not make such action obligatory.

Resolution II dealt with the future of the Special Committee, which, in the view of the Chinese Delegation, should be established on a permanent basis. It would also be useful if a system of representation in the committee could be evolved whereby members would be drawn from Member States who would have opportunities to

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to make detailed studies of the territories under Administering Authorities. In that connexion, he stressed the necessity for appointing technically qualified representatives to the Committee.

Resolution III dealt with collaboration with the Economic and Social Council. He felt that any technical information available which might be useful to the Administering Authorities should be placed at their disposal. One of the great problems in Non-Self-Governing Territories, as in some other countries, was the lack of trained personnel in the technical field. He considered it of the utmost importance that the Administering Authorities should supply technical personnel, until such time as a sufficient number of the indigenous population could be suitably trained.

Resolution IV noted the work undertaken by the International Labour Office and the resolution recently adopted by the World Health Organisation; he stressed the importance of encouraging the continuation and extension of such studies in the interests of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

In conclusion, he stated that the Chinese delegation was in favour of accepting the report and the four draft resolutions submitted by the Special Committee.

Summary Record of statement by Mr. Cheng Paonan (Alternate Representative) to the 4th Committee, 16 October 1948, document A/C4/SR 59.

Subject of discussion: Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: Information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter:
Report of the Special Committee (A/593, A/C.4/135, A/C.4/136, A/C.4/137, A/C.4/138, A/C.4/140).

Mr. CHENG PAONAN (China) stated that, in accordance with the position taken up by his delegation both in the Special Committee and in Committee 4, he felt bound to support the resolutions submitted by the Special Committee. On the other hand, it had been made clear that the Chinese delegation favoured the establishment of the Special Committee on a permanent basis. He would, therefore, abstain from voting on the Brazilian and Polish amendments to resolution II.

Summary Record of statement by Mr. Cheng Paonan (Alternate Representative) to the 4th Committee, 19 October 1948, document A/C.4/SR 60.

Subject of discussion: Continuation of the discussion on item (c)

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of the agenda: Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories:
(i) Summary and analysis of information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter: Report of the Secretary-General.
(ii) Information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter: Report of the Special Committee (A/593)

Mr. CHENG PAONAN (China) said that his delegation considered the Indian draft resolution to be a valuable complement to the report of the Special Committee, and it was regrettable that it had not obtained the unanimous support of the members who participated in the informal discussions. The Committee was faced with two alternative interpretations of Chapter XI of the Charter: according to the first, that chapter conferred a moral obligation on the Administering Powers to transmit information on the progressive development of the political institutions and local self-government of the Non-Self-Governing Territories; according to the second, and in his view too narrow, interpretation, no such obligation existed. The Chinese delegation deemed it essential that Chapter XI should be interpreted in the broadest sense.

He emphasised that his delegation would vote for the Indian draft resolution without prejudice to the question whether or not Indonesia should be included in the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

Summary Record of Statement by Mr. Liu Chieh (President of the Trusteeship Council) to 4th Committee, 20 October 1948, document A/C.4/SR 61.

Subject of discussion: Consideration of the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/603).

Mr. LIU CHIEH (China), President of the Trusteeship Council, drew attention to the fact that the report was divided into three parts. Parts A and B dealt with the functions of the Council under the Charter, while Part C was devoted to two particular questions which had been specially referred to the Council by the General Assembly. He did not intend to allude to either of these questions in his introductory statement, since the question of Jerusalem was part of the whole question of Palestine, which was on the agenda of the First Committee, and the question of South-West Africa figured as a separate item on the agenda of the Fourth Committee.

In Chapter I he wished to draw particular attention to Section 6 concerning "Relations with the Security Council". Although the Trusteeship Agreement for the Pacific Islands, a strategic area, had entered into force on 18 July 1947, it had not yet been possible to apply to that Trust Territory the provisions of the Charter

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relating to the supervision of strategic areas under trusteeship. The Committee of Experts of the Security Council had studied the question and had made recommendations to the Security, and the views of the Trusteeship Council had been made known to the Security Council through a joint Committee of the two Councils. The territory in question was the only Trust Territory with regard to which the application of the Trusteeship System had not yet been fully effected.

Section 9 of the same Chapter referred to a resolution providing procedure for the regular flow of information on the aims and activities of the United Nations to the peoples of the Trust Territories. The Council had adopted that resolution in the conviction that the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System could not be achieved without the support of enlightened public opinion in the Trust Territories.

With regard to Section 1 of Chapter II which concerned the revision of the Provisional Questionnaire, Mr. Liu Chieh pointed out that the Council had not yet received all the necessary comments and information from the Economic and Social Council and the Administering Authorities; it was hoped, however, that a questionnaire adapted to the conditions in each Trust Territory would be formulated during the course of the next year.

Chapter III dealt with the annual reports of Administering Authorities on the administration of Trust Territories. The Council had as yet examined only three reports, those on Ruanda-Urundi, New Guinea and Tanganyika. In each case, a special representative of the Administering Authority concerned had appeared before the Council, to answer questions and supply any additional information. When the members had had sufficient time to study the replies of the special representative, a general debate had taken place, after which the Council had appointed a Drafting Committee to draw up suitable passages for inclusion in its report to the General Assembly. Mr. Liu Chieh stressed the difficulty of that task which had been resolved by dividing the section dealing with each annual report into three parts: first a review of the conditions in the Territory, secondly, observations on the report, and thirdly the conclusions and recommendations of the Council.

The rules of procedure of the Council, moreover, required it to state its conclusions regarding the implementation of Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter and of the Trusteeship Agreements, together with any recommendations it might decide to make with regard to each Trust Territory. That task had been no less difficult in view of the wide variety of the views expressed. In the case of Ruanda-Urundi, the Council had adopted a series of observations which had in general been acceptable to the majority, and had

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formulated conclusions and recommendations based upon them. In the case of Tanganyika, and to a certain extent New Guinea, it had been found satisfactory to give a brief account of the different views expressed; the conclusions and recommendations adopted however, had reflected the collective opinion of the Council.

Chapter IV concerned the examination of fifty-seven petitions which had been submitted. Two were of particular importance: the petition from leaders and representatives of Western Samoa, and the series of petitions from representatives of the Ewe people in Togoland, under British and French administration. The former had been the occasion for the sending of a special visiting mission to the Territory. The report of that mission, which had recommended a considerably increased measure of self-government for the people of Western Samoa, had been considered and approved by the Council at its second session, and the New Zealand Government had already intimated its intention to implement many of the more important of the Council's recommendations. Fuller information on the changes in the political structure of the Territory would no doubt be supplied in the next annual report of the Administering Authority. The Ewe petition had been the first case of an oral presentation of a petition. The Council had heard with great interest the representative of the petitioners, had adopted certain recommendations, and would review the situation in the light of the report of the first visiting mission to West Africa which was to take place in 1949.

Mr. Liu Chieh proceeded to comment on the nature and operation of the International Trusteeship System, pointing out that the views expressed were the result of his experience in the Trusteeship Council and were not necessarily the views of the Council. He emphasised that both the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Authority were agents of the United Nations, charged with the promotion of the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories. They did not therefore stand in opposition to one another, but were both in theory and practice complementary one to another. Only through the co-operation of the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Authority could the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System be realised.

The spheres of competence of the two agents were, of course, different. While the Administering Authority was responsible for the administration, legislation and jurisdiction of the Trust Territory, the Trusteeship Council was the supervisory organ, and could submit a questionnaire to the Administering Authority, consider its annual reports, accept and examine petitions concerning the territory and send visiting missions there. The Council exercising its general power of supervision, held the Administering Authority responsible for the faithful discharge of its obligations, and

appraised the administration of the Trust Territory in the light of the objectives of the Trusteeship System.

An examination of the records of the Trusteeship Council would show that the Council could not be accused of ever having gone beyond its sphere of competence or arrogated to itself powers or functions that rightly belonged to the Administering Authority. As an illustration, Mr. Liu Chieg cited the case of the Ground-nut Scheme of Tanganyika. The Council had not questioned the right of an Administering Authority to plan and execute any development scheme, but it was clearly within its competence to consider whether such a scheme was in the interests of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory. As the Council lacked adequate data on the Ground-nut Scheme, it had not come to any hasty conclusion, but rather had requested the Administering Authority to furnish information in future reports regarding the progress of the scheme and its effect upon the advancement of the inhabitants of the territory.

Another vital question upon which the Council had been careful to act only within its competence was the establishment of administrative unions and common services. Under the trusteeship agreement, an Administering Authority was allowed to establish such unions between a Trust Territory and adjacent colonies under the same Administering Power, provided they were not contrary to the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System. It was the duty of the Trusteeship Council to see that the status and identity of the Trust Territory as a separate political entity was preserved. Two such schemes of union had been examined by the Council during the past year: the Inter-Territorial Organisation of East Africa and the Papua and New Guinea Act. In the case of the former, the Council had acted prudently in recognising that it was premature to form a definite opinion and in postponing further consideration of the plan until more information had become available. With regard to the latter, the Council had expressed its view that it was not entirely convinced that the proposed union between New Guinea and Papua might not compromise the preservation of the separate entity of the Trust Territory, and had asked the Administering Authority to review the matter.

Mr. Liu Chieh stressed that if the basic functions of the Trusteeship Council, such as the hearing of petitions and the sending of visiting missions, were to have any meaning, the Council must conscientiously perform its duty of supervising the administration of the Trust Territories, To that end, it could not but subject annual reports of Administering Authorities to careful and critical analysis, review all the administrative policies and practices in the Trust Territories, and formulate observations and recommendations to the Administering Authority with a view to the acceleration of the advancement of the inhabitants. The annual review of conditions in the Trust Territories was an essential function-

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of the Council and could not be construed as interference in the administration of the territories concerned. If the Council failed to submit annual reports to a thorough and analytical examination it would be failing to carry out its obligations under the Charter.

Mr. Liu Chieh commented on the spirit of copperation which had always characterised the deliberations of the Trusteeship Council. There was no conflict of principle. Both administering and non-administering members had at heart the well-being of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories; any differences of opinion concerned only specific matters and would eventually be resolved by the exercise of common sense and goodwill.

In conclusion, Mr. Liu Chieh declared that the Trusteeship Council was not and should not be a political forum or a judicial tribunal, but rather an organ dedicated to the advancement of the millions of inhabitants of the Trust Territories towards self-government. The Charter had set a practical course whereby that aim was to be achieved in peace, and the Trusteeship Council must not falter in its task.

Summary report of Statement by Mr. Liu Chieh (Representative) to the 4th Committee on 22 October 1948, document A/C.4/SR 62.

Subject of discussion: Consideration of the report of the Trusteeship Council (document A/603) (continued).

Mr. LIU CHIEH (China), stated that he wished to reply to certain of the remarks of the United Kingdom representative. The United Kingdom representative had expressed the fear that the Trusteeship Council was degenerating; but the Council had only just begum its work and there had been no time for it to degenerate. To cast discredit on it at that stage was hardly calculated to promote its growth.

It had been stated that there had been no spirit of cooperation within the Council. That was not his opinion. The report which the Committee was considering had been supported by all six Administering Authorities and by five of the members of the Council without administrative resppnsibilities. That in itself was a tribute to the spirit of cooperation displayed in the Council.

The United Kingdom representative had further referred in

disparaging terms to the qualifications of the members of the Trusteeship Council. It was true that the terms of the Charter stated that specially qualified persons must be designated to serve on the Council, but those terms must not be too narrowly interpreted; while specialised knowledge must be provided by experienced representatives of the Administering Authorities and by special representatives of each Trust Territory concerned, it was equally important that the Council should be balanced by a proportion of members chosen for their impartiality, international outlook and sense of responsibility under the Charter.

The remarks of the United Kingdom representative on the question of inter-territorial organisation were premature, as the Trusteeship Council had not adopted any definite conclusions concerning it. Mr. Liu Chieh was surprised also to find the United Kingdom representative deprecating the Trusteeship Council while praising the Mandates Commission. He believed that the Mandates Commission had refused to endorse the pre-war proposal along similar lines for inter-territorial organisation in East Africa on the ground that such an organisation would tend to destroy the separate entity of Tanganyika. It was clear that the Trusteeship Council had not gone as far as the former Mandates Commission in passing judgment on the schemes of inter-territorial organisation. The British Foreign Secretary had at the time of the earlier scheme assured the Council of the League of Nations that no plan of inter-territorial organisation would be put into effect until the Council had had an opportunity to pass judgment on it.

In conclusion, Mr. Liu Chieh appealed for justice and fairness to be shown to the Trusteeship Council, which was only just beginning to discharge its obligations under the Charter.

Summary Record of Statement by Mr. Liu Chieh (Representative) to the 4th Committee, 4 November 1948, document A/C.4/SR 70.

Subject of discussion: Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/603, A/C.4/144, A/C.4/146, A/C.4/151, A/C.4/152, A/C.4/153, A/C.4/155) discussion continued.

Mr. LIU CHIEH (China) thought that the great majority of the Fourth Committee would support the draft joint resolution (A/C.4/154); it was therefore, no use prolonging the discussion inordinately.

The Chinese delegation would vote for the United Kingdom amendment, if its sponsor would agree to alter it by replacing the

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expression "and any additions thereto which may be practicable" by the words "including the establishing and maintaining of a university". Mr. Liu Chieh hoped that the United Kingdom Delegation would agree to that alteration of its amendment, considering that the purpose of the recommendation was simply to invite the Administering Authorities to study the possibility of carrying out such a plan.

Summary Record of Statement by Mr. Lui Chieh (Representative) to the 4th Committee 5 November 1948, document A/C.4/SR 71.

Subject of discussion: Continuation of the consideration of the Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/603, A/C.4/144, A/C4/151 A/C.4/153, A/C.4/153, A/C.4/154 Rev.1, A/C.4/155 Rev.1, A/C.4/156, A/C.4/157, A/C.4/158)

Mr. LIU CHIEH (China) appreciated the idea underlying the Mexican proposal on which point he agreed with the representative of India. On the other hand, he was not sure that the insertion of the words "in 1952" would add strength to a recommendation which merely requested the Council to study the implications of a possibility to establish a university. He therefore, suggested that the urgency of the matter might be expressed by the insertion, instead of the Mexican amendment, of the words "at an early date".

Summary Record of Statement by Mr. Liu Chieh (Representative) to the 4th Committee, 6 November 1948, document A/C.4/SR 72.

Subject of discussion: Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/603, A/C.4/144, A/C.4/146. A/C.4/151, A/C.4/152, A/C.4/153/Rev.1, A/C.4/160/Rev.1) (discussion continued).

Mr. LIU CHIEH (China) wished to make a few remarks regarding the implications and significance of the question of administrative union. The argument put forward by certain Administering Authorities that the best way to administer a Trust Territory would be to include it in an administrative union with other territories was inconsistent with the Charter objective of ultimate independence of Trust Territories. It had been repeatedly stated that administrative union was possible under the terms of the trusteeship agreemtns. The terms of those agreements, however had to be read in the light of the Charter, that was to say, they permitted administrative union only when necessary for the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System. The

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Trusteeship Council, after discussing that question at length, had arrived at the decision that administrative union was permissable where necessary and desirable for the development of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories.

Two schemes for administative union had been presented, one for New Guinea, and Papua, and the other for Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. With regard to the former, the Chinese delegation appreciated the action taken by the Australian Government to make provision, in the Bill before its Parliament, to guarantee the identity and status of the Trust Territory of New Guinea. It also noted the fact that the Australian bill had not yet been put into effect and that the Australian Government had informed the Trusteeship Council of its plans. On the other hand, Mr. Liu Chieh recalled that in 1939 the Commission appointed by the Australian Government had not considered administrative union of New Guinea and Papua to be desirable as the two territories were in fact and in law distinct.

The Trusteeship Council had been informed that the seat of the administration of the Trust Territory of New Guinea would be removed elsewhere; thus, the Trust Territory, which had been economically self-sufficient before the war, would be incorporated into another territory which was economically less advanced, Moreover, the joining of the two territories would make it difficult for the Trusteeship Council to determine, when considering reports on the Trust Territories, what acts applied to the Trust Territory proper, and what covered both territories.

As regards the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, it appeared that after twenty-five years of separate administration, it had become necessary to include Tanganyika, the largest Trust Territory in existence, in an administrative union with two Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was not surprising that the Trusteeship Council should have misgivings in the matter after the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, when confronted with the same proposal, had decided that a joining of the territories would prejudice the status of Tanganyika. The Trusteeship System should be a continuation and an improvement of the Mandates System; it could not do less than the Mandates System had done. The Trusteeship Council had not found any evidence showing that administrative union was necessary in the case of Tanganyika. The Second World War was the only intervening circumstance between the time of the decisions arrived at by the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Australian Commission and the present situation; that war, moreover, had been fought in the name of greater freedom for all mankind and should not diminish the opportunity of dependent peoples to attain self-government.

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He concluded, from a remark made by the United Kingdom representative that according to the latter's view Administering Authorities were the only parties to the trusteeship agreements which could determine whether any action was in the interests of the inhabitants of the territories concerned. Thus it would seem that the Administering Authorities were responsible only to their own conscience. However, if that had been the intention of the framers of the Charter, they would not have devoted three Chapters to the principles and provisions of the Trusteeship System, nor would there have been any need for the General Assembly to discuss matters of trusteeship. He reiterated the view expressed at an earlier meeting, that the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Authorities were agents acting on behalf of the United Nations. The General Assembly had ultimate authority in the Trusteeship System, while the Administering Authorities were responsible for the day-to-day administration in their territories. The Charter provisions were quite clear in that respect.

Turning to the proposals under discussion, he was glad to note that many Administering Authorities were ready to support the United States amendment, while one of them seemed ready to go even further. While the United States amendment did not seem to differ greatly from the joint draft resolution, it omitted the important last two paragraphs of the latter.

The first of those two paragraphs contained provision for prior consultation which the Fourth Committee should not reject if it did not wish to do harm to the Trusteeship System and undermine the Council's authority in its supervisary function. Moreover, deletion of that paragraph would destroy the usefulness of the preceding paragraphs. Without provision for prior consultation there was no purpose in calling for an investigation of the different aspects of administrative union, or asking the Council to recommend safeguards to preserve the political status of the Trust Territories. Referring to an assurance given by a member of the League of Nations to its Council that before taking any action with regard to administrative union that Member would inform the Council of its plans, Mr. Liu Chieh wondered whether the United Nations would show itself to be a less effective instrument for the implementation of the Trusteeship System. To reject that paragraph after it had been proposed, would imply a confirmation of the view that the Trusteeship Council had no right to be consulted at all.

As regards the second of the last two paragrpahs, it did not call for information to be submitted on non-Self-Governing Territories, but only asked that separate information should be furnished on Trust Territories. If, as a result of administrative

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union, submission of separate information should be impossible, then all the information on the united territories would have to be submitted to the Council which would have the right to examine the information on non-Self-Governing Territories as well. The choice in the matter lay clearly with the Administering Authorityes. No Administering Authority could claim to be unable to present separate information with regard to a Trust Territory belonging to an administrative union, and yet pretend that the separate identity of the Trust Territory was being preserved. The representative of China therefore attached great importance to that paragraph.

In the light of those considerations he urged the Fourth Committee to accept the original joint draft resolution, maintaining the last two paragraphs in the original form.

Mr. LIU CHIEH (China) also regretted the tone which the debate had taken. The Chinese delegation had not spoken previously on draft resolutions because it had understood efforts were being made to reach a compromise. His arguments had been intended to refute the contention that had been made that the trusteeship agreements gave absolute power to the Administering Authorities to constitute administrative unions. In his introductory remarks he had given credit to the Australian Government for laying the matter of the administrative union of Papua and New Guinea before the Trusteeship Council before putting it into effect.

In connexion with a remark made by the Australian representative regarding Formosa, Mr. Liu Chieh pointed out that Formosa had been taken from China by the Japanese by force of arms, and that, after the Second World War, the Allied Powers had agreed to the restoration of Formosa, which now forms a province of the Republic of China.

Summary Record of Statement by Mr. Liu Chieh (Representative) to the 4th Committee, 9th November 1948, document A/C.4/SR 76

Subject of discussion: Report of the Government of the Union of South Africa on the administration of South-West Africa: Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/603).

Mr. LIU CHIEH (China) expressed appreciation of the gesture which had been made by the Union of South Africa, under the administration of General Smuts, in transmitting to the United

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Nations a report on South-West Africa.

He fully concurred in the tribute paid by the South African representative to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, a now defunct body, But if, by that tribute, it had been intended to throw reflections upon the Trusteeship Council, he felt that the Committee should examine the statements in another light. He refuted the South African representative's assertion that the Trusteeship Council had exceeded its competence by examining the report on South-West Africa submitted to the United Nations by the Union Government, and, in its turn, reporting thereon to the General Assembly. The Trusteeship Council, in so doing, had merely carried out the instructions of the General Assembly to that effect, as expressed in its resolution of the previous year.

He felt that certain of the points raised by the South African representative required an immediate answer. Only a year ago, the Union Government had informed the United Nations that it had decided to maintain the status quo, and continue to administer the Territory in the spirit of the mandate. It also undertook to submit reports on the Territory for the information of the United Nations. The wisdom of administering a territory in the spirit of the past instead of a present system might be questioned; and now, even that policy had been reversed. Steps had been taken which virtually constituted an annexation of the Territory. It should be remembered that a mandate had never conferred any sovereignty upon a mandatory Power: administrative powers, yes, but sovereign rights, no. It should also be remembered that other "C" mandatory Powers concerned had not shared the view of the Union Government that "C" mandated territories were authorised to constitute as an integral part of the mandatory Power.

In answer to the argument put forward by the South African representative that the Covenant of the League of Nations did not require mandatory Powers to transfer a mandated territory to another international body, he pointed out that the framers of the Covenant could hardly have foreseen the events which had led to the dissolution of the League of Nations and the Mandate System and to the establishment of the United Nations and the Trusteeship System. It was the framers of the San Francisco Charter, not those who attended the funeral services of the League of Nations, who had been responsible for laying the foundations of a new world order and an international Trusteeship System.

Furthermore, the League of Nations, at its last meeting, had adopted a unanimous resolution enjoining the mandatory Powers to continue to administer mandated territories in accordance with the obligations under the respective mandates, until other arrangements had been agreed upon between the United Nations and

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the madatory Powers. Since the passing of that resolution, all the mandatory Powers, with the exception of South Africa, had placed the territories concerned under the Trusteeship System.

It had also been contended that nothing in the Charter imposed any obligation on the mandatory Powers to place a mandated territory under the international Trusteeship System. Article 77 of the Charter provided for the application of the Trusteeship System to three categories of territories, the first of those being the territories under mandate. Reference was made to the voluntary placing of territories under the system only in connexion with the third category; it could hardly, therefore, be applicable to mandated territories. In addition, paragraph 2 of Article 80 of the Charter did not condone any delay or postponement in concluding agreements to place mandated territories under the Trustee Syste,. It was true that, as no Trusteeship Agreement had been concluded for South-West Africa, the United Nations could not intervene to exercise its power of supervision in regard to that Territory. But paragraph 2 of Article 80 imposed an obligation to conclude such an agreement without delay. It was therefore by no means certain that no obligation existed under the Charter to place a mandated territory under the Trusteeship System, and it appeared to him to be very clear, after examination of the resolutions adopted by two successive General Assemblies calling upon the mandatory Power to submit a T rusteeship Agree ment to the present session of the General Assembly, that such an obligation did exist in the case of South-West Africa, unless the Union Government chose to defy the will of the General Assembly, expressed in its majority decision, a decision which had been repeated again and again.

It would be a very dangerous doctrine if the General Assembly were to accept the contention of the Union Government that, because South-West Africa was contiguous to the Union territory it should be incorporated into the Union. The question of incorporation had been very thoroughly discussed in the first General Assembly and the status of South-West Africa had been reaffirmed last year by the Assembly. Nothing had intervened since then to justify the Union Government's reversing the undertaking it had made to the United Nations the previous year, that it would not proceed to the incorporation of South-West Africa.

21st - 22nd October 1948

Cables requested to know their attitude to the speeches made by Grantley Adams before the Trusteeship Committee were sent to:-

1. Mr. Sekyi, for the Aborigines Protection Society, Cape Coast, Gold Coast
2. The Beacon, Bridgetown., Barbados, for the Barbados Workers Party and Labour Party
3. Ken Hill, Kingston, Jamaica,
4. Norman Manley, Duke Street, Kingston, Jamaica,
5. Freedom Defence Society, Gold Coast.
6. All-Ewe Conference, Achimota College, Gold Coast
7. Somali Youth League, Mogadishu, Somalia
8. Somali National League, Burao, British Somaliland.
9. Civil Service Union, Lagos, Nigeria,
10. Mrs. Ransome-Kuti for Egba Women's Union, Nigeria.
11. Dr. Olorun-Nimbe, for Democratic Union Nigeria.
12. Ibo Union, c/o Dr. Azikiwe, Lagos, Nigeria.
13. Wallace-Johnson, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
14. National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, Nigeria.
15. Kenya African Union, c/o Jomo Kenyatta, Nairobi, Kenya
16. Progressive Citizens League, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad.
17. H.O. Davies, for Nigerian Youth Movement, Lagos, Nigeria.
18. Gold Coast United Convention, Gold Coast.

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Text

~~REPLIES~~ OF CABLED REPLIES RECEIVED.

1. YOUR CABLE 21 ULTIMO NATIONAL COUNCIL NIGERIA AND CAMEROONS UTTERLY CONDEMNS ADAMS SPEECH TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL AND ON BEHALF ENTIRE NIGERIAN NATION DISSOCIATES ITSELF FROM ADAMS IRRESPONSIBLE UTTERANCES
FEDERAL SECRETARY
NATIONAL COUNCIL NIGERIA AND CAMEROONS

2. FREEDOM DEFENCE SOCIETY GOLDCOAST CONDEMN GRANTLEY ADAMS SPEECH AS REPORTED IN BRITISH PRESS AND DENOUNCE HIM AS A VENAL TORY
FREEDOM DEFENCE SOCIETY

3. THIS MASS MEETING OF KENYA AFRICAN UNION HELD IN NAIROBI NOVEMBER 7 TOTALLY DISAGREES WITH THE STATEMENT ON COLONIES MADE BY MR. GRANTLEY ADAMS IN TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL RECENTLY HELD IN PARIS THE MEETING UNAIMOUSLY STATES THAT HE DOES NOT REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF KENYA AFRICANS.
PRESIDENT KENYATTA

4. EGBA WOMEN ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH YOUR VIEWS - FUNMI RANSOME KUTI PRESIDENT EGBA WONEMS UNION

5. ABORIGINES SOCIETY NO BEING AWARE OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH GRANTLEY ADAMS WAS APPOINTED OR THE RANGE OF HIS AUTHORITY CANNOT ENDORSE HIS SENTIMENTS UNLESS AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF WHAT HE IS REPORTED TO HAVE STATED BEFORE TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE KINDLY FIND US FULL TEXT OF HIS ADDRESS
ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY GOLDCOAST

6. OUR ATTITUDE GREATER SOMALILAND UNDER ANY POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS STOP IF NO GREATER SOMALILAND PREPARED SURRENDER PREVIOUS DEMAND FOUR POWER ADMINISTRATION FOR DIRECT UNO TRUSTEESHIP FOR SOMALIA STOP ITALIAN RULE IN ANY FORM OR PARTNERSHIP STRONGLY OBJECTED TO STOP
SOMALI YOUTH LEAGUE MOGADISHU

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PAF Document 29/AP/1

STATEMENT OF H.E. GENERAL CARLOS P. POMULO, CHAIRMAN
OF THE PHILIPPINE DELEGATION IN THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (TRUSTEESHIP)
26 OCTOBER 1948

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Since the Philippines is a member of the Trusteeship Council, my delegation has thought it proper not to intervene in the debate on the report of the Third Session of the Council until after the representatives of States not members of that body shall have made their comments and observations. It is fitting, in our view, that the work of the Council should be subjected to the most rigorous examination by the Fourth Committee, since it is in the scheme of the Charter that the administration of the trust territories should be directly supervised by the Trusteeship Council, subject to review by the General Assembly.

The present membership of the Council includes six administering States and six non-administering States, While the scheme of membership was doubtless intended to establish a certain balance between States directly charged with the administration of trust territories and States not having such responsibility, my delegation considers that the absolute symmetry in membership should not be interpreted as giving to the activities of the Council the cast or appearance of conflicting interests and divided purposes. There may be, in actual practice, some reason to believe that the administering States would be inclined by the nature of their duties and obligations to approach the work of the Council from motives of a purely subjective character. Also, quite naturally, it may be said of the non-administering States on the Council that they would be less inclined to adopt a similar attitude and to regard themselves not as speaking for the interests of any particular State but rather for the rest of the United Nations.

The Philippines has approached the work of the Council in this spirit - in the spirit, that is, of the Charter - and has accordingly been inspired in the course of its participation in the meetings of this body by the sincere desire to place the trusteeship system in full and efficient operation in the shortest possible time. The records will bear evidence of the deep interest taken by the Philippine Delegation during the last session of the Council, and of our readiness at all times to cooperate with the rest of the members, including the administering States, in order that the obligations imposed by the Charter on that body may be effectively performed and the powers conferred upon it exercised prudently and to the fullest possible extent.

I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to testify to the cooperative spirit which prevailed among the majority of the Council, and to the strenuous efforts exerted by Ambassador Francis B. Sayre, who so ably served as President during the first

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two sessions of the Council and achieved the very difficult task of organising from scratch, and Ambassador Liu Chieh, who was elected to succeed him during the Third Session, in steering the Council along paths of fruitful collaboration. It was their constant endeavour to make certain that the Council should be a laboratory for the careful examination of policies and for the formulation of recommendations looking to the just and effieient administration of the trust territories in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

My delegation is in hearty agreement with the distinguished President of the Council who, in making his report to the Committee the other day, asserted that there was never a question of the Council acting beyond its competence. The functions and powers of the Council are set forth in the most explicit terms in Articles 87 and 88 of the Charter. In contrast to the functions and powers conferred on the other councils of the United Nations, those specifically given to the Trusteeship Council are formulated in a manner so crystal-clear as to permit of neither misinterpretation nor abuse. It is clear in the mind of my delegation that the Trusteeship Council has the general authority to review the policies of the administering States. This power derives in general terms from Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter and may not be considered as subject to limitation in any way by the terms of the trusteeship agreements, and still less by the unilateral will of the administering authority concerned. In accordance with this principle, the power of supervision includes the authority to pass upon policies before they are actually in force and to review the consequences of such policies after they have been put into effect. This is the core of the Council's authority and all of its other powers, including the acceptance and examination of petitions, the sending of visiting missions, and the formulation of a questionnaire are relevant only in so far as they assist the Council in performing its general power of review.

My delegation cannot agree with the view put forward by some that the administering authority is the trustee in the scheme of the International Trusteeship System. Only the United Nations as a whole, acting as the General Assembly, and under the latter's authority, through the Trusteeship Council, can be considered as exercising the powers of a trustee in this arrangement. That is clear under Article 75 of the Charter which states: "The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system" - a principle reiterated further on in Article 85 and 87. On the other hand, it is equally clear under Article 81 that the administering authority has no powers other than those directly connected with administration. Moreover since the Organisation may designate itself as the admin-

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istering authority, it is clear that the powers of administration are not original but derivative powers - the powers, in this case, of an agent of the United Nations.

Under its general powers of supervision, pursuant to which the Council examined the reports for Ruandi Urundi, Tanganyika and New Guinea, the Philippine Delegation to the Council actively participated in the deliberations of the Council. We initiated or supported progressive measures designed to improve the well-being of the indigenous inhabitants of the trust territories always with the end in view of preparing them in the shortest practicable time for self-government or independence. The records of the Third Session show the positive manner in which the Philippine Delegation participated in the examination of the reports in the four broad functional fields of trusteeship administration: educational, economic, political and social. In the educational field the Philippine Delegation insisted on the primacy of education as the measure of all political, economic and social progress, and emphasised the principle that the administering authority must assume primary responsibility for the education of the inhabitants. We pointed out the utter inadequacy of the present six percent budgetary allotment for education in Ruandi Urundi, six percent in Tanganyika, and one percent in New Guinea. These amazingly low budgetary allocations seem extremely disappointing when considered in the light of the experience of my own country for more than forty years as a territory under the sovereignty of the United States. Throughout those forty years, the United States Government, which was not bound by the terms of any United Nations charter or trusteeship agreement and was therefore answerable only to its own conscience, set aside on the average thirty-three and one-third percent of the total annual budget of the Philippines for education. This startling contrast was brought to the attention of the Council and inspired our advocacy of all reforms that would provide ample facilities not only for primary and secondary education but also for college education and other forms of professional training and higher learning for the inhabitants of the trust territories.

In the economic field the Philippine Delegation took a vigorous stand against any and all forms of economic exploitation, labour indenture, deplorably low wages for native workers, (the equivalent in American money of seventy-five cents a month in New Guinea) - practices whose net result would be to condemn the inhabitants to absolute penury and practical slavery. We also expressed strong objections to any and all attempts to dispose of the trust patrimony in the form of big landed estates concentrated in the hands of a favoured few, perhaps one of the worst curses in the history of colonial administration.

In the political field the Philippine Delegation advocated

40B.7.9.6

the gradual elimination of archaic tribal forms of government and their progressive substitution by more enlightened democratic practices. We opposed all attempts to impose various forms of inter-territorial administration which, in our opinion might reduce a trust territory to the status of an economic appendage preparatory to eventual annexation. On the other hand, we suggested as an alternative and more enlightened course, the bringing over of colonies into the trusteeship system.

In the social field the Philippine Delegation strongly condemned all vestiges of racial discrimination and segregation in the trust territories, specially such practices as forced labour and imprisonment for non-payment of taxes which are applied to the indigenous but not to the non-indigenous inhabitants.

I would now like to say a few words regarding three matters which are included in the reports and which have been the subject of discussion in this Committee. First, on the question of to what extent the existing tribal forms of political organisation and social life in the trust territories should be preserved or altered, my delegation may perhaps speak on the subject with some knowledge of both its theoretical and practical aspects. In agreement with the distinguished delegate of Denmark, we believe that the existing tribal forms of political and social organisation in the backward areas should be approached with prudence and understanding. We do not believe that the so-called civilising influence of the administering States should aim at the conversion of the native inhabitants into pseudo-Englishmen, Frenchmen, Americans, Belgians, or Australians, as the case may be. We believe, on the contrary that the salutary features of the native culture should be preserved as an integral part of the heritage of these peoples. However, we would strongly oppose any policies by the administering States which, on the excuse of respecting native institutions, would in actual practice condemn the inhabitants to a primitive existence with its corollaries of ignorance, superstition, slavery, poverty and disease.

There is a certain romanticism in the idea that the indigenous peoples should retain their ethnic and cultural identities and that they should be protected from the unwholesome influences of the civilised peoples so-called. Such an attitude, however, can easily be carried too far, resulting in the treatment of these people as if they were curiosities to be preserved as such in a museum of natural history. My delegation does not share this romantic view. Much less does it share the more realistic

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policies which are inspired by the principle that it is easier to perpetuate a system of exploitation and oppression among an ignorant, superstitious and impoverished people, and by the fear that economic, social and educational progress carries in itself the seed of freedom, that progress is, in short, synonymous with liberation.

The point is that there are attributes of civilised life which are valid everywhere and which can be developed in the backward areas without prejudice to the wholesome features of their native culture. The establishment of schools, the training of doctors and nurses, the organisation of clinics and hospitals, not to speak of the abolition of social and economic practices such as child marriage, preferential polygamy, usury and the whole scheme of ritual and tradition by which tribal chieftains maintain their oppressive hold upon the members of the tribe - all such innovations cannot be held as unwise simply because they are inimical to existing forms of tribal organisation. If it is unwise to try to convert backward peoples into pseudo-Europeans or Americans, it is equally unwise to let them remain backward. Prudence and common sense, therefore, should dictate a mode of administration in the trust territories so that the inhabitants thereof, while retaining the salutary features of their individual cultures, should at the same time be made to walk along the road of social progress and economic improvement towards the goal of self-government and independence.

In regard to the visitorial power of the Council, my delegation considers that this is a logical concomitant of the general powers of supervision and review. It is obvious that the power to make spot investigations on the developing political, economic, social and educational conditions in the trust territories and on the progress of the native peoples towards self-government or independence is a necessary consequence of the power to examine the reports of the administering States, since it provides an opportunity for actual check-up. Furthermore, it is a potent factor in bringing home to the indigenous inhabitants the existence and activities of the United Nations, which is bound under the Charter to consider them as wards entitled to special protection, On the one hand, the knowledge acquired by the visiting missions of actual conditions in the territories, and on the other, the increased awareness of their rights on the part of the indigenous inhabitants, will surely accelerate the improvement of these conditions and facilitate the solution of important problems in trust administration. In this connection, my delegation is pleased to endorse the statement of the President of the Council, calling the attention of this Committee to Section 9, Chapter 1 of the Report, on "the provision of information concerning the United Nations and trusteeship to the people of trust territories". We hope that in

40B.7A.8

accordance with a resolution approved by the Council during its third session, the administering authorities shall cooperate with the Secretary-General in insuring the adequate flow of information about the United Nations and its activities, but especially about the Trusteeship Council which has been specially set up for their protection, as an important part of any scheme of public instruction in the trust territories.

I come now to the question of inter-territorial administration which was discussed at considerable length during the third session of the Council. The report has properly noted the sharp division of opinion between the administering and the non-administering members of the Council during the consideration of the reports on Tanganyika and New Guinea. The Philippine Delegation feels that it is its duty to warn this Committee of the dangers inherent in all such schemes of administrative union as are being proposed for trust territories adjacent to colonial areas.

Both the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly have an obligation under the Charter to preserve the territorial integrity and political status of the trust territories, and ought not to expose the trust territories to the danger of being reduced to the status of an economic appendage to be treated and administered as if it were a colony. In view of the reactionary tendency which has been noted by this Committee in the interpretation and implementation of Chapter XI of the Charter concerning non-self-governing territories, there is little need for stressing this danger. It must be perfectly obvious to the Committee that it would be most unwise, and indeed that it has no right, to give its consent to any proposals which would in effect give a territory now clearly within the purview of the International Trusteeship System under the supervision of the Trusteeship Council and administered in accordance with the explicit provisions of Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter, the status of a non-self-governing territory covered by the vague provisions of Chapter XI which are even now being attenuated in order to limit if not to exclude altogether the right of intervention by the United Nations.

If, as is claimed by some, such schemes of administrative union seem to be required by the need for simplified and efficient administration, then it should be pointed out that there are two alternative solutions to such a problem. The administering States concerned have proposed one solution, namely that of administrative incorporation of the trust territory with the colonial territory. The alternative solution would obviously be the incorporation of the colonial area with the trust territory. This latter process is envisaged in Article 77, paragraph 1, sub-paragraph c, which specifies as one of the categories of trust

40B.Td.9

territories, those "territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration." As the distinguished representative of Poland pointed out the other day, the Charter definitely envisions an expanding trusteeship system resulting from the placing under the system of an increasing number of non-self-governing territories, It does not envision a process moving in the opposite direction, and I earnestly submit that the schemes of administrative union or inter-territorial administration now being proposed for one reason or another are contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

In concluding my remarks Mr. Chairman, my delegation desires to advert once again to the questions of good faith and the desirability of conciliation. Much as we would like to help forward the spirit of cooperation both in the General Assembly and in the Trusteeship Council, we consider as completely inadmissable the attitude of those administering States which have sought to belittle the efforts of the Council, denounce its procedures, or resist its authority. The Council is just beginning its labors, and those who now seek to burke or stultify it by tendentious and unjustified attacks are in fact guilty of a grave disservice to the United Nations.

My delegation endorses the remarks of the distinguished President of the Council who declared here that the Council is not a political forum. We also share the hope which has been repeatedly expressed that the activities of the Council shall not be hampered by motives of political propaganda. But, in saying this, we cannot accept the implication, if there be such implication, that the policies of the administering authorities should not then be subjected to any form of criticism whatever, that we should remain completely silent in the face of the many evils and shortcomings that are write clear in the reports which they have submitted for the examination of the Council.

The motives, political or otherwise, of any delegation to the Council in criticising the policies of the administering authorities, are their own business. They are responsible only for their own criticisms. Only a few minutes ago we heard here a sample of that criticism when the distinguished representative of the Ukraine said that no progress at all has been made by the non-self-governing territories under the Council. This is an example of what the world should know as propaganda for political reasons which does not help the non-self-governing peoples at all. Everyone knows that despite its handicaps there has been progress in the work of the Council, although of course, we cannot expect miracles in so short a time. We must guard against such blanket criticisms that are biased and unfair. The metropolitan powers have their difficulties and we

408.7d.10

must understand their position, and to ignore the progress which is being achieved is to fly in the face of truth. However, in supporting the principle that the Trusteeship Council should not be used as a springboard for ideological propaganda, we cannot agree that the Council should be content at any time, but especially at this initial stage of its labors, to act as if it were a mere rubber stamp for the administering authorities.

I must confess to some confusion in listening to the remarks of the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom. He has spoken in a dual capacity as representative of the government of the United Kingdom and as spokesman of the inhabitants of the non-self-governing territories under that government's jurisdiction. More than once he has bluntly assured this Committee that the peoples of these territories themselves would object most strenuously to any form of intervention in the affairs of the territories by the United Nations.

Sir, I do not question his competence, whether legal or otherwise, to speak on behalf of dependent peoples. But I do say that if it is his intention to give this Committee the impression that the non-self-governing peoples are contented with their lot and with the policies of the administering authorities, I must beg to disagree with him. For I too come from a people that not so long ago was non-self-governing, and I may perhaps presume to speak with some knowledge about the aspirations of the dependent peoples. I would say no more than what is apparent to all, which is that the desire for progress and freedom among them is insatiable. As a journalist, I had several occasions before the war to visit and investigate conditions in a number of non-self-governing territories,. Since the war, as permanent representative of the Philippines to the United Nations and representative on the Trusteeship Council, I have been repeatedly approached by the leaders of non-self-governing peoples in various parts of the world, and asked by them to present their grievances before the United Nations. Further than this, the great number of protests and petitions submitted by these peoples to the United Nations effectively refutes any allegation that all is well in the non-self-governing territories and that the United Nations should let things well enough alone.

The United Nations cannot and should not let things well enough alone. To do so would be not only to shirk a binding legal obligation under the Charter but to be recreant to a high moral duty. On behalf of my delegation I wish to assure this Committee that as far as our participation in the work of the Trusteeship Council is concerned, there shall be no such dereliction of responsibility.

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In this spirit my delegation welcomes the observations that have been made in this Committee and shall be grateful for any suggestions, recommendations or directives that may be issued for the guidance of the Council in the more efficient performance of its duties.

May I close, Mr. Chairman, with an earnest appeal to the members of this Committee to give their full support to the work of the Trusteeship Council and to reject decisively any and all attempts to restrict its powers and to undermine its authority. I appeal, first, to the administering authorities themselves that they may approach with increasing liberality the problem of placing the Trusteeship System in full and effective operation. I appeal, specially, to the new states of Asia and Africa and to the states of Latin America, themselves now or not so very long ago the off-spring of the fragmentation of imperialism, to give us in the Council their constant encouragement and unfailing support.

Gentlemen: let us never forget for whom we speak here. We speak for our respective governments and peoples, yes - but we speak also for those who are absent and cannot speak for themselves, for the mute and voiceless millions of the non-self-governing territories who are not represented here.

Press Statement from Richard Hart, Secretary Caribbean Labour Congress

30.10.48

In a press statement issued yesterday, Mr. Richard Hart, Secretary of the Caribbean Labour Congress, stated that Mr. Grantley Adams, Barbadian President of the C.L.C., made his recent speech before the UNO in Paris without prior consultation with, or warning to, other CLC Officers. "The speech", said Mr. Hart, "took us completely by surprise."

He added that he considered that the President's conduct in acting without warning and consultation was "highly irresponsible" and that it had now become necessary for the CLC Council to consider the whole matter. It would, however, take some two or three weeks before the views of the Council itself could be obtained.

Giving his personal views Mr. Hart said:

"Mr. Adams has drawn a red herring. The item on the agenda was a recommendation from the Trusteeship Council that in addition to the present obligation for the colony-owning powers to supply information about the economic aspects of their colonies, they should also be required to supply information concerning their political progress towards self-government.

There was on the agenda no proposal for transfer of the control of the colonies from their present Metropolitan countries to the UNO. I am opposed to any transfer of control of the Caribbean colonies from Britain to the UNO as this might delay the transfer of control to our own hands. I do not know whether the peoples of the colonies in the east are of the same mind or not. But that is neither here nor there because no such proposal was up for consideration.

"Something to Hide".

"To concentrate on this as Mr. Adams did", Mr. Hart added, "serves only to cloud the issue and conceal the weakness of the position of the British Government in refusing to supply information about our political progress and face a public debate on their colonial policy. It would appear that somewhere, (perhaps in Malaya, Hong Kong, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Kenya or Tanganyika) the British Government has something to hide.

"Mr. Adams Has been played as a pawn in a game of international power politics by persons who have proved themselves far mor astute than he in the art of diplomacy. It is very unfortunate, because it will serve to revive among Africans particularly, the old distrust of West Indians as people with dark skins whom the white man used to conquer their territories. I vividly remember this distrust among Africans whom I met in London years ago.

"Clearly", said Mr. Hart, "it must be of advantage to any colonial people to have their claims for self-government periodically before the eyes of the world. Is anyone as naive as to believe that what constitutional progress we in the West Indies have achieved is unconnected with the publicity we were able to gain for our demands?"

403.Td.42

"Spoke for Britain".

He continued: "By way of apology for Mr. Adams asBarbadian newspaper has argued that as a member of the British delegation he was not free to speak for the colonial people but had to speak for Britain. I ask in reply - is he a man or a mouse? What sort of colonial leader can he be to accept an appointment under such terms? But Mr. Adams himself discards this apology. He categorically held himself our as speaking "on behalf of the peoples of the British Colonial Empire" which he said, "I am qualified to do."

It is interesting to observe how far Mr. Adams has gone in his newIsole. In the New York Times report of his speech appears a passage which is mysteriously missing from the copies of the speech being circulated in the West Indies. This passage justifies the present inequality of wages between black and white in Tanganyika which he says "cannot be fully obtained at once" because of "special problems and difficulties in a territory of mixed communities at a particularly early stage of development".

"In conclusion may I point out that the Chairman of the Trusteeship Council, a delegate from Kuomingtang China, who could not be suspected of Russian sympathies, found it necessary to reproach Mr. Adams for avoiding the real issue? Defending the Council's recommendation he deplored Mr. Adams' attempt "to discredit a body before it had begun to function."

408.Td.38

RESOLUTION OF THE PAN-AFRICA FEDERATION

This meeting of the Pan-African Federation declares:-

1. Its support for the views regarding the political development and ultimate independence of the "non-self-governing" territories, originally expressed at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in 1945, by the Delegates of the USSR, of the Philippines, and of China, and again repeated in Paris this month; and in view of the expressed intentions and principles of the Trusteeship Council, deprecates the policy adopted by Great Britain in refusing to transmit information of political developments in its report to the Council.

2. Its lack of confidence in the British Government arising out of the speeches made by its Delegates to the United Nations consistently blocking all attempts to introduce the principles of true democracy and humanity, and secondly out of events and developments in East and West Africa which have since confirmed the implications of these speeches.

3. Its horror on learning of the views expressed recently by Mr. Grantley Adams before the Trusteeship Council, attacking the critics of imperialism, and defending the policy of Great Britain, in the name of the colonial people themselves.

4. That at no time has Mr. Grantley Adams been given a mandate from the African peoples and that he does not represent their views.

5. That the inclusion of Mr. Grantley Adams in the British Delegation does not indicate any desire on the part of the British Government to introduce the principles of democracy since the colonial people were not consulted on his appointment and the people of Africa do not recognise as their representative a man who, while being of African descent, is so ill-informed of their hopes, their aspirations, and the difficulties and disabilities under which they live.

6. That Mr. Grantley Adams must be recognised as the spokesman of his masters, the British imperialist Government.

7. That a protest making these points clear be forwarded to Mr. Trygve Lie, and those nations represented in the Trusteeship Council.

The Pan-African Federation
Manchester,
Liverpool
Cardiff

October 1948

"Jamaica Arise" October 1948

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CARIBBEAN LABOUR CONGRES PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT U.N.O.

Criticized by C.L.C. Secretary

RICHARD HART

On October 13, 1948, Grantley Adams, M.C.P., President of the Caribbean Labour Congress, addressed the United Nations Assembly in Paris. His comrades, who had hailed his appointment as a member of the British Delegation with jubilation, expected him to oppose the transfer of the Caribbean colonies from the present control of their respective metropolitan countries to that of the United Nations Organisation, and to demand the alternative of the transfer of power to the peoples of the Caribbean themselves. Many expected that he would go further and champion that cause of all colonial peoples to freedom and democracy.

The speech in the form he actually delivered it must have brought shame and disappointment to countless numbers of colonial workers in all parts of the world. The opportunity for the voice of colonial labour to ring out in unmistakable condemnation of imperialism from the world's most publicised platform had been used for the delivery of a speech which earned the fulsome praise of the pro-imperialist press.

The item on the agenda was the proposal that the Trusteeship Committee be supplied with regular information concerning the political progress of the colonies. The transfer issue could only arise as a subsidiary point as this matter was not properly before the Assembly. But Mr. Adams made this his principal point and around his legitimate rejection of the transfer proposal wove a defence of British colonial policy (not in the Caribbean but generally) and a rejection of the proposal that UNO should be supplied with regular information concerning our progress towards self-government.

Should Speak for all Colonials.

As the first colonial workers' leader to have this privilege of addressing the world, the obligation cast upon Mr. Adams to speak for <u>all</u> colonial peoples was clear and morally inescapable.

We of the Caribbean area hoped for a clear enunciation of our demand for a self-governing Dominion with a status fully equivalent to that of Australia, Canada or New Zealand. We were disappointed. But our disappointment cannot be compared to the sense of betrayal which must have been felt by the workers' movements in other parts of the colonial empire where the hand of

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imperialism is today falling more heavily and viciously than anything we can conceive in our experience.

Malaya, Cyprus, Africa.

Consider the workers of Malaya and Singapore where the sons of Ramsey MacDonald has declared the trade union movement and the main political organisations of the workers illegal, and has unleashed a war designed (whatever excuse may be given in Parliament) to crush their national aspirations and safeguard dollar-earning rubber resources for British imperialism. What are they feeling now, as they fight for their rights, about the speech of the President of the Caribbean Labour Congress?

Think of the people of Indonesia, engaged in a life and death struggle against the Dutch whoare being supported in every way by the British Government. How will they feel about the colonial workers' leader from the Caribbean who expressed such satisfaction with Britain's policies and said not a word in support of their cause?

Take the workers of Cyprus where the entire leadership of the trade union movement, eighteen of them, were thrown into prison. Will they feel kindly towards their "brothers" across the sea?

Look at the case of Nigeria where that tyrannical governor who had so recently imprisoned trade union and political leaders in Jamaica without trial in an attempt to smash their movement, was allowed to introduce an anti-democratic constitution against the will of the vast majority?

Glance at the Gold Coast where peacefully demonstrating ex-servicemen were recently shot down in cold blood. How will they react?

Mr. Adams may be mandated to say on behalf of the island of Barbados that the workers are satisfied with Britain's policy. He may conceivably wish to argue that this should be the view of the workers in other Caribbean colonies. But even if it were true that the Caribbean has been selected by Britain as an area for relatively lenient treatment, surely this is no reason for deserting our brother colonials who are today experiencing the iron heel of imperialism.

Barbados has a population of less than 200,000. The entire British Caribbean has a mere 3 million. Compare the vast areas of Africa and the East, rich in economic resources and peopled by tens of millions. Was there no obligation to consider them before making rash assurances of colonial satisfaction?

403 Td 45

Specific Points

Let me deal specifically with the proposal to transfer control of the colonies to UNO, which was not on the agenda but of which Mr. Adams made so much. The workers of the Caribbean are totally opposed to any such transfer and fully endorse Mr. Adams stand as far as they are concerned. This would appear to be the stand of West African students in London also. But whether the workers of British colonies in other parts of the world are similarly minded or feel on the other hand that their progress would be expedited by transfer is something which Mr. Adams should have explored before announcing a general colonial opposition to transfer. If there was a serious difference of opinion he should have urged the right of each colonial territory to decide for itself.

The real point on the agend was the proposal that UNO should be regularly supplied with information about the colonies and particularly of their progress towards self-determination and economic development. This is a proposal with which every colonial workers' movement should be in agreement. One of our principal complaints is that we cannot get enough publicity for our cause. What a glorious opportunity to keep the colonial question constantly before the eyes of the world. Naturally the imperialist powers would not support this. How does Mr. Adams explain his opposition? A subject people never won its freedom by "curry-favouring". That will never be our path.

Mr. Adams has also been guilty of inexcusable ignorance. To the delight of his sponsers, he also used the occasion to make an oblique attack on, of all things, the policy of Russia with regard to the former subject peoples. Even the most arrant reactionary would not dare to reproach the Soviet Union on this point in view of the absolute equality, political and economic, which has been established between European and Asiatic Russian.

Look Beyond Nose.

The President of the CaribbeannLabour Congress has, on one of the most important issues of all time, thrown away the golden opportunity to be the champion of the cause of colonial peoples everywhere struggling for freedom. He has failed to look beyond the point of his nose. And he acted (I wish to make this clear in exoneration of all officers of the Caribbean Labour Congress and its affiliated organisations) without any consultation whatsoever with other leaders in the Caribbean.

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Copy Letter

The West African Youth League

7, Trelawney Street,
Freetown, Sierra Leone,
2nd November 1948

The Hon. Secretary
Pan-African Federat ion
58 Oxford Road,
Manchester 1.

Dear Comrade,

I was away when your Cable Message regarding the Broadcast speech of Grantley Adams was received requesting the view of the members of the League towards the speech and the reaction of the people of the communisty towards the representation of their position under the tutelage of British imperialism.

Personally, I listened to the Broadcast Speech with the Greatest disappointment and particularly so after having read the report of Adam's statement and utterances made to members of the Press on his way to attend the Paris Talk.

In so far as my Organisation is concerned, I am to state that the matter was discussed at a meeting of the League held on the 31st October and it was unanimously resolved that Grantley Adam's speech and his statement regarding the position of the Colonial Peoples under British Imperialism, is not only a grave disapoointemtn to the people, but constituses one of the gravest misrepresentations that have ever been made by a Colonial Citizen about the position of the Colonial peoples under the yoke of foreign imperialism.

I am to express the hope that this view of the Members of the Sierra Leone Section of the West African Youth League will be circulated to all progressive organisations through the Pan-African Federation.

Yours fraternally,

(signed) I.T. Wallace-Hohnson,
Organising Secretary & Secretary to the
Executive Committee of the West African Civil
Liberties and National Defence League incorporating
the West African Youth League (Sierra Leone Section)

COPY LETTER

4DB 7dA6

P.O. Box 862,
Lagos, Nigeria,
5th November 1948

Dear Mr. Makonnen,

Mr. Adams Speech before the Trusteeship Council to which you have kindly invited the attention of my Union has received the close examination of our Executive.

Much as personally and individually, we might have something real to say about the speech, I am to point out that as civil servants, our attitude to public affairs is guided by the Colonial Regulations which prohibit civil servants from intervening in any politican issues.

In the circumstances I regret we are unable as a union of civil servants to express an opinion on Mr. Adam's speech.

Yours fraternally,

(signed) J. Marcus Osindero
Nigeria Civil Servce
Union.

Mr. T.R. Makonnen
Acting Secretary,
Pan-African Federation,
c/o 211, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13,
England.

COPY LETTER

THE SOMALI NATIONAL LEAGUE
BURAO
BRITISH SOMALILAND

8TH NOVEMBER 1948

ADBTd49

to,
The Pan-African Federation

Dear Brothers,

We have to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 25th October and thank you very much for enclosing copies extracted from the speeches made by Mr. Grantley Adams.

It is rather surprising to know that Mr. Grantley Adams who is unknown to us has made speeches on behalf of the colonial people in general before the Trusteeship Committee. It is pity to see such important matters concernig concerning the future of the colonies are being handled by ungazetted single person whose appointment as an speaker for the colonial people has no foundation whatsoever.

We are not in agreement with any opinion or views expressed by the above named person whom we consider not only partial but also humiliating the prospects of this country.

It is emphasised that any further speeches or actions to be made by Mr. Grantley Adams on our behalf, should not be considered as valid.

We should be grateful if you would let us know whether or not you wish us to send similar letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations - Mr. Trygve Lie.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Hussin Abdillah,
for President,
Somali National League.

COPY LETTER

40874/48

THE KENYA AFRICAN UNION

HEAD OFFICE:

P.O. Box 2026

NAIROBI, KENYA

9th November 1948

Mr. T.R. Makonnen
Acting Secretary,
Pan-African Federation
211, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13,
England.

Dear Brother,

Your telegram of the 22nd and your letter of the 20th October 1948 with enclosures reached me safely. I regret that it was not possible for us to communicate with yourearlier, owing to circumstances beyond our control. We have however at last sent you a telegram expressing our views on the unfortunate statements of Mr. Grantley Adams in the Trusteeship Committee meeting in Paris recently.

Our views are those of total disagreement with Mr. Adams and we have made it clear in our telegram that Mr. Adams does not in any iota represent the views of the African people of Kenya. Tjis letter is really to amplify that telegram and we hope that you will use it with greatest effect to help you to repudiate Mr. Adams' misrepresentation of the Africans in the Colonies.

Yours faithfully,

(signed) Joseph A. Katithi
for Jomo Kenyatta
PRESIDENT

KENYA AFRICAN UNION.

Copy of letter sent to Delegates of the Trusteeship Committee United Nations, Paris.

9th November 1948

Dear Sir:

We have been greatly perturbed by news reaching us of the attitude taken up by Mr. Grantley Adams as a member of the British Delegation, in defending the colonial policy of the British Government. While it may be a little late for us to voice our protest we nevertheless feel that we would be failing in our duty were to allow his statements to pass unchallenged.

During the past year we have followed closely the discussions concerning the transmission of political information by the colonial powers to the Trusteeship Council, and we had looked forward to the Paris meetings with the hope that those delegations pressing for the transmission of such information would receive the support they deserve.

The attempts made by humanists over the past fifty years to show that colonial possessions are incompatible with peace and justice have not escaped our notice. Byt their very nature colonial possessions are the breeding ground of conflict and war, not only between the colonial peoples and their rulers, but also between the rulers and those sovereign states without colonial possessions. For example, since the unification of Italy in 1860 and of Germany in 1870, Europe and Africa have been torn with conflict arising out of and perpetuated by the belief of these two nations that as sovereing powers they also have the right to colonial possessions.

The move within the United Nations and on the part of some of its members to insist on closer and more complete international supervision, not of the colonial peoples themselves, but of the European powers who claim to rule them, gave us hope that at long last not only would the stigma of colonial status be abolished but that a major cause of war and exploitation would also be destroyed. The transmission of political information would be an important step towards undermining the monopolistic concept of colonial possessions upheld by Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Portugal and South Africa, and would break the strangle-hold they now maintain over freedom of speech, of the press and of movement.

It came as a great shock to us therefore, to learn that Mr. Grantley Adams, claiming to represent all peoples in the British

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Colonial Empire had proved to be an apologist for imperialism and an enemy of the cause for which progressive people have fought so long. None of the colonial peoples were consulted on the appointment of Mr. Adams, nor on the stand he should take on this question. Indeed, it is one of the main curses of the colonial system that only those unfamiliar with and least in touch with the people are allowed to speak in their name. We know nothing of Mr. Adams, and he apparently knows even less of us. While it is true that he is a person of African descent, we maintain that if the opinions of the African people were required, there are many eminent African who could speak with confidence of the support of their people. But they would not speak as Mr. Adams has spoken.

We wish most emphatically to express our indignation, and to send our congratulations to those delegation who, have made it part of their duty to raise these questions concerning our status. The opinions expressed by Mr. Adams are not indicative of our inability or indifference, and we hope that their effect will not be to deter the future efforts of those who insist on the implementation of the United Nations Charter. As the enclosed resolution makes clear, we do not in the least share the views put forward by Mr. Adams, and we hope that before the end of the session an opportunity will arise to inform the Secretary-General that Mr. Adams has been repudiated by the people in whose name he presumes to speak.

Yours faithfully,

(singed) T.R. Makonnen
Secretary
The Pan-African Federation.

COPY LETTER

CHIEF OF THE
PHILIPPINE MISSION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Hotel Ritz,
15 Place Vendome
Paris, France.

40B.Td.2

November 26, 1948

My dear Mr. Makonnen:

This is to acknowledge your letter dated 9 November 1948 concerning the attitude taken by Mr. Grantley Adams as a member of the British Delegation in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, and enclosing a copy of a resolution on the subject approved by the Pan-African Federation.

The Philippines Delegation appreciates the motives which impelled your Federation to approve the above-mentioned resolution and to bring its contents to the attention of the appropriate authorities of the States represented in the General Assembly and in the Trusteeship Council as well as of the United Nations Secretariat.

I am enclosing herewith for your information a copy of the statement I made in the Fourth Committee on 26 October 1948 in which I questioned the competence of Mr. Grantley Adams to speak on behalf of the dependent peoples in the British colonies. The pertinent portion of the statement begins at the bottom of page 8.

Sincerely Yours,

(singed) Carlos Pe Romulu

Enclosure:
Statement October 26

Mr. T.R. Makonnen, Secretary
The Pan-African Federation
58, Oxford Road
Manchester, 13
England

COPY LETTER

4087d51

CHINESE DELEGATION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

November 30, 1948

Mr. T.R. Makonnen,
Secretary, The Pan-African
Federation,
58, Oxford Road,
Manchester, 13
England.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated 9 November 1948 and contents duly noted.

I am enclosing herewith copy of The Summary Record of Statements Made by the Chinese Delegation in the Fourth Committee during the third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the subject of non-self-governing and trusteeship territories which may be of interest to you.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Cheng Paonan
Secretary-General.

Enclosure-1

COPY LETTER

UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE

UNITED NATIONS

HOTEL D'IENA,
26, Avenue D'Iena,
Paris, France.

December 1, 1948

Mr. T.R. Makonnen,
Secretary, The Pan-African Federation,
58, Oxford Road,
Manchester 13, England.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of November 9th in which you express some anxiety as to the attitude taken up by Mr. Grantley Adams as a member of the British Delegation at the present General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris.

While I am glad to know your views in regard to colonial policy generally, I think you will agree that it would not be proper for me in any way to cast a reflection on the manner in which other governments select the members of their respective delegations. I would add, however, that I was greatly impressed by the ability with which Mr. Adams put forward his views and I believe him to be an honest and sincere individual who is working for the best interests, as he sees it, of colonial peoples everywhere.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Francis B. Sayre
Representative of the United States
in the United Nations.

COPY LETTER

408Td 66

Mr. Trygve Lie,
The Secretary General,
United Nations Secretariat,
Palais de Chaillot
Paris,
France.

2nd December 1948

Dear Sir:

On receiving reports from Paris of the speeches made in the Trusteeship Committee be Mr. Grantley Ada,s, who claimed to be speaking as a colonial on behalf of all the colonial peoples of the British Empire, we took immediate steps to collect the true opinions of our people in Africa and the West Indies.

We were convinced that all Africans and West Indians would be as horrified as we ourselves were, and we immediately cabled organisations and individuals to verigy our belief. The enclosed material will enable you to judge the truth, and we trust that our protest together with those of our kinsmen, will be placed on record.

Yours faithfully,

(signed) T.R. Makonnen
Secretary
The Pan-African Federation

PAF/GB

22-48-104

November 9, 1948

Mr. T. R. Makonnen
PAN-AFRICA
211 Oxford Road
Manchester 13
ENGLAND

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of October 5, and have been meaning to answer it before this. No one feels more unhappy than I over the failure of American Negroes to stand fully back of the Pan-African Movement. I think their cooperation will come in time; but I have not been able to accomplish it as yet. I have written to Mr. Padmore, somewhat in detail concerning the difficulty.

The trouble has been that the Secretary of the NAACP was not willing to cooperate with the Pan-African Movement, and a good many of the Board of Directors agreed with him. The result was, that when I returned from the 1945 meeting I was unable to get any action whatsoever. My proposals for cooperating in a future meeting, for cooperating with the journal, PAN AFRICA, for publishing pamphlets concerning Africa, well all met with silence. There was no vote but nothing was done.

The result was that I dropped the matter, although I had the greatest admiration for your continued effort in England. I knew how difficult it must be to obtain funds. There was no reason in the world why this Association or other American Negroes should not have contributed one or two thousand dollars annually to your work, as in the beginning.

However, my connection with the NAACP will end in December. After that I hope, through some organization, to secure cooperation for the Pan-African Movement and to be able to have something contributed. Of course, everything depends upon the future course of history, and whether, as is possible, civilization is going to be overthrown again by World War.

Organized work of this sort for Africa is needed in America because of the widespread ignorance among intelligent American Negroes concerning what Africans are doing. For instance, Dr. Danquah, while well known to me and a few others, is utterly unknown to the mass of

fifteen million American Negroes. It would be impractical, therefore, at present to finance a lecture tour here unless some good organization stood back of it. I do not at present see any chance, although, the universities which you mentioned might be interested. You might write directly to their presidents, but I doubt if anything practical could be accomplished.

I shall keep in touch with you and shall be glad to give you further information concerning the work here, after January 1.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Pan-African Federation]

November 15, 1948

Miss Florence Nichol
The Pan-African Federation
211 Oxford Road
Manchester 13, England

Dear Miss Nichol:

Thank you very much for your full and informative letter of November 1, which has just arrived today. It is indeed kind of you to go to the great trouble that you have to supply us with the information we need on African education, and I assure you that you have our appreciation in full. We shall look forward to its arrival and shall let you know as soon as the material comes into our hands. Also, you shall receive copies of the report we make after we have used the material.

The pronouncements of Mr. Grantley Adams disgusted us as much as they did you. Of course, we have come to assume that almost anybody that is connected with a governmental delegation is merely nothing but the mouthpiece for it and put on to give a covering of liberality while the nefarious schemes are hatched and put into effect. We are wondering what will be the reception of Mr. Adams when he returns to his home. Of course, your letter of disavowal of all that Mr. Adams said was in excellent order and it is always best to get on record of disowning such public statements by one of our people. You are to be commended for this letter, and please pass these remarks along to Mr. Makonnen.

Under separate cover we are sending you a recent release of the NAACP, just published last week, entitled, PROGRESS AND PORTENTS FOR THE NEGRO IN MEDICINE, by W. Montague Cobb. It will give a good picture of the conditions that face the colored American in this field. Also, I am sending the first pamphlet on this subject and together the two will give the general picture.

Dr. DuBois asked me to inquire whether you are still publishing PAN AFRICA, since we have not received any copies in a long time. I told him I thought you were for I had seen a copy in October in the home of Langston Hughes, the poet. But I do know that our office has not received any copies in months. The next time you write, please let me know about this.

Whatever develops in regard to Dr. DuBois we shall let you know at once. His new address will be sent to you immediately. As yet, things are still undecided and pending.

Meanwhile, thanks again, and let us know if we can be of service.

Sincerely,

HHS:s

Hugh H. Smythe

23-20-18

THE PAN-AFRICAN FEDERATION
AND
THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

President of the Congress - - Dr. W. E. B. DuBOIS.

Federation Officers :

President :
Dr. P. MILLIARD.

International Secretary :
GEORGE PADMORE.

Secretary and Treasurer :
T. R. MAKONNEN.

HEAD OFFICE—

58, OXFORD ROAD.

MANCHESTER, 13

TELEPHONE: ARDwick 2856

40-7D-8

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
Department of Special
Research,
NAACP,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18,
New York, USA

7 December 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sending with this letter all the material so far gathered concerning Grantley Adams and the United Nations Trusteeship Committee. This material together with some historical background, comments on the Press reactions, and a review of the importance of the incident to our people all over the world is being prepared for publication either in pamphlet form, or as an issue of PAN-AFRICA. Before then, we hope to have more replies from Delegations. As you will see, we have had three, an excellent one from the Philippines, a very favourable one from the Chinese, and an interesting one from the America. The last I intend to answer in detail, since I feel the attitude expressed has considerable importance, more especially since the delegation is supposed to be speaking on behalf of the American people, including you and all our other kinsmen who make up 10% of that people. We cannot expect any further results from our correspondence with the delegations as yet - except more replies of acknowledgement - but we are hoping that when next the Council meets, our protest may be used to strengthen the anti-imperialist case.

There is also another matter of vital importance to our people which has just come to my notice. The Somali Youth League has submitted a petition to the United Nations which, while being very good in parts. nevertheless raises very complicated questions. The petition came into my hands by

40-70-9

accident, since the United Kingdom leadership of the Somali Youth League distrusts me because of my connections with Ethiopia. I have worked a great deal with the Somali National League, whose headquarters are in British Somaliland, and I have a copy of the petition presented by their General-Secretary to the United Nations. The Somali Youth League, on the other hand apparently works from Mogadishu in Italian Somalia, and it seems evident to me that they are being directed by some agency which is leading them to emphasise their grievances against Ethiopia rather than those against Britain and France. A copy of the Youth League petition was not sent to me directly, but since it is in my hands, I am having copies made, one of which will be forwarded to you as soon as possible.

The petition is, as I intimated, good in parts, especially where it is dealing with sociological and economic problems, but politically, it is most unfortunate. Its main importance lies in the serious allegation which it makes against Ethiopia. I have been told from time to time of the harsh policies adopted by Ethiopia towards the Somali people in the Harrar Province, but this is the first attempt that has been made to specify the complaints of the Somalis, despite the many requests I have made through representatives of the League in this country for such definite information. If the allegations are true, the matter is of grave concern to us all.

But it seems to me that of even greater imporance us the manner in which the Somalis have chosen to present their grievances against Ethiopia. In so doing they have exposed themselves, Ethiopia and the whole African world to European derision, and presented us with the possibility of a conflict which would enable Europeans to justify their present and future imperialist policies.

For these reasons I feel the matter should be brought to the attention of all Africans and people of African descent. I have already proposed to the Federation that we should send copies of the petition to all organisations and outstanding individuals among our peoplem seeking their comments, and asking for delegates to form a Pan-African mission to Ethiopia, there to investigate the allegations, hear the Ethiopian side of the question and attempt to bring about some settlement. Our task is the more difficult and the more necessary by reason of the silence so far maintained by the Ethiopian Government. As one of our "Elder Statesmen" your support and guidance in this matter will be essential and I shall look forward to having your comments when you have had time to read the petition for yourself.

40-70-10

We received your last letter, and appreciate the encouraging remarks you made concerning the Pan-African movement. We shall hope to hear more from you on the possibilities of greater collaboration when you have finally left the NAACP and the position is more definite. We shall keep you in constant touch with the work of the Federation, and any suggestions or comments which you have to make at any time will be gladly received.

I trust you are keeping in good health despite the many stresses and strains to which you are exposed,

Yours very sincerely,

T.R. Makonnen

T.R. Makonnen.

GEORGE PADMORE

Watt, Sir G. S. Harvie	Wigg, George	Wise, Major F. J
Webbe, Sir H. (Abbey)	Wilkins, W. A.	Woods, G. S.
Wells, P. L. (Faversham)	Willey, O. G. (Cleveland)	Young, Sir A. S. L. (Partick)
Wheatley, Col. M. J. (Dorset, E.)	Williams, C. (Torquay)	Younger, Hon. Kenneth
White, Sir D. (Fareham)	Williams, W. R. (Heston)	
White, J. B. (Canterbury)	Wills, Mrs. E. A.	TELLERS FOR THE AYES
Whiteley, Rt. Hon. W.	Winterton, Rt. Hon. Earl	Mr. Pearson and Mr. Collindridge.

NOES.

Ayles, W. H.	Griffiths, D. (Rother Valley)	Pritt, D. N.
Braddock, T. (Mitcham)	Holman, P.	Ranger, J.
Chater, D.	Keenan, W.	Sylvester, G. O.
Daggar, G.	McGovern, J.	
Gallacher, W.	Moody, A. S.	TELLERS FOR THE NOES
Glanville, J. E. (Consett)	Naylor, T. E.	Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Emrys Hughes.
Grierson, E.	Piratin, P.	

Bill accordingly read a Second time.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House for Monday next.—[*Mr. Richard Adams.*]

OVERSEAS RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT BILL

As amended (in the Standing Committee), considered.

5.0 p.m.

Mr. Oliver Stanley (Bristol, West): Before I move the new Clause standing in my name and that of my hon. Friends, I want to ask whether it is your intention, Mr. Speaker, to call the Amendment to Clause 3—in page 2, line 33, after "Kingdom", insert:

"other than in colonial territories."

Though that Amendment has a somewhat different object it covers the same ground, and I should prefer to cover the ground more fully on the Amendment rather than on the new Clause.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker (Major Milner): It is my intention to call the Amendment in the name of the right hon. Gentleman—page 2, line 33—and also the two Amendments which follow, namely, page 2, line 36, at beginning, insert:

"Notwithstanding anything in paragraph (*a*)".

and—page 2, line 41, leave out from beginning to end of line 45.

Mr. Stanley: I am very much obliged to you.

NEW CLAUSE.—(*Transfer of projects to the Colonial Development Corporation.*)

His Majesty in Council may by order direct that any project formulated or which is being carried out by the Overseas Food Corporation shall be carried out by the Colonial Development Corporation instead of by the Overseas Food Corporation and such Order may provide for the transfer and vesting of any property and for any matters incidental to or consequential upon the transfer of any project as aforesaid.—[*Mr. Stanley.*]

Brought up, and read the First time.

Mr. Stanley: I beg to move, "That the Clause be read a Second time."

This new Clause deals with the only point at issue between us on this Bill, and that is the part to be played in Colonial territory by the Corporations sponsored by the Ministry of Food. We shall have an opportunity on the next Amendment of discussing the whole matter at far greater length, and I trust that the House will see fit to reverse the decision come to in Standing Committee. In case that should not be the result—and one has always to remember that against the power of argument addressed from this side of the House there is the greater though unseen power of the Whips applied from that side—this new Clause will be found of service. I myself cannot see any possible grounds upon which the Government can object to, or reject, this new Clause.

It is not mandatory in any way. It does not compel this Government, or any Government, to do anything. It says that if, at any subsequent time, the Government, in their discretion and on their responsibility, come to the decision that work which hitherto had been done by the Food Corporation in Colonial territories could be done better by the Overseas Corporation responsible to the Colonial Office, the transfer of that work from one Corporation to the other could be carried out by the simple process of an Order in Council instead of by a new Act of Parliament, as the Bill, as drafted, would now require.

I am sure that the Minister of Food will agree that this proposal does not impose upon the Government obligations about which they might differ from me. It gives to the Government a useful piece of machinery which, in future years, they may be only too anxious to use. I submit the proposed new Clause with the utmost confidence that the Government, who have not been very generous in meeting Amendments to the Bill, will in this case be unable to find any grounds for refusing to support it, since it is designed solely to assist them.

Mr. Walter Fletcher (Bury): I support the proposed new Clause with the same confidence as that with which my right hon. Friend has just moved this Motion. It must be clear to everybody who was present during the Committee stage of the Bill that the project we have in mind, and which has the good will of everyone, is still only in its very early and initial stages. It is a large-scale experiment, with great ramifications. Nobody can, therefore, in the very nature of the position, be dogmatic about the final outcome of the project. A Clause giving a greater degree of flexibility to the administration, enabling them to prepare at the present moment for an eventuality that may come very suddenly, as things do occur suddenly in Colonial development, is obviously wanted.

The proposed new Clause lays down no hard-and-fast rule, clamping down the Government to something which they must follow. It gives the Government an opportunity now to take action should difficulties arise. Everybody who has seen the variations which take place and the difficulties which spring up almost overnight in Colonial development, must foresee that this is a possibility, if not a probability. The proposed new Clause would add to the flexibility of a Measure which must be purely experimental, and that must be a sound thing to do. I hope we shall hear that the new Clause is to be accepted.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Rees-Williams): I regret to say that we cannot accept the proposed new Clause. After the House has considered the matter fully in view of what I have to say, I think hon. Members will agree with me that it would be most improper for us to do so, in spite of what the right hon. Gentleman has said. In this case, both the Whips and the arguments are on this side, and, for once, right and the big battalions are together.

The first objection to the transfer of any project is that the Overseas Food Corporation can operate in any territory. It may operate in Colonial territories, at the invitation of the Secretary of State, and it can operate also in foreign or in Dominion territories. It would be improper to enable a transfer to be made by Order in Council of a project in a foreign or a Dominion territory when, in fact, the Colonial Development Corporation is not empowered by Statute to undertake it. That is the first, and it is a very serious, objection. The proposed new Clause does not say, " any project in a Colonial territory." It says " any project," formulated now or which may be formulated or carried out in the future.

Mr. Stanley: Does the hon. Gentleman agree that as the Bill already prevents the Colonial Corporation from acting outside Colonial territories, the transfer of any project to the Colonial Corporation would not affect the existence of the prohibition?

Mr. Rees-Williams: If the proposed new Clause were inserted in the Bill it would give power to His Majesty to make an Order in Council for the transfer of a project, although, in another part of the Bill, there is no power for the Colonial Development Corporation to carry out such a project. There would be a conflict between two parts of the Measure. That is the first objection, but there are other objections as well.

In the second place, if it was intended to transfer the East African groundnuts project from one Corporation to the other, it would be proper to do so by a Bill amending the present legislation. In our view, in view of the provisions of Clause 3 (1, *b*) which definitely allocate the groundnuts project to the Overseas Food Corporation, it would be essential to have an amending Bill to effect such a transfer and not to try to get around the position by means of an Order in Council. For every other case there is provision in the Bill for the transfer of any undertaking from one Corporation to another, namely, under Clauses 9 and 10. The proposed new Clause can apply, in fact, only to one project, the groundnuts project in East Africa. Any other project which may be commenced in the future can be transferred from one Ministry to the other under the existing provisions of the Bill.

Mr. Stanley: The hon. Gentleman has mentioned Clauses 9 and 10. Looking at them, I find it difficult to see how the powers which he mentions occur under them.

Mr. Rees-Williams: Clause 9 (1) says:

" The responsible Minister may, after consultation with the Corporation, give to them directions of a general character as to the exercise and performance of their functions in relation to matters appearing to him to concern the public interest, and the Corporation shall give effect to any such directions."

Clause 10 says:

" The power of the responsible Minister to give directions to the Corporation shall extend to the giving to them of directions—

(*a*) as to the disposal of capital assets; or

(*b*) as to the application of proceeds of such disposals,

notwithstanding that the directions may be of a specific character."

I am advised that under those two Clauses there will be adequate power to transfer any particular project from one Corporation to the other.

If that is so—and I am advised that it is so—the only object of the proposed new Clause would seem to be to move the groundnuts scheme from the Ministry

[Mr. Rees-Williams.]
of Food to the Colonial Office or from the respective corporations operating under them. If it is proposed to do that —we do not desire to do it—it should be done by legislation and not by Order in Council. We have, as at present advised, no intention whatsoever of moving the groundnuts scheme from the *aegis* of the Ministry of Food. We believe that the Minister of Food and the Overseas Food Corporation have done a fine job during the period in which the scheme has been in operation and we have every confidence that they will carry out their obligations to Parliament, to the people of the territory and to His Majesty's Government in the best possible manner. I therefore ask that this Clause be withdrawn or, if it is pressed to a Division, that it be rejected.

Dr. Morgan (Rochdale): I hope the House will accept this Clause. I was one of the Members in Committee who objected very much to the Overseas Food Corporation having full power to act by itself. I believe that all these things concerned with Colonial development should be in the hands of one Minister. It is true that the Minister of Food argued in Committee that he wanted to have power to deal in Dominions in which the Colonial Secretary was equally concerned. A special Bill could be brought in for that purpose, but dividing power between two Ministries to deal with any matters concerning Colonies, as in this Bill, seems to be quite wrong unless it is done in such a way that one Department is subservient to the other and the Bill gives the Colonial Secretary full control over anything happening in a Colony.

We have heard the reasons given by the Under-Secretary, and if I may say so with respect, they seemed very weak. I say " with respect " because in the course of my hon. Friend's remarks the Minister of Food looked round at me rather sternly as if a look from him would affect my view, and when I protested, he said it was amusing. I am not accustomed to boxing the compass politically. I have been in the Labour Party all my life and have never ventured out of it. [An HON. MEMBER: " That is unnecessary."] Whether it is unnecessary or not—I am making my own speech—it is vital that in a matter of this kind one Minister should have the power. The hon. Gentleman said that Clauses 9 and 10 put the matter right, but they do not. If hon. Members will look at Clauses 9 and 10 they will find that the Minister responsible for any particular undertaking has the power to make certain arrangements or to ask for a change, but suppose there is a dispute on any matter between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Minister of Food as to who shall have the final say. Any matter concerned with food developments in the Colonies should not be in the hands of the Minister of Food, but in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. I have had representations from most Colonies—certainly Africa and the West Indies—and the unofficial opinion there is that the Secretary of State for the Colonies should have the power to act and not the Ministry of Food, which is regarded—I do not think they are right—as a permanent Ministry under temporary conditions in Great Britain.

5.15 p.m.

The Under-Secretary has stated the objections and said that changes should take place by means of a new Act rather than by Order in Council. I disagree with the Ministry of Food interfering in Colonial matters. If it has to interfere, it should be subservient to the Colonial Office and the Colonial Secretary. This is a justifiable position for us to take up both in Committee and here. This Clause can be commended to any reasonable person having regard to the difficulties that may arise between one Department and another.

Mr. Dodds-Parker (Banbury): We on this side of the House welcome very much the intervention of the hon. Member for Rochdale (Dr. Morgan) who, I am glad to see, was undeterred by that fairly stern smile given to him by the Minister of Food after some interjection of his. We are glad to see that the look of doubt on the face of the Colonial Secretary deepened to quite a considerable extent. We feel very strongly that there can be no harm in this Clause and that there can be a considerable amount of good. As the Under-Secretary said, it applies entirely to the ground-nuts scheme at the moment. All of us have the highest admiration for the individuals who are trying to make the scheme work. All realise that it is a pilot scheme, though a very big one, and that there is considerable doubt as to the final form it will

take. It would, therefore, be of considerable advantage to the Government if they accepted the Clause.

The Colonial Secretary was obviously looking unhappy when the Under-Secretary was making his speech, and we hope that he has a choke-barrel waiting to fire himself off if there is support for this Clause. The right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) said that this is an administrative matter and not a party political matter. It is permissive, not mandatory, and would give considerable assistance to the Under-Secretary and the Ministry of Food in a few months' time, when they have worked out the high command and the chain of responsibility for the groundnuts scheme, to effect the change without bringing it again before Parliament. I urge the Colonial Secretary to go on. In a few moments his doubt may have resolved itself and he may be able to give us the answer we desire.

Mr. Rankin (Glasgow, Tradeston): I am sorry that I did not hear the arguments advanced by the right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley). I hope that I shall not repeat any point he made. I want to support the Clause from one simple point of view. It seems to me that if the Minister of Food is to be solely charged with these functions, he will find himself up against a conflict of interests. It is his function as the Minister of Food to obtain for the consumers in this country as large a quantity of food at as cheap a price as he can possibly get. One of the purposes of this Measure is to provide that food. That will be one of the immediate and pressing purposes. At the same time, it is one of the functions or purposes of the Bill to see that the level of life of the African is raised and that his social standards are improved.

It is very difficult to see how the Minister will resolve the problems that will beset him in maintaining—I will leave aside the word " maintaining "—in giving the African still higher standards of living and at the same time extracting food at the cheapest possible price for the consumers in this country. That conflict has already arisen in other spheres between the Minister of Food and the Colonial Secretary, who has sometimes had to defend the interests of the Colonies against the interests of the Ministry of Food. It is bad enough when this conflict occurs between two Ministers but, when it occurs within one Minister, it is difficult to resolve, and it is in order to prevent that arising that I would suggest that my right hon. Friend gives careful consideration to this Clause and, if possible, gives it his support.

Sir Arthur Salter (Oxford University): I shall support the inclusion of this Clause in a few sentences because the major considerations behind the proposal have been stated before, both on Second Reading in this House and in Committee upstairs. We are now dealing, not with the major change in the Bill advocated on those earlier occasions, but with a modest permissive Clause for which I should have thought the case was overwhelming. Perhaps I may recall shortly to the House the main considerations in the minds of those of us who wanted a greater change in the Bill but who would at least like to see the Government giving effect to it by this permissive Clause.

First, there is the obvious advantage of one Minister, with one chain of responsibility, responsible for the different schemes taking place in a Colony. In the second place, it is perfectly clear that any particular operation, such as will be carried out in this food development, will involve in any Colony a series of rather difficult priorities. The people engaged in that task must be anxious, naturally and professionally, to get ahead of the people engaged in other tasks in regard to the acquisition of skilled labour, transport, and many other things of which there is a shortage. Surely it is desirable that, when the Government appear in relation to a problem of that kind in a Colony, they should be a Government and officials responsible to the appropriate Minister in the Government who have a responsibility for the balance of all those different competing interests.

In the third place, I venture to remind the House of the consideration put so strongly by the right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) on Second Reading, namely, the extreme desirability that when the Government go into a Colony, they should be quite obviously and unmistakably the Minister of the Government and the chain of official responsibility to the Minister of the Government, whose primary interest is the interest of the inhabitants and not whose secondary interest is the interest of the inhabitants

[Sir A. Salter.]
after a primary interest which is that of the inhabitants of this country.

I suggest that those three considerations were very powerful in support of the major change proposed earlier in the consideration of this Bill, but if the case for that was strong, I suggest the case for the present proposal is overwhelming. This is not a compulsive but a permissive proposal, and if the Minister of Food now desires to reject it, what is the purpose? It is not to avoid what might prove to be a future inconvenience, if he is right in the view that he has taken hitherto; it is to secure the protection of his own case against his colleagues in the same Government, if the Government should later be clearly convinced that the original arrangement was wrong. Are the Government really to consent to the rejection of a proposal offering them the permissive power of making a change if, and only if, that change should prove to be desirable, because they desire to protect one Minister and one Department in the Government against another Minister in the Government should the Government as a whole afterwards think that the second Minister should be entrusted with the responsibility?

Mr. Scott-Elliot (Accrington): Like the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Dodds-Parker) I feel that this Clause cannot possibly do any harm and it might do a great deal of good. I will give as objectively as possible the reasons why I feel it will do good, but I want to make it perfectly plain that I am in no way speaking against the Minister of Food, whose Overseas Food Corporation will do admirable work, I am sure, in particular territories, in so far as they are not Colonial territories. I consider it is unsuitable for them to operate in Colonial territories. My first reason has already been given admirably by my hon. Friend the Member for Tradeston (Mr. Rankin). It is that there will be a dual responsibility in the mind of the Minister of Food. In that he will be, on the one side, charged with getting food for the people of this country at the lowest possible price and, at the same time, charged with having regard to the well-being of the native inhabitants, it seems to me that there is bound to be some clash.

Secondly, I am convinced that at some later date the Overseas Food Corporation will find itself competing with the small, indigenous producers. That is not likely to happen at present, or necessarily for four or five years but, at some later date when there is a greater supply of food in the world, the Overseas Food Corporation will find itself in fairly acute conflict with the small native producers. The right person to be in charge of the Corporation operating in Colonial territories must inevitably, therefore, be the Colonial Secretary who is the father and friend of these Colonial people.

My third reason is one which I gave in Standing Committee. I remember so well what the Minister of Food said. He tried to ride away with the ingenious argument that no simple Swahili-speaking native could possibly understand the difference between these two Corporations; that, indeed, it would be quite impossible for him to understand the difference between public and private ownership. But, with great respect, that is not the point. The point is that there are agitators in these Colonial territories who are only too pleased to take advantage of anything to the detriment of His Majesty's Government. They would seize on this and would represent the Minister of Food as a kind of master who was out to exploit the Colonial people, and many of the Colonial people would believe it. It could be answered completely were my right hon. Friend the Colonial Secretary to be in charge, as he could say, "My primary interest is the interests of the inhabitants of this territory."

I do not think that argument can be challenged, and I should like to hear the Front Bench trying to answer it, because it is far more substantial than anything they have endeavoured to put forward. If necessary, I could give examples of agitators in various Colonial territories who would undoubtedly take advantage of a division of this kind. We want some quick way of shifting the responsibility from the shoulders of the Minister of Food to those of the Colonial Secretary. It is nothing very big for which to ask, and I do not believe it is necessary to bring in amending legislation. I cannot understand why my right hon. Friend does not accept this proposal.

5.30 p.m.

Sir Peter Bennett (Birmingham, Edgbaston): I wish to emphasise what has been said as to the responsibleness

of this Clause, and the advisability of the Government accepting it. I would not have ventured into the Debate, as I was not a member of the Committee upstairs, but for the testimonial which the Under-Secretary paid to the Overseas Food Corporation in connection with this matter. I know the difficulties of the groundnuts scheme. I have information from people who have just returned from Africa who emphasise that we should not imagine there is going to be any quick increase of food for our country as a result of those operations. How true that is I do not know, but I have been warned not to expect too much.

When the scheme was launched people in this country gained the idea that it would provide them with additional rations in a short time. I am sure all who have had anything to do with it know that it is going to be a long job and I wonder whether when we have the additions to our food, the Ministry of Food will still be in existence. There will be questions which the Colonial Office will have to handle on a broader basis, such as those of railways, roads and docks, which will have to be developed by the Colonial Office. I think the day will come when it will be necessary to make some re-arrangement. In my business career I have always preferred to make arrangements for altering a plan if necessary and to make such arrangements so that alterations can easily be made. The Government may be very glad of a Clause of this description by which they could make an alteration which they do not envisage at the moment, but which may be necessary when the scheme is developed further. In their own interests they should accept a Clause which would enable them to handle difficulties which they cannot see at the moment.

Mr. Skinnard (Harrow, East): Were it not for the modesty of the proposed Clause, which has been alluded to by so many hon. Members, I do not think I should be so puzzled over it. I can understand opposition to the Ministry of Food being in charge of any development in any colony, but I cannot understand a permissive Clause, half the force of which is already lost if one studies Clause 3 of the Bill:

> "Provided that the Corporation shall not take in hand for the purpose of the discharge of their duty under paragraph (*a*) of this subsection the investigation, formulation or carrying out of a project to be carried out in a colonial territory unless the Secretary of State has invited them so to do."

If that Clause means what it appears to mean, this new Clause has only validity on the one scheme, the groundnut scheme at present in operation in Tanganyika, because, from the passage of this Bill, in effect the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the case of any territory under his jurisdiction, will have to make up his mind which is the more effective instrument to carry out his purpose for that Colony and the people of that Colony, the Overseas Food Corporation or the Colonial Development Corporation. A great deal of unnecessary fuss has been made about possible divergence of interest between two Ministers sitting in the same Cabinet. After all, the two Ministers are part of a larger body which has the final determination of policy, and it is open to any Cabinet of any date to make adjustments between the jurisdiction of any two Ministries as it is deemed wise for the benefit of those people for whose well-being the Ministries exist.

The fact that this permission is written in has been stressed because it does not mean anything unless the need arises, seems to me to vitiate the argument for it. If it is such a modest proposal, and if Clause 3 cuts away some of the proposed purposes of the new provision, it would seem just pious and meaningless. I do not think it can be seriously suggested from any side of the House—we are not talking of this as a party matter as party does not come into it, but are thinking about the benefit of the peoples of the Commonwealth, including ourselves, and this is a matter on which we all try to do our best—that at present the groundnut scheme should at this stage be handed to the control of the Colonial Office.

Upstairs we have learned of the very friendly co-operation existing between the two Ministries on this matter, and of the way in which the wishes of the Governor and the Government of Tanganyika have been respected over certain observations which were made on some things which were not in accord with the best interests of the natives working there. We are also assured that where public utilities are created by the Corporation they will, when developed, be the property of the Colony and, therefore, of the people of the Colony concerned. What we should do is to encourage closer co-operation of the

[Mr. Skinnard.]
two corporations, especially as the Overseas Food Corporation can undertake difficult and delicate mixed operations in both Colony and Dominion, where they are adjacent. It would be impossible in such cases to employ the Colonial Development Corporation. Because this Clause does not add to the value of the Bill, and chiefly because it is so modest and permissive, I cannot see any reason for it, and I must vote against it.

Colonel Wheatley (Dorset, Eastern): I wish to refer to the administrative side of the question, which I think is of importance. The hon. Member for East Harrow (Mr. Skinnard) has spoken of two Ministers who work in close accord and suggested that there are no difficulties. I would remind him that only recently we did not have that same accord between Ministers of the Government and that has cost the country a good deal of money. The question is not whether Ministries work together, but what is happening in a Colony. There will be officials of the Ministry of Food, and officials of the Colony, under the Secretary of State, working there. Who is to decide between them as to where their duty lies? The question of shipping has been mentioned, and there are the priorities on the quayside and on the railway, priorities of labour and so on. I have had a little experience of administration in Africa, and it seems to me that there will be trouble unless someone on the spot, say, the Governor, answerable to the Secretary of State, can have a decisive place in the relations between the Corporations. He must be the deciding factor; he must be able to say what are to be the priorities.

There is nothing in this Bill to say that the Minister of Food cannot come along and say, " I shall have these materials moved up the line at once." If that sort of thing happens there will be constant trouble between the officials of the two Ministries. From an administrative point of view, I should have thought that the Government would have welcomed this opportunity of getting out of a difficulty which was pointed out to them during the Second Reading Debate. We shall have two kings of Brentford here, and, therefore, there will be trouble. However well two kings may work in London I am certain that they will not work well in the Colonies. I beg the Secretary of State to stand up for himself in this matter and say, " I am responsible to the House of Commons for the Colonies. I cannot have another Minister walking in and taking responsibility away from me. All the officials in this Colony should be under my jurisdiction." It would be a great mistake to bring in another Minister to share those responsibilities. Even on administrative grounds alone—and strong grounds have been put forward on all sides of the House —I hope that the House will support this new Clause.

Mr. Stanley: I wish to make a final appeal to the Minister to look upon this new Clause in a conciliatory spirit. I assure him that it was not moved in any spirit of hostility, but to give an administrative convenience which at some future date some Government or other might find helpful. I was disappointed by the reply of the Parliamentary Secretary. His main argument appeared to be one of drafting—that if the Food Corporation had set up a project, say, in North Queensland, I should, by this new Clause override the whole purpose of the Bill, and it would be possible to transfer the project to the Colonial Secretary. Everyone knows that that is not my intention. I do not myself believe that the new Clause would have that effect, but if it did it would be the simplest thing, by inserting four words " in a Colonial territory " after " Overseas Food Corporation," to give the new Clause the meaning which everyone knows it is intended to bear.

That was, I think, the main argument advanced by the hon. Gentleman. I do not think it was one of great validity. The hon. Member for East Harrow (Mr. Skinnard) put forward, with great seriousness, an argument which I think was invalid. He said that owing to the fact that once this Bill was law the Colonial Secretary would have to give permission for a project to be started by the Food Corporation in Colonial territories. This new Clause would never be operative, except in the case of the groundnuts scheme. That is not quite the case, because it is possible that at one time a Colonial Secretary may think it wise, for various reasons, to allow the Food Corporation to start a project. It may be that in three, four or five years' time the project will have reached the full stage of development, that it will have become a

more or less routine arrangement, and that, therefore, the original reasons have disappeared, and the advantage might lie in transferring it to the Colonial Corporation. It is that kind of case that would be covered by the new Clause, but not by the Bill as it stands.

5.45 p.m.

Mr. Skinnard: Would the right hon. Gentleman not agree that that raises an even greater difficulty—the tenure of office and terms of service of the different kinds of people in the Colonial Civil Service and in the Overseas Corporation?

Mr. Stanley: The hon. Member is not doing himself justice. He knows that there is no question involved of transferring from the Corporation to the Colonial Service; it is a question of transferring from one Government Corporation to another Government Corporation, and presumably the terms of service in both will be on a parity.

The other arguments used by the hon. Gentleman were, first, that this point was already covered by Clauses 9 and 10. If, in fact, that is so, that is all the more reason for accepting this new Clause, because clearly there can be no objection to it. I confess that it is hard for the layman to think that when Clauses 9 and 10 were drafted, either the draftsmen or the Ministers had any idea in their heads that these Clauses could be used for such a transfer as I have now suggested. It has never been mentioned by Ministers at any previous stage of the Bill, and I should be interested to hear whether any of them had in fact envisaged such a possibility until it was found as an ingenious answer to a new Clause which might well be accepted.

I do not intend to enter at the moment into the merits of the groundnuts scheme. There may be a further stage on which it may be possible to say something on that matter—if we were not so terribly handicapped by the fact that the Minister of Food has not yet lived up to the promise made last spring that we should have a report of the operations of this Corporation last September, and the further promise he made, on the Second Reading of this Bill, which took place in the early days of November, that the Report was nearly ready and would soon be published. That is a point which I can develop better at a later stage.

With regard to the groundnuts Corporation, I wish to make two points. The first is that we on this side of the House made it plain on the Committee Stage that we were convinced, by the arguments of the Minister of Food, that whether it was right or not in the first place for the Minister of Food to have responsibility for that scheme, it was, during the period of development, quite impossible to make the transfer. There is no intention, by this new Clause, of getting, as was rather suggested, some backdoor method of transferring the responsibility for the scheme. We have accepted the Minister's contention. But when I am told that if at some future date the Government of the day, the Minister of Food of the day and the Colonial Secretary of the day all agree that the original functions of the Minister of Food in this scheme have been exhausted, and that the moment has come when it would be better run under the auspices of the Colonial Secretary, and when I am told that it is absolutely essential, if that change is to be made to make it by amending this Statute, I cannot see the force of that argument at all.

Why would it not be perfectly possible, and why would it not be for the convenience of any Government, to make the change by Order in Council? I do not think that when the time comes anyone will think such a change to be of such transcendent importance that they will demand all the elaborate processes of passing a Bill through Parliament. On the other hand, anyone who has had experience of Government knows perfectly well that the Leader of the House and Chief Whip look with a certain anxiety on any proposal for new legislation, and whereas at any time it would be quite easy to make a change of this kind which was agreed upon, by means of an Order in Council, those charged with arranging the programme of the Government might easily burke an amending Act of Parliament.

I am not to be regarded as one who does not stand up for the privileges of Parliament, but I do say that what would be a purely administrative action of transfer from one Corporation to another could be quite sufficiently ventilated in Parliament by the opportunities given for the discussion of an Order in Council.

[Mr. Stanley.]
I cannot see, as the Parliamentary Secretary has told us, that this is a change which could and should in the highest constitutional manner only be effected by an amending Clause. In all those circumstances I do hope that the right hon. Gentleman will realise that the New Clause is moved only to meet the possible convenience of some Government or other. It has neither hostile intention nor hostile effect. It does not ask the House to decide what we shall ask them to decide, on the next Amendment—whether it is wise in fact that the Food Corporation should go into Colonial territories too. All it does is to provide the administrative convenience which at some future date may be found useful.

The Minister of Food (Mr. Strachey): I think we ought to be quite clear about what we are discussing. The right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) has made that clear in his opening remarks and again in his closing remarks, but I think one or two hon. Members who have not been through the long discussion upstairs are, very naturally, a little confused about the issue we are discussing now and what we shall discuss in the further Amendments of the right hon. Gentleman.

The position is this. For reasons that I will give in a moment, this new Clause can only apply to the possible future transfer of the groundnuts scheme from one Corporation to another. That is the eventuality, and the possibility that we are asked to envisage here, because as the right hon. Gentleman recognised—at least he is doubtful of it, but I do not think he actually challenged it—some future scheme, on the invitation of the Colonial Secretary, and only on his invitation remember, may have been started under the Overseas Food Corporation in a Colonial territory. That is itself an eventuality which may never happen.

Secondly, after that, is a further possibility that the Cabinet of the day may decide that that Overseas Food Corporation scheme in a Colonial territory should be then transferred to the Colonial Development Corporation. We are assured by the legal experts that is fully possible under Clauses 9 and 10 of the Bill. It has caused great mirth to my hon. Friend behind. I even glanced round because I was startled by his mirth. I hope I did not glance round sternly, I had not the intention nor, I think, the capacity to be stern. But I was a little startled by his ridiculing that contention of my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary of State (Mr. Rees-Williams) because that is the legal opinion of the draftsmen.

I do not believe myself that it is at all likely to arise in practice. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman. I do not think that Clauses 9 and 10 were drafted in order specifically to cover the possibility that schemes should be transferred from one Corporation to another. I should have thought that in the working of this Bill, when it becomes an Act, it would be most unlikely that it would be practicable or wise to transfer schemes, after they have been in operation for some years, from one Corporation to another. I should have thought it a most impracticable thing to do. This Corporation will become a large organisation with expert staff and a fund of expert knowledge in that particular part of the world. For this Parliament, or the Government without Parliament, by Order in Council, to transfer schemes from one Corporation to another would be a most unwise thing to do.

Mr. Stanley: Under Clauses 9 and 10 it is possible to transfer schemes. Would the right hon. Gentleman tell us, is it not equally possible to transfer personnel?

Mr. Strachey: No doubt. But to take a group of personnel serving one Corporation which has developed a loyalty to that Corporation and transfer it to another——

Mr. Stanley: Bunk.

Mr. Strachey: Is it bunk?

Mr. Stanley: Loyalty to the scheme, may be.

Mr. Scott-Elliot: If Clauses 9 and 10 really cover all future schemes why in the name of goodness should we have all this talk? Why cannot the Government accept this?

Mr. Strachey: We think they cover future schemes but they do not cover the groundnuts schemes to which this is particularly addressed. We do not think that to put into the Bill now a Clause, or wording which would suggest, if it were carried, that it was the intention of the

Government, without coming back to Parliament, to transfer this groundnuts scheme from one Corporation to another, would be wise. I am doubtful if it would ever be wise to move a scheme about from one Corporation to another, but I am quite sure it would be disastrous to do it in the case of the groundnuts scheme. It is a very large enterprise, probably larger than any of the future individual schemes which will be started in other Colonial territories. To tear it up by the roots and pass it from one Corporation to another, I really think, is a quite impossible proposition. As the right hon. Gentleman himself recognised, when we argued it out in Committee we all came to that conclusion. If the House will turn to the Amendments he is going to move, they will see he suggests putting a prohibition on the Colonial Secretary that he is not to have the licence we give him under the Bill to invite, if he wishes, the Overseas Food Corporation to operate in Colonial territory. In the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment designed to take out that permission he excepts specifically the groundnuts scheme in East Africa which he recognises should go on under the auspices under which it has been started. To undo that by putting in this new Clause, which can have no effect but to suggest that, after all, at any moment at some future time this attempt to transfer a scheme from Corporation to Corporation may be executed, would, I believe, be a thoroughly unwise thing to do.

The right hon. Gentleman says, if I may digress for a moment, that he cannot say much about the progress of the groundnuts scheme, because the report has not been laid. I quite agree it is very urgent. It is being printed at the moment and will be in the hands of Parliament by next Monday, if the printers can manage it.

Mr. Stanley: After the Bill has left this House.

Mr. Strachey: After the Bill has left this House. But I do not think the report on the groundnuts scheme will affect the provisions of this Bill. It will simply give a report to the House of the progress which has been made, not under the Overseas Food Corporation but under the managing agency of the United Africa Company. I think the House will note with interest that the scheme is in its initial phase. It has deeply and heavily engaged with the enemy—to use a military analogy which comes to one's mind—and it is in the stage of having sunk quite important efforts and capital resources and manpower.

6.0 p.m.

To suggest, as the embodiment of this Clause must suggest, that at any moment the Government would take it up and transfer its auspices to another Corporation, would be a great disservice to the scheme, to put it no higher than that. It would be far better to transfer Corporations rather than to transfer schemes. It would be much more practicable, if we were going to do this, to say not that the scheme should be taken over from the Overseas Food Corporation and handed to the Colonial Development Corporation, but that the Overseas Food Corporation should be transferred to the auspices of the Colonial Office. That would be far less disastrous administratively. That, at any rate, would leave the Corporations, the active instruments, intact.

The objection—and it is an overwhelming one felt just as strongly by the Colonial Secretary as by me—is that the Overseas Food Corporation is going to work outside Colonial territory as well as within it—probably principally outside. Its chairman designate left for Australia this morning on the invitation of the Australian Government. Therefore, it is impracticable that that Corporation should be responsible to the Colonial Office. That is the objection to doing that, but it is a far less disastrous thing administratively and by way of disturbance to the scheme to transfer the auspices of the Corporations themselves rather than to try to transfer schemes as between Corporations. Although this does not do that, or force the Government to do it, if it was added to the Bill it would suggest strongly to everyone that that is what the House and the Government had very much in mind and might do at any time. Therefore, the Government must resist making this addition to the Bill. It is totally unnecessary for any possible transfer of future schemes, under Clauses 9 and 10, should they be needed or should they take place. I suggest it would be a great disservice to the groundnuts scheme, the one scheme to which it would really apply.

[Mr. Strachey.]

I have not dealt with the arguments made on the whole question of the Overseas Food Corporation operating in Colonial territory. Many hon. Members raised that question. All that will come up again when the series of three Amendments in the name of the right hon. Member for West Bristol is reached. I would like to take up one point made by my hon. Friend the Member for Tradeston (Mr. Rankin) who suggested that there had been conflicts between myself and the Colonial Secretary on the buying of agricultural products. He did not give any instances. I think that in the most friendly possible way we must deny that that has been so. It really is not the case. It would do harm, I think, in Colonial territories if that suggestion were allowed to go uncontradicted.

Mr. Rankin: May I make one point quite clear? My right hon. Friend will recollect that I did lay myself open to correction when I made the point. It was within my knowledge, not with a particular reference to the Colonial aspect, that sometimes there has been perhaps a little difficulty. However, I am glad to know that that was an entirely wrong impression.

Mr. Strachey: I am very glad that we have had the opportunity to make that clear. I ask the House not to add this new Clause to the Bill. In so far as it has any effect at all—which is a very limited one as I have tried to explain—I feel that it would be a disservice to the one scheme which, after all, is in action today. Everything else we are doing in the Bill is in the future and on paper so far, but the groundnuts scheme is in action. The addition of these words to the Bill would be a disservice to that scheme.

Question put, " That the Clause be read a Second time."

The House divided: Ayes, 13; Noes, 252.

Division No. 54.] **AYES.** **[6.5 p.m.**

Agnew, Cmdr. P. G.
Amory, D. Heathcoat
Assheton, Rt. Hon. R.
Baldwin, A. E.
Beamish, Maj. T. V. H
Bennett, Sir P.
Boles, Lt.-Col. D. C. (Wells)
Bower, N.
Boyd-Carpenter, J. A.
Braithwaite, Lt.-Comdr. J. G.
Brown, W. J. (Rugby)
Buchan-Hepburn, P. G. T.
Butcher, H. W.
Butler, Rt. Hn. R. A. (S'ffr'n W'ld'n)
Byers, Frank
Carson, E.
Challen, C.
Channon, H.
Clarke, Col. R. S
Clifton-Brown, Lt.-Col. G.
Cole, T. L.
Conant, Maj. R. J. E.
Cooper-Key, E. M.
Corbett, Lieut.-Col. U. (Ludlow)
Crookshank, Capt. Rt. Hon. H. F. C.
Crosthwaite-Eyre, Col. O. E.
Crowder, Capt. John E.
Darling, Sir W. Y.
Dodds-Parker, A. D.
Drayson, G. B.
Drewe, C.
Dugdale, Maj. Sir T. (Richmond)
Duthie, W. S.
Eccles, D. M.
Eden, Rt. Hon. A.
Elliot, Rt. Hon Walter
Erroll, F. J.
Fletcher, W. (Bury)
Fox, Sir G.
Fraser, H. C. P. (Stone)
Gage, C.
Galbraith, Cmdr. T. D.
George, Maj. Rt. Hn. G. Lloyd (P'lle)
Gomme-Duncan, Col. A
Grimston, R. V.
Hannon, Sir P. (Moseley)
Hare, Hon. J. H. (Woodbridge)
Haughton, S. G.
Head, Brig. A. H
Headlam, Lieut.-Col. Rt. Hon. Sir C
Henderson, John (Catheart)
Herbert, Sir A. P.
Hogg, Hon. Q
Hope, Lord J.
Hulbert, Wing-Cdr. N J.
Hurd, A.
Hutchison, Lt.-Cm. Clark (E'b'rgh W.)
Hutchison, Col. J. R. (Glasgow, C.)
Jeffreys, General Sir G.
Keeling, E. H.
Kerr, Sir J. Graham
Lambert, Hon. G
Langford-Holt, J.
Law, Rt. Hon. R. K.
Lennox-Boyd, A. T.
Lindsay, M. (Solihull)
Linstead, H. N.
Lloyd, Major Guy (Renfrew, E.)
Lloyd, Selwyn (Wirral)
Low, A. R. W.
Lucas, Major Sir J.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. O.
McCallum, Maj. D.
McCorquodale, Rt. Hon. M. S
Maclay, Hon. J. S.
Manningham-Buller, R. E.
Marlowe, A. A. H.
Marshall, D. (Bodmin)
Mellor, Sir J.
Molson, A. H. E.
Morris, Hopkin (Carmarthen)
Morrison, Rt. Hon. W. S. (Cirencester)
Mullan, Lt. C. H.
Neill, W. F. (Belfast, N.)
Neven-Spence, Sir B.
Nield, B. (Chester)
Noble, Comdr. A. H. P.
Nutting, Anthony
Odey, G. W.
O'Neill, Rt. Hon. Sir H
Orr-Ewing, I. L.
Peake, Rt. Hon. O
Peto, Brig. C. H. M
Pickthorn, K.
Poole, O. B. S. (Oswestry)
Prescott, Stanley
Raikes, H. V
Rayner, Brig. R.
Reed, Sir S. (Aylesbury)
Roberts, Emrys (Merioneth)
Roberts, H. (Handsworth)
Robertson, Sir D. (Streatham)
Robinson, Roland
Ross, Sir R. D. (Londonderry)
Salter, Rt. Hon. Sir J. A.
Sanderson, Sir F.
Scott, Lord W.
Shephard, S. (Newark)
Shepherd, W. S. (Bucklow)
Smiles, Lt.-Col. Sir W
Smithers, Sir W.
Spence, H. R.
Stanley, Rt. Hon. O.
Stoddart-Scott, Col. M.
Studholme, H. G.
Sutcliffe, H.
Taylor, C. S. (Eastbourne)
Teeling, William
Thornton-Kemsley, C. N.
Thorp, Lt.-Col. R. A. F.
Touche, G. C.
Turton, R. H.
Vane, W. M. F.
Wadsworth, G.
Ward, Hon. G. R.
Watt, Sir G. S. Harvie
Webbe, Sir H. (Abbey)
Wheatley, Col. M. J. (Dorset, E.)
White, Sir D. (Fareham)
White, J. B. (Canterbury)
Williams, C. (Torquay)
Winterton, Rt. Hon. Earl
Young, Sir A. S. L. (Partick)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES
Brigadier Mackeson and Major Ramsay.

NOES.

Aeland, Sir R.
Adams, Richard (Balham)
Adams, W. T. (Hammersmith, South)
Alexander, Rt. Hon. A. V.
Allen, Scholefield (Crewe)
Anderson, A. (Motherwell)
Attewell, H. C.
Austin, H. Lewis
Awbery, S. S.
Ayles, W. H.
Ayrton Gould, Mrs. B.
Bacon, Miss A.
Baird, J.
Balfour, A.
Barstow, P. G.
Barton, C.
Battley, J. R.
Beehervaise, A. E.
Benson, G.
Berry, H.
Beswick, F.
Bevan, Rt. Hon. A. (Ebbw Vale)
Bing, G. H. C.
Binns, J.
Blenkinsop, A.
Blyton, W. R.
Boardman, H.
Bowden, Flg.-Offr. H. W.
Bowles, F. G. (Nuneaton)
Braddock, T. (Mitcham)
Bramall, E. A.
Brook, D. (Halifax)
Brooks, T. J. (Rothwell)
Brown, T. J. (Ince)
Bruce, Maj. D. W. T.
Buchanan, Rt. Hon. G.
Burden, T. W.
Burke, W. A.
Castle, Mrs. B. A.
Chamberlain, R. A.
Champion, A. J.
Chater, D.
Chetwynd, G. R.
Cluse, W. S.
Cobb, F. A.
Collick, P.
Colman, Miss G. M.
Comyns, Dr. L.
Cook, T. F.
Corlett, Dr. J.
Cove, W. G.
Crawley, A.
Crossman, R. H. S.
Daggar, G.
Daines, P.
Dalton, Rt. Hon. H.
Davies, Edward (Burslem)
Davies, Hadyn (St. Pancras, S.W.)
Deer, G.
Delargy, H. J.
Diamond, J.
Dobbie, W.
Dodds, N. N.
Driberg, T. E. N.
Dumpleton, C. W.
Dye, S.
Ede, Rt. Hon. J. C.
Edelman, M.
Edwards, Rt. Hon. Sir C. (Bedwellty)
Edwards, N. (Caerphilly)
Edwards, W. J. (Whitechapel)
Evans, E. (Lowestoft)
Evans, S. N. (Wednesbury)
Ewart, R.
Fairhurst, F.
Farthing, W. J.
Field, Capt. W. J.
Foot, M. M.
Forman, J. C.
Freeman, Peter (Newport)
Gallacher, W.
Ganley, Mrs. C. S.
Gibbins, J.
Gibson, C. W.
Gilzean, A.
Glanville, J. E. (Consett)
Gordon-Walker, P. C.
Greenwood, A. W. J. (Heywood)
Grey, C. F.
Grierson, E.
Griffiths, D. (Rother Valley)
Griffiths, Rt. Hon. J. (Llanelly)
Guy, W. H.
Hall, Rt. Hon. Glenvil
Hamilton, Lieut.-Col. R.
Hardy, E. A.
Harrison, J.
Hastings, Dr. Somerville
Haworth, J.
Herbison, Miss M.
Hicks, G.
Holman, P.
House, G.
Hudson, J. H. (Ealing, W.)
Hughes, Hector (Aberdeen, N.)
Hughes, H. D. (W'lverh'pton, W.)
Hutchinson, H. L. (Rusholme)
Hynd, H. (Hackney, C.)
Hynd, J. B. (Attercliffe)
Irvine, A. J. (Liverpool, Edge Hill)
Irving, W. J. (Tottenham, N.)
Isaacs, Rt. Hon. G. A.
Jeger, G. (Winchester)
Jeger, Dr. S. W. (St. Pancras, S.E.)
Jones, Rt. Hon. A. C. (Shipley)
Jones, D. T. (Hartlepool)
Jones, J. H. (Bolton)
Jones, P. Asterley (Hitchin)
Keenan, W.
Kendall, W. D.
Key, C. W.
Kinley, J.
Lawson, Rt. Hon. J. J.
Lee, F. (Hulme)
Levy, B. W.
Lipton, Lt.-Col. M.
Lyne, A. W.
McAdam, W.
McEntee, V. La T.
McGhee, H. G.
McGovern, J.
Mack, J. D.
McKay, J. (Wallsend)
Mackay, R. W. G. (Hull, N.W.)
McKinlay, A. S.
Macpherson, T. (Romford)
Mainwaring, W. H.
Mallalieu, J. P. W.
Manning, Mrs. L. (Epping)
Mathers, Rt. Hon. George
Mayhew, C. P.
Medland, H. M.
Mellish, R. J.
Messer, F.
Middleton, Mrs. L.
Millington, Wing-Comdr. E. R.
Mitchison, G. R.
Monslow, W.
Moody, A. S.
Morley, R.
Morris, Lt.-Col. H. (Sheffield, C.)
Morrison, Rt. Hon. H. (Lewisham, E.)
Mort, D. L.
Moyle, A.
Murray, J. D.
Nally, W.
Naylor, T. E.
Neal, H. (Clayeross)
Noel-Baker, Capt. F. E. (Brentford)
O'Brien, T.
Oldfield, W. H.
Oliver, G. H.
Orbach, M.
Paget, R. T.
Paling, Will T. (Dewsbury)
Palmer, A. M. F.
Pargiter, G. A.
Parkin, B. T.
Paton, Mrs. F. (Rusheliffe)
Paton, J. (Norwich)
Pearson, A.
Perrins, W.
Popplewell, E.
Porter, E. (Warrington)
Porter, G. (Leeds)
Proctor, W. T.
Pursey, Cmdr. H.
Randall, H. E.
Ranger, J.
Rees-Williams, D. R.
Reeves, J.
Reid, T. (Swindon)
Rideagh, Mrs. M.
Robens, A.
Roberts, Goronwy (Caernarvonshire)
Robertson, J. J. (Berwick)
Rogers, G. H. R.
Ross, William (Kilmarnock)
Royle, C.
Segal, Dr. S.
Sharp, Granville
Shawcross, C. N. (Widnes)
Shinwell, Rt. Hon. E.
Silverman, J. (Erdington)
Simmons, C. J.
Skeffington-Lodge, T. C.
Skinnard, F. W.
Smith, C. (Colchester)
Smith, H. N. (Nottingham, S.)
Smith, S. H. (Hull, S.W.)
Snow, J. W.
Soskice, Maj. Sir F.
Sparks, J. A.
Stamford, W.
Steele, T.
Stewart, Michael (Fulham, E.)
Strachey, Rt. Hon. J.
Stross, Dr. B.
Stubbs, A. E.
Summerskill, Dr. Edith
Sylvester, G. O.
Symonds, A. L.
Taylor, H. B. (Mansfield)
Taylor, R. J. (Morpeth)
Taylor, Dr. S. (Barnet)
Thomas, I. O. (Wrekin)
Thomas, John R. (Dover)
Thomas, George (Cardiff)
Thorneycroft, Harry (Clayton)
Thurtle, Ernest
Tiffany, S.
Timmons, J.
Titterington, M. F.
Tolley, L.
Tomlinson, Rt. Hon. G.
Turner-Samuels, M.
Ungoed-Thomas, L.
Usborne, Henry
Vernon, Maj. W. F.
Viant, S. P.
Walkden, E.
Walker, G. H.
Wallace, G. D. (Chislehurst)
Wallace, H. W. (Walthamstow, E.)
Warbey, W. N.
Webb, M. (Bradford, C.)
Wells, P. L. (Faversham)
Westwood, Rt. Hon. J.
Whiteley, Rt. Hon. W.
Wigg, George
Willey, O. G. (Cleveland)
Williams, J. L. (Kelvingrove)
Williams, W. R. (Heston)

Willis, E.	Woods, G. S.	Zilliacus, K.
Wills, Mrs. E. A.	Wyatt, W.	
Wilmot, Rt. Hon. J.	Yates, V. F.	TELLERS FOR THE NOES:
Wise, Major F. J.	Younger, Hon. Kenneth	Mr. Collindridge and Mr. Wilkins.

CLAUSE 2.—(*Constitution of Colonial Development Corporation.*)

6.15 p.m.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Walter Smiles (Down): I beg to move, in page 2, line 19, after " to," to insert, " tropical agriculture."

This Amendment concerns the constitution of the Colonial Development Corporation. I wish to see somebody who has had experience of tropical agriculture included in this Corporation. I believe that, under this Bill, most of the resources to be developed in the Colonies will be in tropical or semi-tropical areas, and it may be said that a man with experience of farming in England or anywhere else has automatically gained the experience required for farming and for the production of agricultural produce in tropical countries. Beside me here, I have my hon. Friend the Member for Leominster (Mr. Baldwin), who knows all about farming in Hereford, although I am very doubtful if even he would claim to know all about farming all over England and Scotland, and certainly would not claim such knowledge about tropical and semi-tropical countries abroad.

This money belonging to the taxpayers may be spent in various parts of the world. It may be spent in a climate where four inches of rain falls in 13 hours, and more than 400 inches of rain in a whole year. It may be spent in an area that suffers from drought, although I believe that that can now be cured by means of an aeroplane going out and firing 300 lbs. of dry ice into the air, which would bring down a rainstorm. The conditions are very different in the tropics from those in this country, and, for that reason, I wish to see the inclusion of someone with experience of tropical agriculture.

I have suffered myself from the experts who have come out from the homeland to the tropics. I have seen gentlemen with high degrees from various universities here come out and advise completely wrong methods. I have seen land ruined by the application of lime, and I have seen other land ruined by too deep cultivation. I have seen an agricultural expert advising people to dig trenches 18 inches deep to break the land, when the cultivation was shallow and only three inches deep. A lot of this money is going to be spent in Africa, and I believe the African to be the worst cultivator in the whole world. Whether we see him tearing the beautiful soil down the hills of Jamaica into the Caribbean Sea, or whether we see him in Kenya, having grazed the land until there is no more grass on it than there is in the round-about at Piccadilly Circus the results are very often extremely bad. For that reason, we want someone with experience of tropical agriculture helping us to administer this scheme. There are also lots of superstitions to be got over in connection with these developments. There will, perhaps, be people going on strike because they believe that a baby has been buried under a bridge—at least, that used to be a superstition—or there will be a lion taking away their finest cattle.

Of course, all of us here have an extremely selfish interest in this matter—the loss of money that may accrue to the British taxpayers. I have known many men go out to the tropics with optimistic ideas about growing hemp, sisal, cotton, and tea, who lost their money, although they had received excellent advice. However, it was their own money they were losing. I tremble to think what is going to happen now when it is the taxpayers' money, and when, instead of hundreds or thousands of pounds, there is going to be the chance of losing millions of the taxpayers' money. I think that the inclusion of these very simple words would help to safeguard that money, and that the Government would be well advised to include in the Corporation someone with experience of tropical agriculture. None of us wants to do without basic petrol for another two years owing to the fact that a big loss is made by this Corporation. With those words I commend this Amendment to the Government.

Colonel Wheatley: I beg to second the Amendment.

I am very happy to do so because this is a very important Amendment. I can see no reason why the Government should resist it. They might very well say that it is covered by the word " science," that

the Secretary of State should choose someone with scientific knowledge, or, indeed, that it might be included in the final lines of the Clause where it talks about

> " securing that adequate experience of those matters obtained in Colonial territories. . . ."

That being so, I cannot see why the Government should not accept this very simple Amendment which has been so ably moved by my hon. and gallant Friend the senior Member for Down (Sir W. Smiles) who has had experience in other parts of the world besides Africa, which he particularly mentioned. Of course, Africa is uppermost in my mind. Thirty or forty years ago many a promising scheme was ruined by lack of experience of those who were running them, especially in the agricultural world.

My hon. and gallant Friend mentioned the hon. Member for Leominster (Mr. Baldwin). I am sure that if the hon. Gentleman went out to Africa today without any special experience, he would find it very difficult, with only his English experience, to contend with the different climate, the different soil and with the different labour. Any scheme with which he dealt would probably be a failure in the end, and he would probably lose a deal of money over it. I have seen that sort of thing happen many times in the past, but, in more recent years, when we have had more experienced tropical agriculturists available, such schemes have gone ahead with much more success.

I hope that the Minister of Food has been able to draw on a good many experienced tropical agriculturists in connection with his groundnuts scheme because I am perfectly certain that scheme will not succeed unless such experienced men are dealing with it. Not only is the actual growing of crops important; it is vastly important to have a knowledge of the plant diseases which suddenly arise, and which may never have been heard of before. If men with experience gained in the last 20 or 30 years are available, it will be a great advantage to any scheme. Although this Amendment may seem redundant because science is already included in the Clause, I hope that the Government will accept it so as to make quite certain that men with experience of tropical agriculture will be selected by the Secretary of State.

Mr. Rankin: I intended to ask the hon. and gallant Member for Down (Sir W. Smiles) before he sat down whether he could explain if there is any difference between tropical and sub-tropical agriculture.

Sir W. Smiles: I think there is a very great difference indeed. In fact, there are very many differences. I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman heard the whole of my speech.

Mr. Rankin: I did my best to follow it.

Sir W. Smiles: At any rate, the hon. Gentleman did not suffer from the inability to hear it. I was pointing out that some areas suffer from drought—they sometimes do not get rain for a whole year—and that other areas get 400 inches in a year. Therefore, I consider that there is great scope for the different treatment of soil.

Mr. Rees-Williams: The Government have very much in mind the matters put to us by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Senior Member for Down (Sir W. Smiles) and the hon. and gallant Member for East Dorset (Colonel Wheatley). We are fully aware of the necessity for always having in mind the requirements of tropical agriculture. We also know that tropical agriculture differs in kind, in degree, and in every other way from home agriculture. But we have covered the necessity for a knowledge of tropical agriculture among the members of the Corporation by inserting in the Clause which we are now discussing the words " primary production." Those words cover tropical agriculture, sub-tropical agriculture, and any other type of production of primary products which there may be. To put one particular type of primary production or one particular type of agriculture, into a Clause of this kind would be quite useless. In fact, by being inserted before the words " primary production," it might have a restricting effect upon those two wider words at present in the Bill. Therefore, we believe that it is highly undesirable to limit the expression " primary production," either in this or any other way.

To reassure the hon. and gallant Gentleman I would say that the Deputy-Chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation Board is Sir Frank Stockdale, who was for many years the agricultural adviser to the Secretary of State

[Mr. Rees-Williams.]

for the Colonies. He has an unrivalled knowledge of tropical agriculture and knows the difficulties of agriculture in every country in the Colonial Empire. I do not think it is going too far to say that he has visited every country in the Colonial Empire which has an agricultural problem. Therefore, the mover of the Amendment and the hon. and gallant Gentleman who supported it can rest assured that their purpose—which we appreciate—in putting down this Amendment will be amply covered by the Clause as it exists, and that the Government will never for one moment—nor, indeed, will the Corporation itself—forget the requirements of tropical agriculture.

6.30 p.m.

Sir W. Smiles: I am not satisfied with the reply of the Under-Secretary. "Primary production" can cover anything. The coalmines in Southern Rhodesia will be developed, and the best man to send out to advise on the development of those coalmines would probably be a man who had been working in the mines in Wales, Durham or Scotland. But tropical agriculture is a different thing. I agree with the remarks of the Under-Secretary about Sir Frank Stockdale. At the moment there could be no better man than Sir Frank Stockdale, but this Colonial development will not finish when Sir Frank retires or dies. It will go on, and people in the future will be looking at this Bill to see the actual words which are in it. I believe it would be improved very much by the inclusion of the words "tropical agriculture."

Amendment negatived.

CLAUSE 3.—(*Establishment of Overseas Food Corporation, and functions thereof.*)

Mr. Dodds-Parker: I beg to move, in page 2, line 33, after "Kingdom," to insert:

"other than in Colonial territories."

This and the next two Amendments, in line 36, at beginning, insert:

"Notwithstanding anything in paragraph (*a*)."

and line 41, leave out from beginning, to end of line 45, hang together. Have I your permission, Mr. Speaker, to take these three Amendments together?

Mr. Speaker: I called the first Amendment without realising that the next two go with it.

Mr. Dodds-Parker: These Amendments caused the greatest amount of discussion upstairs, and they are, in fact, the only real bone of contention between the Government and us on this side of the House. Some of the points which have been submitted upstairs have already been touched upon in the discussion on the new Clause, and to some of them the Minister of Food gave a reply, but I would like to put as briefly and as clearly as possible the case which we made upstairs.

We on this side of the House believe that in these Colonial territories the Colonial Secretary should be dominant and should be responsible for all developments within these territories, for which we in Parliament are responsible, whether of a welfare or of an economic nature. Obviously they hang together very closely. We are very anxious that there should be no misunderstanding, but we feel that the selection of the Minister of Food as an independent Minister with certain powers in these territories is not in the best interests of all concerned. There are two reasons why we believe this is so. The first is the psychological reason. With the best will in the world, there is a considerable fear among many people that the setting up of these public Corporations under the Ministry of Food will become big monopolistic Corporations, the object of which is primarily to increase the rations of the voters and taxpayers here in Britain. That is the blunt fact. Therefore, under the Minister of Food, that factor will have priority over the welfare and wellbeing of the people in these Colonial territories.

I have had a certain amount to do with the personnel who make up these Corporations, and I have no fear at all that with the existing personnel there will be any such conflict in fact. I believe it is largely a psychological factor—that when difficulties arise which are detrimental to the wellbeing of the people in Tanganyika, for instance—incidentally, I think it is a pity that so much discussion has centred around the groundnuts scheme in Tanganyika—our actions will be regarded as having been carried out for the benefit of all of us in this country, including myself,

and not for the benefit of the people of Tanganyika for whom we are responsible. This psychological factor is probably much larger than a great many hon. Members opposite realise. The backwardness of these people and the way they regard the Governor and the Secretary of State as His Majesty's representatives who are responsible for their wellbeing is probably far greater than is appreciated by those of us in this House who have not had practical experience in these territories. I say to the Minister of Food, without any detriment to him and with the greatest respect, that the fact that the Minister of Food rather than the Colonial Secretary has overriding responsibility for the production of food in Tanganyika will, if any difficulty arises, be to the detriment of whoever is trying to carry out this task in Tanganyika.

The other point is largely an administrative one. We must be prepared to accept a certain amount of administrative inconvenience in this dichotomy between two Ministers, one of whom is responsible for the practical side of the production of groundnuts in Tanganyika, and the other for its political aspect. We feel that in any territory where the Colonial Development Corporation works, both the Corporation and the Government of the territory should be responsible to the same Minister here in London. In the case of Tanganyika it is essential that there shall be one man who is responsible for all the administration, and who will not have to send back certain problems to be resolved here in London, even presumably at Cabinet level, if there is such a thing as a conflict between the Colonial Secretary and the Minister of Food over these tremendous tasks which have been set for the people who are carrying out the job on the spot. In the House of Commons, we find that if we put down Questions some of them find their way to the Minister of Food and some find their way to the Colonial Secretary. That is merely another aspect of the same problem. It is essential that we should have in London and overseas one person who is responsible for the whole task of carrying out these schemes in territories which are under direct British rule.

I think these arguments have been put at considerable length upstairs, and they are well known to many hon. Members on both sides of the House. We are not putting forward these points for the purpose of making difficulty—I think that is appreciated by the Government—but we feel most sincerely that this is primarily a psychological problem, and that it is of the greatest importance that in all these territories where we are pressing on, rightly and properly, with these tremendous schemes of development of all sorts, there should be one individual responsible, and that it should be the Colonial Secretary whose reputation both personal and in the office which he holds stands so high.

Mr. W. Fletcher: I beg to second the Amendment.

I wish to produce one or two other arguments in support of my hon. Friend the Member for Banbury (Mr. Dodds-Parker). On the psychological point, we must realise that in Africa the groundnuts scheme, which has become the centre of these discussions, is in a very immature stage and, to a certain extent, what we are doing there is guess-work. We cannot quite see how the scheme is going. Therefore, at this stage it is very difficult to judge how this form of dual control will work out. In a way, it is starting under bad auspices because, being a large corporation, it will tend to put aside production by the peasant proprietor. Throughout every stage of this Bill I have been one of those, with a great deal of support, who has put forward the thesis that the development of our Colonies, Dominions and other parts of the world where these Corporations may wish to operate ought to be regarded as just as much an opportunity for educating and improving the peasant proprietor as for the big mechanised corporation—mechanised in thought as well as manned up mechanically.

The psychological effect of dual control is very inimical to that interest, because the big food Corporation does not as yet work on the lines of having the educated peasants as the object of its work but so much more on the large-scale, mechanised person, the highly scientific big-scale method of working. That has certain very great disadvantages because, by and large, less of the result of the work flows into the territories because the actual peasant proprietor himself is not producing and getting a direct reward. That is one of the dangers of having this Corporation.

[Mr. Fletcher.]

Let us turn to other parts of the world and see some territories where development has gone on for many decades. Let us consider Malaya, for example, where the Minister of Food does not operate and where the Colonial Secretary knows that a situation is arising of great difficulty. Why? Because Malaya, which is the biggest dollar arsenal in the British Empire, through its rubber and tin, is beginning to feel extremely restive that such a small proportion of the work done in Malaya is accruing to Malaya. We acquire the dollars and we restrict what is sent to Malaya in the way of cotton goods and everything else. That is causing great unrest because not sufficient of the result of the work of Malaya is actually going to the country itself. It does show the extreme danger and difficulties we are going to face in the future, and certainly it is going to be the cause of many more national movements and the acceleration of movements which are quite healthy in themselves but the pace of which would not normally be so great if it were not for outside influences. It is an extremely important thing in the sort of atmosphere this form of production is going to bring in its wake, quite inevitably. The Colonial Secretary should be the only person in the eyes of the native producer and of the employee of this Corporation to be complete master in the territory for which he is responsible. Obviously, what is being done here, though it may be perfectly good in intention, is in actual fact going to take a turning quite different from that which the Minister and all on this side of the House desire.

This is already showing itself to some extent in the keenness of the Minister of Food to make a success of what one of his people, I am told, described rather unwisely as an Eldorado. There has been such a great blaring of trumpets, such a high raising of hopes about what we know is really nothing but a large-scale experiment capable of greater delay, of greater difficulties, inevitably greater competition and inevitably greater losses than the public have been led to realise at the present moment. Just recently the Minister of Food used the words "strongly suggests." The strong suggestion has been created in the minds of the people in this country—not through the impingement of the Colonial Secretary, who is not exaggerating or using the word "Eldorado"—that this country is going to draw a vast loan or a rich claim of groundnuts and other produce which is going to be for our benefit.

I believe the Colonial Secretary must have very grave doubts in his mind whether the entry of the Ministry of Food into these territories is not to have the effect of upsetting the equilibrium of these territories. It is showing itself already when transport is depleted which leaves sisal high and dry, which cannot be shipped. That is happening in West Africa where we have a new and ambitious Minister entering into territory which has been wisely administered. I lived for three or four years in Tanganyika and I have a little knowledge. I believe in due course the duality of control will show, in spite of the best will in the world on the part of the Ministry of Food, that it will work out greatly to the detriment of those inhabiting the territory and to the scheme which Members on this side of the House wish well and which they are trying quite genuinely to assist in the early steps, which can be hesitant ones and which are possibly over-confident.

Mr. Rees-Williams: The effect of this Amendment would be to stop the Overseas Food Corporation from undertaking projects in Colonial territories except for the East African groundnut scheme. It would restrict the freedom of choice of the Colonial Office or of any particular Colonial Government if it was desired to make use of the experience which had been gained in Tanganyika or elsewhere by the Overseas Food Corporation. If this Amendment were carried that would no longer be a possibility in the Colonial territory. All that experience would be wasted so far as the Colonies are concerned. Secondly, supposing in Tanganyika, or in a neighbouring Colonial territory, it was desired to have the co-operation of the Overseas Food Corporation that would no longer be possible if this Amendment were carried. Neither in Colonial territories adjoining Tanganyika nor in Colonial territories far distant from Tanganyika could the experience of the Overseas Food Corporation be used. We have heard from the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Dodds-Parker) about the psychological factor, and the hon. Member for Bury (Mr. W. Fletcher) also

mentioned the psychological factor. The hon. Member for Bury also referred on two or more occasions to dual control. I would have said so far as the psychological factor was concerned the average inhabitant of Colonial territory would be glad that there was in Whitehall a Ministry which was not itself concerned in the success or otherwise of the scheme and which could always look after their interests. I believe the psychological factor works the other way and that the people of the territories will, in fact, be glad to think that there is a Colonial Office which will in co-operation with the Ministry of Food treat this particular Overseas Food Corporation, which has been set up by it, as if it were a limited liability company set up by private enterprise.

Dr. Morgan: Exactly.

Mr. Rees-Williams: So far as the ordinary person in the territory is concerned he has every bit as much power to go to the local government or to the central government or to the Colonial Office in Whitehall for protection as he would have if this Corporation were a limited liability company acting in the normal way under private enterprise and I do not see why anybody has to say " exactly " about that because that is a very great safeguard which he might not feel he had—we are dealing with psychological matters now—if the Food Corporation was to be operated by the Colonial Office and not by the Ministry of Food.

Dr. Morgan: Has the psychological aspect had that effect where the Nigerian coal mines and the Nigerian railways are concerned?

Mr. Rees-Williams: The Ministry of Food is not running Nigerian railways and these Nigerian railways, of course, are run by the Government of Nigeria and not by a Corporation coming in from outside. There is ample safeguard against any infringement, so far as the people of the territory are concerned, of the labour, the sanitary or any other regulations of the Colonial government. They have to obey the regulations. There has been one case in Tanganyika, where the local government pointed out to the agents running this scheme that certain matters did not meet with their approval, and they had to put those matters right straight away. So there is ample safeguard for the people of the territory, first in regulations and in strict supervision by the local government, the Government of the Colony, and secondly, in the right of petition which every person has to the Secretary of State.

There is, in fact, no dual control whatsoever. There is no more dual control in this matter than there is when I.C.I. are operating in a territory, or when any other big corporation is operating. There is no dual control. The Ministry of Food will carry out its activities laid upon it by Parliament, and its observance of law and its observance of the regulations of the territory will be enforced by the local government supervised by the Colonial Office. There is no dual control in that at all, any more than there is dual control in the case of any other project carried on by any other company or corporation.

Finally, we have in the Bill, in Clause 3 (1), safeguard against the intrusion—if I may call it so—of the Minister of Food into any Colonial territory in which the Secretary of State for the Colonies does not desire him to enter. He can enter only at the invitation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that invitation will be given only after consultation with the local government, the Colonial government, and after full consideration by the Secretary of State of all the circumstances which have to be borne in mind. Therefore, the idea that the Minister of Food and his Corporation can gatecrash into Colonies where he is not desired either by the local government or the Secretary of State is just fantastic. It just could not possibly happen. He would not be able and would not wish to carry any such tremendous liability as he would incur, even if he did get people other than the Secretary of State to agree to his entering.

In these circumstances I would ask the House to reject this Amendment. It is an Amendment which can act only to the detriment of the territories in the Colonial Empire. It is an Amendment which will restrict Colonial governments and the Colonial Office from using the services of the Food Corporation in circumstances in which it is desirable. It will give no further power to resist the encroachment—as I am sure the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) will call it—of the

[Mr. Rees-Williams.]
Minister, because we already have full power provided in the Bill to resist any such proposal. Therefore, I ask the House to reject this Amendment.

Mr. W. Fletcher: I want to ask the hon. Gentleman a question because he was just talking about the psychological factor. Does he think that the natives of the country will look upon the man working for the Food Corporation as an official or not?

Mr. Rees-Williams: No. They will not look upon him as an official of the Colonial government. They will look upon him as a servant of the particular Corporation in the scheme. It is the same with the Colonial Corporation.

Mr. Stanley: Hon. Members who were on the Committee upstairs will notice that we have this time put our Amendment down in a different form. We were convinced by the arguments of the Minister of Food that it would be impossible at this stage to transfer the groundnut scheme. He was a little unfair, I think, on the previous Amendment. He drew out that agreement we had given not to transfer now, to cover transfer at some future date. The ground on which we agreed now was, that the scheme was in process of development; but he will remember that his forecast, which is now enjoyed by the public, is that the stage of development will last only five years, and that at the end of five years the whole scheme will have already been developed. Therefore, while we agreed to no transfer now, in what is now only four years' time the position may be different.

There is no need for me to deal in any way with the position of the groundnut scheme, which is not affected in any way by this Amendment. Nor do I think it is necessary to recapitulate at any length the arguments in favour of this Amendment. We have already discussed it on Second Reading; we discussed it at great length in the Committee upstairs; and my hon. Friends who moved and seconded this Amendment have with commendable brevity and lucidity put the arguments again. I am merely going to quote a witness that appears to me to put the argument so well that there is really nothing for me to add. It is the December issue of the Journal of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, a publication and a society of which, I think, the Secretary of State has some knowledge, and to whose pronouncements at one time he attached some weight. This is what it says:

> "Many speakers in the Parliamentary debate were critical of leaving responsibility for one of these Corporations to the Ministry of Food. We share those criticisms. It is asking the impossible to expect a Ministry whose first function must be to secure cheap food for British housewives also to act in the interests of producers overseas, which must be—as far as prices are concerned—diametrically opposed to those of their customers at home. Mr. Creech Jones"—

that is, the Colonial Secretary—

> "himself recently said in the West Indies"—

talking to a Colonial audience—

> "that the Colonial Office, in dealing with bulk purchases of colonial products, 'always drives the hardest possible bargain with the Ministry of Food, which naturally tries to obtain the supplies at the lowest prices.' This is not meant as a rebuke to the Food Ministry, but it stands to reason that by its nature it is ill-fitted for this particular job. We would feel far happier if the Colonial Office was fully responsible for everything going on in the Colonies."

There have been times in the past when I have not always seen eye to eye with the Fabian Colonial Bureau, but I must say that in this instance they have put a point with clarity and force with which I can only agree, and with which I can really afford to rest content.

Mr. Rankin: I want only to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman for a second. I was——

Mr. Stanley: I gave way because I thought the hon. Member wanted to ask me a question.

Mr. Rankin: I was searching out the instance in my former speech that the right hon. Gentleman gave just now.

7.0 p.m.

Mr. Stanley: I shall not elaborate the reasons in favour of this Amendment. They are well put in that quotation. I merely wish to deal with some of the arguments that have been put up against it. I found the argument of the Under-Secretary—that everyone who had spoken on this point at any stage was entirely wrong, and that the psychological factor worked the other way—a rather strange one. His argument was that the native Swahili, who we were told by the Minister of Food would not really know what it was all about, would, on the contrary,

be delighted to know that it was all being run by the Minister of Food and that there was another Minister in London, the Colonial Secretary, who could have a quarrel with him if anything went wrong. I bow to the right hon. Gentleman's insight into the simple mind of the uneducated African. If the right hon. Gentleman says that is the way the native reasons, then I am sure he must be right; but it certainly comes as a great surprise to me.

If that is the view held, as it must be—and not only by himself, because he is not speaking for himself but for his office—why does the Colonial Office come into this at all? Why have not we got rid of all the fears, doubts and suspicions that might arise among the simple native people by merely making the Ministry of Food responsible for everything, everywhere? I cannot take the right hon. Gentleman's argument as either very serious or very conclusive. Anyone who knows anything about this problem—some will rate it higher than others and put it more strongly—will say that there is undoubtedly some psychological danger in the control being in the hands of a Ministry whose purpose, and whose proper purpose, is to obtain for the people of this country food at the lowest practicable price. It is quite clear that the psychological danger, as has been pointed out by many hon. Members, does not lie merely in what the ordinary peasant in these countries will think. The danger lies in the impression that is given to him by the agitator. For the agitator's purpose it does not matter at all whether he is making an honest and sincere use of the facts.

Mr. Gallacher (Fife, West): Oh, that will not do. I am an agitator.

Mr. Stanley: But there are agitators and agitators. Compared with the skill of a Colonial agitator I class the hon. Member for West Fife (Mr. Gallacher) among the " and agitators." There is a real danger that the agitator can get hold of facts which are undeniable; for example, the fact that the Minister of Food is charged with the responsibility of feeding the people of this country at the lowest practicable price. He can twist and make use of those facts, whatever be the intentions of the right hon. Gentleman; and I have little doubt that the agitator will make use of them. Therefore, I ask the House to agree—as indeed, I think, most hon. Members experienced in this problem do—that there is a real danger here which may be used against the good name of His Majesty's Government and the good will of our administration.

So far, I have been dealing only with the little Giottesquerie raised by the Colonial Secretary. The serious argument against this Amendment appears to be that in the Bill there is already power which gives more or less all that is wanted. This Amendment prevents the Minister of Food coming in at all. The Bill says that he shall come in only on the invitation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. If I were assured that that argument was a wholly valid one, then I should certainly have to agree that, as we now have to regard the groundnut scheme as an unfortunate *fait accompli*, for future events an Amendment of this character would be unnecessary. I am not dealing in the least with personalities or with the two right hon. Gentlemen, the Minister of Food and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who at this moment happen to be sitting opposite. I am dealing with this as a matter of machinery of Government, because this is a Bill which may have to last for a great many years.

In the whole working of Government I do not think things will work out in quite the simple way which has been put before us, namely, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies thinks, " Let us grow asparagus in Mauritius," and then asks himself, " Is this a thing I shall do myself, or shall I ask the Minister of Food in to do it for me? " and upon thinking it over decides finally, " Well, the Minister of Food has such special knowledge of the growing of asparagus that I ought to ask him in to do it." I do not think it will work that way at all, but in exactly the opposite way. The Minister of Food will say, " We would like to have for this country a certain kind of foodstuff. I think we could grow that in such and such an area of the Colonial territory," and he will go to the Colonial Secretary and put to him a scheme for growing that foodstuff. It may be that the Colonial Secretary, regarding the whole situation, may not want that particular scheme carried out in that particular territory at all. However, he

[Mr. Stanley.]

will be asked to give his permission, and if he refuses the final decision does not rest with the Colonial Secretary, but the matter becomes one for the Cabinet; two Ministers will be disagreeing on a point which will have to be settled by the Cabinet, and not necessarily at all in accordance with the views of the Colonial Secretary.

We cannot regard this provision as being anything like such a strengthening of the hands of the Colonial Secretary as would be a definite legislative provision that the Minister of Food could not start work in a particular Colonial territory. We are told the effect would be that there might be some cases where we should be deprived quite unnecessarily of the co-operation which we think the Colonial Corporation ought to have from the Food Corporation. Frankly, I do not believe that for one moment. I believe that in pretty well any scheme which the Colonial Secretary wanted to start in a Colonial territory he could get all the co-operation he wanted from the Food Corporation by the loan of one or two key men. It would not be at all necessary for the whole of this vast paraphernalia which has been described to us to become operative. We have been told how immense vested interests will grow up round each particular plan in the Food Corporation, but it would not be in the least necessary for the whole of that great army to march into the territory. One or two key men—who, presumably, would be loaned gladly from one Corporation to another—would, I think, give all the expert advice and co-operation that was needed.

It is in those circumstances that we ask right hon. Gentlemen opposite not to listen to our vain pleadings, not to listen to our arguments, however strong, but to heed at any rate the words of their strong supporters, the Fabian Colonial Bureau, and to show that a few years of office have not altered the reputation they possessed and the adherences they once showed. I hope, even at this late hour, now that the Minister of Food is assured that this Amendment involves no attack upon his groundnut scheme, that he will be prepared to withdraw his ban and allow the Colonial Secretary to accept the Amendment, with which I am sure he is in sympathy.

Mr. Michael Foot (Plymouth, Devonport): The right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) began his speech by saying that he would not go over the ground which was fully debated on this issue during the Committee stage and on Second Reading, but that he would confine himself to making his argument by means of a quotation from the Fabian Society. I must say that on that account he put his case more powerfully to-day than he has done on any previous occasion. It would be right to consider when these views were put forward by the secretary of the Fabian Society Colonial Group. If my recollection is correct, the statement was made before some of the discussions we have had on this Bill. I always thought that the purpose of our discussions was that we should advance in our opinions on these matters. I have no doubt that if the secretary had had the opportunity of listening to the Debates we had in Committee, he would very rightly have changed his views on this proposition. It is not really a very powerful argument to rake up a newspaper article which appeared long before we had all these interesting and valuable discussions, to which the right hon. Gentleman has contributed so fully.

The second main point of the right hon. Gentleman was to refer to the play which agitators may be able to make with this provision in the Bill. That strikes me as being an extraordinary proposition. If the right hon. Gentleman knew even a quarter as much about agitation as the hon. Member for West Fife (Mr. Gallacher), I am sure that he would not advance any such proposition. Apparently, the argument is that if this Corporation is run by the Ministry of Food, the agitators will be able to make what play they want, but if it is run by the Colonial Office, it will be impossible for them to make any play at all. Really good agitators can overcome little points like that. All the agitators throughout the British Empire are not attacking the Food Minister, but the Colonial Office, and all these tales which come from hon. Members opposite of how impossible it would be for agitators to make a case against the Corporation run by the Colonial Office are therefore beside the point. If hon. Members opposite study this matter of agitation a little more carefully, they will come to a wiser conclusion on the matter.

Both the Mover and Seconder of the Amendment hold some extraordinary views. The hon. Member for Bury (Mr. W. Fletcher) said that one of his objections to the Ministry of Food running this Corporation was that it would arouse an exaggerated interest in this matter in this country, and he misquoted, as did the right hon. Gentleman for West Bristol, a statement made by the head of the Food Corporation about building some Eldorado in Africa. I think it is high time that the people had a greater interest in the Colonial Empire.

Mr. Stanley: The hon. Member has entirely misrepresented what was said. My hon. Friend did not say that it would make people take more interest in the Colonial Empire, but that it would lead people to expect far more in help for their rations than they were likely to get.

7.15 p.m.

Mr. Foot: I think he was making both points. He said that there had been exaggerated hopes built up in this country about this matter, but exaggerated hopes may arouse interest in the Colonial Empire. It is one of the great merits of this Bill that it will arouse much greater interest in the Colonial Empire throughout the country. The proposer of the Amendment advanced the extraordinary proposition that in his view the Colonial Secretary should be dominant and responsible for all developments in Colonial territories. He does not believe anything of the kind, because there are hundreds of enterprises in operation in the Colonies today in which the Colonial Secretary is not dominant.

Mr. Dodds-Parker: If the hon. Member knew anything at all about Colonial administration he would realise that all people operating in Colonial territories come under the local governor, who in his turn comes under the Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Foot: I am not disputing that. The proposition is that the Colonial Secretary should be responsible for all developments in Colonial territories. There are dozens of enterprises which are not under the Colonial Secretary in that sense. They are private enterprises. What hon. Members opposite are really proposing, although they may not say that this is what they want to propose, is that there shall be a ban on the operations of this Corporation run by the Food Ministry in Colonial territories, a ban which does not apply to private enterprises.

Mr. Dodds-Parker: The hon. Member has misrepresented me. What we are maintaining is that with these Government corporations the Colonial Office should be predominant. If, for example, the Government are to take powers, as in wartime, to take away cattle from certain people, these powers should be exercised by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and not by the Minister of Food.

Mr. Foot: The hon. Member says that the Colonial Secretary is responsible for all operations inside the British Colonies, but that is not the case, and it is not the position he supports. He says that when a private-enterprise industry comes to a British Colony it operates under the sanction of the Colonial Secretary; but the same sanction applies to the Food Corporation. Hon. Members opposite want to draw a distinction between the conditions under which private enterprise can operate and the conditions under which a public corporation can operate.

I believe that there are great advantages in this proposal of an Overseas Food Corporation. This is a new idea, and it can be of enormous value to the British Colonial Empire. The best service we can do is to assist the Corporation to get on with their job as quickly as possible. The operation of a food corporation under the Ministry of Food can be of great advantage in the British Colonial Empire, because it introduces a new element and a new kind of operation into an area. I do not agree with my hon. Friend the Member for Rochdale (Dr. Morgan), who said that all the representations which had come from the Colonial Empire were entirely against the Government's proposal. I can assure him that I have had many representations from people who consider it is of great advantage that there should come into these territories a new kind of corporation with a new outlook. It is all very well for the right hon. Gentleman for West Bristol to laugh. He has great knowledge of the British Empire, but unhappily most of it is out of date.

Mr. Stanley: I do not wish to take away from the hon. Gentleman credit for having spent a week in Jamaica since I went there. I was only laughing at his idea that there was a new progressive spirit in the Corporation set up by the Ministry

[Mr. Stanley.]

of Food as compared with the hidebound spirit of the Corporation set up by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In both cases the Government had to go to outside services, and in both cases it seems that they chose the same kind of admirable man.

Mr. Foot: If the right hon. Gentleman had learnt as much from Jamaica as I did when I went there I am sure that he would not be against the Government in this Debate. I claim that the idea of a great public corporation coming in is something very different from big private corporations coming in for quite other purposes. If the right hon. Gentleman cannot understand the difference between those two propositions then I can understand why he should be sitting on the opposite side of the House.

Mr. W. Fletcher: The hon. Gentleman is saying that this would be an entirely new thing, that there would be an entirely different position, whereas the Under-Secretary argued that the position would be exactly the same.

Mr. Foot: The hon. Gentleman is misrepresenting what the Under-Secretary said. I say that it is quite possible under this Bill, and, under the provision for a Food Corporation, for there to be a new approach to these problems. There are many persons working inside the Colonial Office and in Colonial territories who take that view, and who think that it is a great advantage that there should be a new element and a new kind of approach towards this problem, not only through the introduction of a Development Corporation, but also through Corporations operating under a different Department as well.

Members opposite have talked about psychological dangers. They say that an injurious effect will be created in the minds of native peoples. They may be antagonistic to the Food Corporation because they think it is an invasion of their sovereignty, if they think that the Food Ministry do not intend to act in co-ordination with their interests. I should have thought that the Food Ministry has one special advantage even over the Colonial Development Corporation, for this reason: the Food Corporation will also be operating in territories under the control of sovereign Governments, such as Australia. If those sovereign Governments, over which we have no control, come along and ask the Food Corporation to go into their territories what better proof could there be that the peoples of those territories were keen to see the Corporation thrive?

The great importance of the association between the Food Ministry and the Colonial Empire should be made more explicit. There should be propaganda to explain their true relations. Whether hon. Members opposite like it or not the association of the Food Ministry and British Colonies is of vital importance today, and will increase. As I listened to some of the speeches which have been made in this Debate, I could not help thinking that one of the real objections to this proposal is that Members opposite want to get rid of the Ministry of Food. Indeed, one Member said he regarded the Ministry as a temporary institution and that he thought that the Ministry should, therefore, be excluded from these operations.

We on this side do not regard the Ministry of Food as a temporary organisation, and I am sure that the overwhelming majority of people in the Colonial Empire would view the idea of the Ministry being a temporary organisation as being fraught with great danger for themselves. This is a fact which Members opposite must appreciate. They have a right to make their argument, but I do not think it assists government of the British Colonies very much when they make the argument about great differences between the Colonial Office and the Ministry of Food. Their interests are the same.

The right hon. Member for West Bristol was rather scornful about Jamaica——

Mr. Stanley: The hon. Gentleman has overstepped the limit. He has no right whatever to say that I was scornful of Jamaica. That is a rather serious imputation to make of someone who held my position, and I cannot let it go out that I showed scorn for a Colony for which I have always had the greatest affection. I ask the hon. Gentleman to withdraw.

Mr. Foot: I am prepared to withdraw, but the right hon. Gentleman was scornful of the fact that I had drawn a certain amount of knowledge from my visit to Jamaica. He thought that was funny and he made insinuations about it. I

have withdrawn what I said, but I hope the right hon. Gentleman will show equal courtesy in Debate in future. He is very eager and tempted to make insinuations against others, but when anyone hits back he does not take it very well. There has been the recent case of the bananas agreement with Jamaica, in which the Minister of Food and the Colonial Secretary combined to get an agreement which is of immense value to the people of Jamaica. It is only right, and in the interests of the Ministry of Food's reputation throughout the Commonwealth, that these facts should be known.

Whatever the Opposition may say this association between the Ministry of Food and the peoples of the Colonial Empire will grow stronger, and its bonds will become firmer. The developments which have taken place during the past two or three years offer great hopes to the people of the Colonial Empire. It would be an added advantage that the Ministry of Food should become all the more closely associated with them by the kind of proposal which the Government have included in this Bill. I hope, therefore, that for these positive reasons the Government will reject the proposals made by the Opposition.

Mr. W. Fletcher: Does the hon. Gentleman consider that the action of the Ministry of Food in coming into the picture and providing 4 oz. of rice a day for the people of Malaya is proof of what he has been saying?

Mr. Foot: I am sure that that point is not relevant to this Debate, but I am also sure that the Ministry has played a big part, against opposition from that side of the House, in carrying out the arrangements made throughout the Far East to prevent widespread starvation during the past few years. If the hon. Gentleman would give a little more credit to the Ministry for these kind of achievements he would do a better service to the people of the Colonial Empire.

Dr. Morgan: I feel very strongly about Colonial administration, and I hope that nothing I say to-night will make the temper of the House any more heated than it has been so far. I have been interested in Colonial affairs ever since my early days in the Colonies, where I was born. I was a Socialist at the age of 21, when I came here, and I have remained a Socialist ever since. I hope the Government will forgive me on this occasion, because I am very unhappy about this Bill. I am unhappy about it from a Labour and Socialist point of view, because I have a very long association with the Labour and trade union movements. It is all very well for my hon. Friend the Member for Devonport (Mr. Foot) to utter his nice, flippant, sentences which, no doubt, score points. It seems that some have the gift of the gab, but I prefer to have something behind my gift of the gab rather than to rely purely on the weapon of the tongue.

7.30 p.m.

I have spent much time in the Colonies, seeing how people live, their disease, poverty, and destitution. I know something of their psychology, not from a brief visit, but from a study of many years, living among them, going in and around their huts, and seeing how they react towards certain problems. I feel genuinely unhappy that the Colonial Office is not to be the dominant factor in all this business.

I know that the psychology in the West Indies is that they want one Department, one pivot, to whom they can go. This divided interest, in my view, is quite wrong. The hon. Member for Devonport raised the point that some hon. Members opposite had said that development in the Colonies should be under the Colonial Secretary, and because private enterprise was not, he says that their arguments about this thing are all wrong. Is that argument very valid? Some Socialists think that because an enterprise is run by a Government it is necessarily well-run. The railways in Nigeria have been run by the Government for years. Are they good railways? The coalmines in Nigeria have been run by the Government for years. Was there any attention paid to the diseases of the miners there? Is it not a fact, as the present Colonial Secretary knows, that there was a report from one of his officials during the Coalition Government, during the war, in which it was proved that no protection was given to the bare feet and shins of the miners working in Nigeria, and within a year of his recommendation asking that protection should be given, the mortality rate among the native miners, who sometimes live ten to 20 miles from the mines, was reduced by 50 to 75 per cent.

[Dr. Morgan.]

The groundnut scheme originated from private enterprise, and it is now to be run by private enterprise in one Colony; but what about the smaller islands? The whole basis of these schemes is wrong. In my view, they should be on a co-operative basis, based on the production of the peasant proprietors and the smaller men, and run by the Government.

Mr. Speaker: I do not understand what this has to do with the Amendment before the House. The hon. Gentleman's argument might be all right on Second or Third Reading, but it does not appear to deal with the point which we are discussing—the conjunction or otherwise of the Ministry of Food with the Colonial Ministry.

Dr. Morgan: That is what I am dealing with. I say that this sort of scheme cannot be continued in all the Colonies. It might be done in big territories like Tanganyika, but this sort of scheme, which is presumably permanent legislation, in which there is a multiplicity of controls, cannot apply to all the different types of Colonies. That is why I am against a Clause which allows the Ministry of Food inside Colonial territories to have the power to run these schemes.

I want to give an assurance to the House that while I like these schemes of Colonial development in every direction, I do not think that schemes based on the idea of private enterprise under the *aegis* of the Government will necessarily be run well. I maintain with regard to the Colonies that the Colonial Office should be the main factor, and the whole basis of these schemes should be concerned with bringing in all the small proprietors in the country from the point of view of production, organisation and marketing. I maintain that these schemes should be based on co-operative ideas, co-operative trading and co-operative production. If that were done this Bill, in my view, would be a much better Bill.

I could say a lot about the speech made by the hon. Member for Devonport, but perhaps as a colleague in association, I had better say nothing. It is better to settle these things privately than to discuss them before the House. I can assure the hon. Member that certain of his views on Colonial matters, in spite of his association with Colonial administration, could be improved to a considerable extent if he went to the Colonies and resided there for ten years, or took into consultation those who know a little bit about certain parts of the British Empire.

Dr. Segal (Preston): I have tried with great difficulty to follow the thesis put forward by Members of the Opposition. Their case seems to be that our Colonial Empire must now and forever remain the choice preserve of one Government Department only; that any outside Ministry that wishes to follow a line of development in one of our Colonial territories is encroaching upon the choice preserve of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. I would submit quite frankly that it should be the policy of the Government not only to stimulate interest on the part of one of their Departments, like the Ministry of Food, but that to develop our Colonial resources for the benefit of our Colonies, we should invite all Departments to take an active interest in our Colonies. The more the merrier.

Why should we still hold to the old ideas that our Colonial Empire is something quite apart from the mother country, and that every idea for the development of the Colonies must and can in the future only come out of the brain of the Colonial Secretary? Even if they try to justify their case, it has no actual foundation in fact. Many Government Departments have in the past taken a vital and close concern in Colonial matters. We have only to take the case of the Admiralty. It was vitally interested some few years ago in the project of the Singapore naval base, but the whole future of our defence system may tend to turn from the Middle East to our East African Colonies. Are we to exclude the Admiralty and the War Office from taking a direct interest in the development of our Colonial Empire? Why should we attempt at this stage to exclude the Ministry of Food? During the course of the last few weeks we have read of the Paymaster-General making a tour of our Colonial territories as a sort of glorified commercial traveller, certainly in the interests of the mother country but also in the interests of the Colonies themselves. The object of this Bill to stimulate and increase interest in the welfare and development of our Colonial territories on the part of many other Government Departments is a new development

to be welcomed. I would refute utterly the suggestion made by hon. Members on the opposite side of the House that this is a dichotomy. It is quite the reverse. It is not a dichotomy but a symbiosis, an effort to get other Departments of the Government interested in the future of our Colonies.

During the fuel difficulties last year it was suggested that the miners should be asked to give up their five-day week and work longer hours. In future when the coal mines are better developed under the new system of nationalisation and when we get not only sufficient coal for our own needs, but also for export, why not give the miners back their five-day week or make it even a four-day week and let the Minister of Fuel and Power go out to the Colonies and develop the coal resources in some of them? Having not only stimulated the interest of the Ministry of Food in the Colonies let my right hon. Friend the Colonial Secretary encourage the Minister of Fuel and Power to go out to the colonial territories on some such vast new project as the development of the coal resources of Nigeria, or Northern and Southern Rhodesia. What is fundamentally wrong in that principle? Is it the aim of the Opposition this evening to put forward the thesis that the Board of Trade or the Ministry of Supply must remain for ever indifferent to what is happening in our Colonial Empire?

It is pathetic to see the once great Imperial party, not only great in numbers but great in its conception of Imperial policy, now shrunk to the miserable state of a small band of little Englanders. Cannot we develop a far greater conception of the significance of our colonial Empire and the whole future of our colonial peoples? Cannot we broaden the interests not only of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but every single Government Department so that in the future they will take a deep interest in the development of our colonial Empire? So far from this being a new development from which we should run away and of which we should fight shy, it is a development which we ought to do our utmost to encourage not only in the interests of the mother country, but also in the interests of the Colonies themselves. The colonial people get sick and tired of seeing the emissaries of the Colonial Office making their trips to colonial territory with some new idea or because of a nationalisation scheme proposed by the Government. They want for a change to see the emissaries of the Ministry of Food or the Board of Trade or the Ministry of Supply. Why not? Let us forge all the more closely the links which bind our Colonies to the mother country. Let us see to it that it is not purely a one-way traffic which tends to be caught in a development bottleneck, but a two-way traffic developing broadly along vast new avenues of Imperial policy. So I would appeal to Members opposite to discard the ideas of the little Englander.

Sir Patrick Hannon (Birmingham, Moseley): Is the hon. Gentleman suggesting in the speech which he is presenting to the House that we should lose the services of the Minister of Food for a period? For His Majesty's administration in this country to lose such advice for a time would be a deplorable thing to which to look forward.

Dr. Segal: Provided he has during his absence made due provision for an ample supply of potatoes and certain other necessities upon which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Moseley (Sir P. Hannon) depends, the Minister is entitled to his holiday as much as any of us, and in what better way could he spend it than by a visit to some of our Colonies to see what he could do to assist their development, which as well as helping them would help our own country. Finally I would say, the conception in this Bill is a new conception which deserves every support from Members in all parts of the House, and not least from the once great Imperialist Party which sits now on the Opposition Benches.

7.45 p.m.

Mr. Strachey: There is not a very great deal to say on this issue that has not been said upstairs and on the Floor of the House, so that I will deal very briefly with it. So far as I can see there appears to be three points. There is the issue of what is called dual control. We on this side of the House most earnestly deny that the provisions of this Measure have any element of dual control unless we call dual control the system under which today 99 per cent. of the economic activity in Colonial territories is actually undertaken, as my hon. Friend the Member for Devonport (Mr. Foot) put it, by private enterprise—by the Union Africa Company in West Africa, to give one instance, by

[Mr. Strachey.]

Imperial Chemical Industries in some parts of East Africa and by a great many corporations in Malaya. They all work under the laws, rules, regulations and the provisions of the Colonial Governments of these respective territories and, through those Colonial Governments, under the auspices of my right hon. Friend the Colonial Secretary.

Hon. Members opposite can call it dual control if they like, but at any rate it is exactly the same system that we propose when we suggest that the Colonial Secretary can invite the Overseas Food Corporation to operate in any of the Colonial territories. It will come under precisely the same control by the local Colonial Governments as any other form of corporation which already operates there or which may start operating. We cannot see how such an arrangement is any more or any less dual control from that in which nine-tenths of the development of the Colonial territories operates today, and which hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite are so very proud of having promoted in the past. Therefore, we believe that the real point of the Amendment we have before us is to exclude from my right hon. Friend his right to invite the Overseas Food Corporation to come into any Colonial territory, and the reason why there is this discrimination is unquestionably because this is a public Corporation under public ownership. We object to this particular Overseas Food Corporation being excluded by Statute from operating in Colonial territory should the Colonial Secretary of the day in his wisdom invite it to do so. There is no more to be said on this issue than that.

Taking the second point, it is the psychological issue that somehow or other, if my right hon. Friend invites the Overseas Food Corporation to undertake some scheme in Colonial territories, that will bring upon him and the Government and the officials concerned obloquy on the part of agitators or other persons in Colonial territories, who will think that a wicked thing to do as compared with development undertaken by private corporations which are responsible only to their shareholders. We honestly do not believe that there is anything in this psychological question. What, in fact—I will not use the word " reconcile " for I do not think they need reconciling—will commend these schemes to the local inhabitants of the areas in which they operate is that it will not be a question of a large corporation operating or that a Ministry is ultimately responsible, but it will be a question of how they are run. Do they pay good wages? Do they give good conditions and are their medical services good? That is how every inhabitant of the area will judge these schemes. That is the real issue.

Colonel Dower (Penrith and Cockermouth): Can the Minister of Food assure us that in the course of the developments in this direction there will not be any unfairness in the competition that is bound to arise?

Mr. Strachey: The hon. and gallant Member is, by tacit implication, suggesting that these Corporations may create conditions too good for the liking of private firms.

Mr. Dodds-Parker: The right hon. Gentleman knows that that is a completely unfair misrepresentation, such as he tried to get away with in the Committee upstairs. That is not the object of hon. Members on this side of the House. Examples have been given showing how, in shipping, railways, and a score of other ways, the Government have been giving themselves advantages in Tanganyika, which have resulted in the disruption of the existing economy.

Mr. Strachey: One hon. Member is now trying to explain what another hon. and gallant Member may have in mind. The point is not relevant to that which I was arguing. The only implication I could catch in the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member was that standards of wages and medical supervision might be raised too quickly by these Corporations.

Colonel Dower: The only point which occurred to me is that there are many genuine concerns which have weathered difficult times and this House, and particularly the colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman, will not want to see those concerns driven out of their legitimate businesses. We want to instil a feeling of confidence in those concerns and to see that no unfair advantage will be taken of their position.

Mr. Strachey: That argument applies quite as much to the Colonial Development Corporation as to the Overseas Food

Corporation. I am reminded, moreover, that Imperial Chemical Industries, and any great corporation powerfully supported with large funds, might have that effect. That point is not germane to the argument on this Amendment, which is simply and solely whether the Colonial Secretary is or is not to have the right to invite the Overseas Food Corporation, as well as the Colonial Development Corporation, to operate in what I may, for short, call his territories.

A number of points have been raised as a result of misunderstanding of the very narrow issue which we are debating here. I was asked by my right hon. Friend the Member for Rochdale (Dr. Morgan) whether it was possible for these schemes to be based upon peasant production. I have not the slightest doubt that they will be, and it is important that they should be. In the Tanganyika bush there could be no peasants until it had been cleared, because the tsetse fly made that impossible. In more habitable parts of the Colonies where there is a peasant population I imagine that these schemes must of necessity be based upon independent peasant production of one sort or another.

Finally, it is ironic that speaker after speaker from the Opposition side should suggest that they need, by moving these Amendments to put up a sort of iron fence against the intrusive Minister of Food going into Colonial territories. The irony is that the real effect of their Amendments is not to limit my powers in the slightest degree but to limit those of the Colonial Secretary. If the Amendments were carried, the Colonial Secretary would have no power of choice between the two Corporations. As the Bill now reads he has power to choose. He feels strongly that he likes to have two strings to his bow. That is a very simple and sensible desire. I think I am right in saying that in nine cases out of ten he will use the Colonial Development Corporation, but there is no doubt that he likes to have the option, in particular cases which cannot be seen in advance, to use the other Corporation. For that reason we ask the House to reject the Amendment.

Question put, " That those words be there inserted."

The House divided: Ayes, 106; Noes, 243.

Division No. 55. | **AYES.** | **7.56 p.m.**

Amory, D. Heathcoat
Assheton, Rt. Hon. R.
Baldwin, A. E.
Beamish, Maj. T. V. H.
Boles, Lt.-Col. D. C. (Wells)
Bower, N.
Braithwaite, Lt.-Comdr. J. G.
Buchan-Hepburn, P. G. T.
Butcher, H. W.
Challen, C.
Channon, H.
Clarke, Col. R. S.
Clifton-Brown, Lt.-Col. G.
Cole, T. L.
Conant, Maj. R. J. E.
Cooper-Key, E. M.
Corbett, Lieut.-Col. U. (Ludlow)
Crosthwaite-Eyre, Col. O. E.
Crowder, Capt. John E.
Darling, Sir W. Y.
De la Bère, R.
Dodds-Parker, A. D.
Dower, Col. A. V. G. (Penrith)
Drayson, G. B.
Drewe, C.
Eccles, D. M.
Eden, Rt. Hon. A.
Elliot, Rt. Hon. Walter
Erroll, F. J.
Fletcher, W. (Bury)
Foster, J. G. (Northwich)
Fyfe, Rt. Hon. Sir D. P. M.
Gage, C.
George, Maj. Rt. Hn. G. Lloyd (P'ke)
Gomme-Duncan, Col. A.
Grimston, R. V.
Hannon, Sir P. (Moseley)
Hare, Hon. J. H. (Woodbridge)
Haughton, S. G.
Henderson, John (Cathcart)
Herbert, Sir A. P.
Hogg, Hon. Q.
Hollis, M. C.
Hulbert, Wing-Cdr. N. J.
Hurd, A.
Hutchison, Lt.-Cm. Clark (E'b'rgh W.)
Hutchison, Col. J. R. (Glasgow, C.)
Jeffreys, General Sir G.
Kerr, Sir J. Graham
Law, Rt. Hon. R. K.
Legge-Bourke, Maj. E. A. H.
Lennox-Boyd, A. T.
Lloyd, Selwyn (Wirral)
Lucas, Major Sir J.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. O.
McCallum, Maj. D.
Mackeson, Brig. H. R.
Manningham-Buller, R. E.
Marlowe, A. A. H.
Marshall, D. (Bodmin)
Medlicott, F.
Mellor, Sir J.
Molson, A. H. E.
Morris-Jones, Sir H.
Morrison, Rt. Hon. W. S. (Cirencester)
Mullan, Lt. C. H.
Neill, W. F. (Belfast, N.)
Neven-Spence, Sir B.
Nield, B. (Chester)
Odey, G. W.
Orr-Ewing, I. L.
Peto, Brig. C. H. M.
Poole, O. B. S. (Oswestry)
Prescott, Stanley
Raikes, H. V.
Ramsay, Maj. S.
Rayner, Brig. R.
Reed, Sir S. (Aylesbury)
Renton, D.
Robinson, Roland
Ross, Sir R. D. (Londonderry)
Salter, Rt. Hon. Sir J. A.
Sanderson, Sir F.
Scott, Lord W.
Shephard, S. (Newark)
Smiles, Lt.-Col. Sir W.
Smithers, Sir W.
Snadden, W. M.
Spence, H. R.
Stanley, Rt. Hon. O.
Stoddart-Scott, Col. M.
Studholme, H. G.
Sutcliffe, H.
Teeling, William
Thornton-Kemsley, C. N.
Touche, G. C.
Turton, R. H.
Vane, W. M. F.
Walker-Smith, D.
Watt, Sir G. S. Harvie
Webbe, Sir H. (Abbey)
Wheatley, Col. M. J. (Dorset, E.)
White, J. B. (Canterbury)
Williams, C. (Torquay)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Young, Sir A. S. L. (Partick)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES:
Commander Agnew and
Lieut.-Colonel Thorp.

NOES.

Acland, Sir R.
Adams, Richard (Balham)
Adams, W. T. (Hammersmith, South)
Allen, Scholefield (Crewe)
Anderson, A. (Motherwell)
Anderson, F. (Whitehaven)
Attewell, H. C.
Austin, H. Lewis
Awbery, S. S.
Ayles, W. H.
Ayrton Gould, Mrs. B.
Bacon, Miss A.
Baird, J.
Balfour, A.
Barnes, Rt. Hon. A. J.
Barstow, P. G.
Barton, C.
Battley, J. R.
Bechervaise, A. E.
Berry, H.
Beswick, F.
Binns, J.
Blenkinsop, A.
Blyton, W. R.
Boardman, H.
Bottomley, A. G.
Bowden, Flg.-Offr. H. W.
Bowles, F. G. (Nuneaton)
Braddock, T. (Mitcham)
Bramall, E. A.
Brook, D. (Halifax)
Brooks, T. J. (Rothwell)
Brown, George (Belper)
Brown, T. J. (Ince)
Bruce, Maj. D. W. T.
Buchanan, Rt. Hon. G.
Burden, T. W.
Burke, W. A.
Castle, Mrs. B. A.
Chamberlain, R. A.
Champion, A. J.
Chater, D.
Chetwynd, G. R.
Cluse, W. S.
Cobb, F. A.
Collick, P.
Collindridge, F.
Colman, Miss G. M.
Comyns, Dr. L.
Cook, T. F.
Corlett, Dr. J.
Cove, W. G.
Crawley, A.
Daggar, G.
Daines, P.
Davies, Edward (Burslem)
Davies, Ernest (Enfield)
Davies, Hadyn (St. Pancras, S.W.)
Delargy, H. J.
Diamond, J.
Dobbie, W.
Dodds, N. N.
Donovan, T.
Driberg, T. E. N.
Dumpleton, C. W.
Dye, S.
Ede, Rt. Hon. J. C.
Edelman, M.
Edwards, Rt. Hon. Sir C. (Bedwellty)
Edwards, N. (Caerphilly)
Edwards, W. J. (Whitechapel)
Evans, Albert (Islington, W.)
Evans, E. (Lowestoft)
Evans, S. N. (Wednesbury)
Ewart, R.
Fairhurst, F.
Farthing, W. J.
Fletcher, E. G. M. (Islington, E.)
Foot, M. M.
Forman, J. C.
Fraser, T. (Hamilton)
Freeman, Peter (Newport)
Gaitskell, Rt. Hon. H. T. N.
Gallacher, W.
Ganley, Mrs. C. S.
Gibbins, J.
Gibson, C. W.
Gilzean, A.
Glanville, J. E. (Consett)
Gordon-Walker, P. C.
Granville, E. (Eye)
Greenwood, A. W. J. (Heywood)
Grenfell, D. R.
Grey, C. F.
Grierson, E.
Griffiths, Rt. Hon. J. (Llanelly)
Hamilton, Lieut.-Col. R.
Hardy, E. A.
Harrison, J.
Hastings, Dr. Somerville
Herbison, Miss M.
Hewitson, Capt. M.
Hicks, G.
Hobson, C. R.
Holman, P.
Holmes, H. E. (Hemsworth)
House, G.
Hubbard, T.
Hudson, J. H. (Ealing, W.)
Hughes, Hector (Aberdeen, N.)
Hughes, H. D. (W'lverh'pton, W.)
Hutchinson, H. L. (Rusholme)
Hynd, J. B. (Attercliffe)
Irving, W. J. (Tottenham, N.)
Isaacs, Rt. Hon. G. A.
Jeger, G. (Winchester)
Jeger, Dr. S. W. (St. Pancras, S.E.)
Jones, Rt. Hon. A. C. (Shipley)
Jones, D. T. (Hartlepool)
Jones, J. H. (Bolton)
Jones, P. Asterley (Hitchin)
Keenan, W.
Key, C. W.
King, E. M.
Kinley, J.
Lawson, Rt. Hon. J. J.
Levy, B. W.
Lindgren, G. S.
Lyne, A. W.
McAdam, W.
McEntee, V. La T.
McGhee, H. G.
Mack, J. D.
McKay, J. (Wallsend)
Mackay, R. W. G. (Hull, N.W.)
McKinlay, A. S.
Macpherson, T. (Romford)
Mallalieu, J. P. W.
Mann, Mrs. J.
Manning, Mrs. L. (Epping)
Marshall, F. (Brightside)
Mathers, Rt. Hon. George
Medland, H. M.
Messer, F.
Middleton, Mrs. L.
Mikardo, Ian.
Millington, Wing-Comdr. E. R.
Mitchison, G. R.
Moody, A. S.
Morley, R.
Morris, Lt.-Col. H. (Sheffield, C.)
Mort, D. L.
Moyle, A.
Murray, J. D.
Nally, W.
Naylor, T. E.
Neal, H. (Claycross)
Oldfield, W. H.
Orbach, M.
Paget, R. T.
Paling, Rt. Hon. Wilfred (Wentworth)
Paling, Will T. (Dewsbury)
Palmer, A. M. F.
Pargiter, G. A.
Paton, Mrs. F. (Rushcliffe)
Paton, J. (Norwich)
Pearson, A.
Perrins, W.
Porter, G. (Leeds)
Proctor, W. T.
Pursey, Cmdr. H.
Rankin, J.
Rees-Williams, D. R.
Reeves, J.
Reid, T. (Swindon)
Roberts, Emrys (Merioneth)
Roberts, Goronwy (Caernarvonshire)
Robertson, J. J. (Berwick)
Rogers, G. H. R.
Royle, C.
Sargood, R.
Segal, Dr. S.
Sharp, Granville
Shawcross, C. N. (Widnes)
Shawcross, Rt. Hn. Sir H. (St. Helens)
Silverman, J. (Erdington)
Simmons, C. J.
Skeffington-Lodge, T. C.
Skinnard, F. W.
Smith, C. (Colchester)
Smith, H. N. (Nottingham, S.)
Smith, S. H. (Hull, S.W.)
Snow, J. W.
Soskice, Maj. Sir F.
Stamford, W.
Steele, T.
Stewart, Michael (Fulham, E.)
Strachey, Rt. Hon. J.
Stross, Dr. B.
Summerskill, Dr. Edith
Sylvester, G. O.
Symonds, A. L.
Taylor, H. B. (Mansfield)
Taylor, R. J. (Morpeth)
Taylor, Dr. S. (Barnet)
Thomas, I. O. (Wrekin)
Thomas, John R. (Dover)
Thorneycroft, Harry (Clayton)
Thurtle, Ernest
Tiffany, S.
Timmons, J.
Titterington, M. F.
Tolley, L.
Tomlinson, Rt. Hon. G.
Turner-Samuels, M.
Ungoed-Thomas, L.
Usborne, Henry
Vernon, Maj. W. F.
Viant, S. P.
Wadsworth, G.
Walker, G. H.
Wallace, G. D. (Chislehurst)
Wallace, H. W. (Walthamstow, E.)
Warbey, W. N.
Webb, M. (Bradford, C.)
Wells, W. T. (Walsall)
Westwood, Rt. Hon. J.
Wheatley, J. T. (Edinburgh, E.)
Whiteley, Rt. Hon. W.
Wigg, George
Wilcock, Group-Capt. C. A. B.
Willey, O. G. (Cleveland)
Williams, J. L. (Kelvingrove)
Williams, Rt. Hon. T. (Don Valley)
Williams, W. R. (Heston)
Willis, E.
Wills, Mrs. E. A.
Wise, Major F. J.
Woodburn, A.
Woods, G. S.
Yates, V. F.
Younger, Hon. Kenneth
Zilliacus, K.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES:
Mr. Popplewell and Mr. Wilkins.

CLAUSE 7.—(*Local interests to be consulted.*)

8.0 p.m.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker (**Major Milner**): Mr. Strachey.

Sir W. Smiles: On a point of Order. Is it not proposed to call the Amendment in my name to page 5, line 3, after "territory," insert "and the prevention of soil erosion"?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sorry to say that Mr. Speaker has had to rule the Amendment in the name of the hon. and gallant Member out of Order. It was not on the correct page in the Bill.

Sir W. Smiles: Further to that point of Order, Mr. Deputy-Speaker. Would you allow me to put the same Amendment in Clause 8 on the same page, to insert after (*b*): "And the prevention of soil erosion" as a manuscript Amendment?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Quite obviously with the best will in the world I cannot agree to the course the hon. Member proposes without an opportunity to consider the Amendment which would, I think, still be out of Order. I am sorry, but I am afraid that I cannot accept it. Mr. Strachey.

Mr. Strachey: I beg to move, in page 5, line 8, at end, to insert:

"A committee appointed for the purposes of this Subsection shall, unless it appears to the Corporation to be impracticable, include persons having knowledge of the circumstances and requirements of the inhabitants of the territory obtained by their being or having been themselves inhabitants thereof or residents therein."

This is a very simple Amendment and one which we hope goes some way at any rate to meet points made quite strongly by some of my hon. Friends with the sympathy of the whole Committee upstairs. We are seeking to ensure that in their activities these Corporations are guided and aided to the very maximum degree possible by all the local knowledge at their disposal or which can be brought to their disposal. There is absolutely no difference about the purpose for which we do that. The Advisory Committees which are set up for this purpose should be as broad as we can make them and that is why we suggest the addition of these words.

This was the best form of words which the Parliamentary draftsmen could find to meet the useful suggestions made upstairs. We did not want to go as far in our form of words as my hon. Friend the Member for Epping (Mrs. Manning) wishes to go, in her Amendment on the Order Paper to the Amendment we are discussing, namely, in line 1, to leave out from "shall," to "include," in line 2. She wanted to make it mandatory on the Corporations to include in these committees persons who were inhabitants of or who were native to the particular territory in which the scheme was operating. We thought that a little too narrow because, for example, the best man obtainable for an advisory committee on the groundnut scheme might not be a native of Tanganyika itself; he might have been born in Uganda or Kenya or one of the other East African territories. So we did not want to put down a residential qualification, like a county cricketer, but with my hon. Friend's purpose we are in the strongest sympathy, and we hope that this Amendment will go some way at any rate to meet her very legitimate point.

Mrs. Leah Manning (Epping): Of course the Minister's Amendment goes some way towards meeting the points raised by myself and other hon. Members in Committee, but it certainly does not go all the way. A great deal of time was spent on Second Reading and upstairs on the attitude which native labour will take towards these new Corporations. We have been led to expect from hon. Members on both sides of the House, who seem to be well acquainted with the psychology of native labour, that their minds will be filled with dark, primaeval suspicions as to the effect of the Corporations and that, through agitation or otherwise, they will be led to believe that the Corporations and this work are entirely for the good of the housewives and users of this country and not at all for their benefit. I do not agree altogether with that point of view, but if it exists, then without any peradventure we should take every step possible to remove those suspicions from the minds of the native people.

I have not understood why those suspicions should only exist when it is a question of the Ministry of Food carrying out the work and why they should not exist when the Colonial Office do it.

[Mrs. Manning.]
However, I accept the word of hon. Members opposite, who understand the Colonial mind better than I do, that it might be the case and, therefore, I am anxious that we should not leave discretion in the hands of Ministers on this question in Clause 7, which says that committees shall be set up to make inquiries into the conditions in which these Corporations should operate. I object to that. I think the people who live in the areas should be placed on them. I do not understand what the Minister meant when he said that perhaps somebody living in Uganda would know something more about the groundnut scheme. I was under the impression that the committees which are to operate under the two safeguarding Clauses, 7 and 8, are intended to look after the welfare of the natives, not the groundnut scheme and how it should operate.

8.15 p.m.

The point is, who is to safeguard the welfare of these native people? If we are to overcome the suspicions which we understand are being engendered in their minds, if there is to be come opposition to the agitation which I understand will take place, we have to do everything we can, by propaganda in this country and by showing native labour in the Colonies, that we are prepared to let them do their own jobs as far as they possibly can. I do not deny that agitation. I think it is already taking place in this country, and that we do not have to go to Africa to find that people of illwill are already saying that the work of the Corporation under this Bill is not at all for the benefit of the Colonies, but only for the benefit of this country.

While I do not want to send the Cabinet out, as an hon. Friend behind me wanted to do, letting the second eleven carry on —although I suppose they would do the job very well—I feel we should let the native labour administer its own affairs as far as possible in regard to education, welfare and health, and that there should be committees which give the fullest possible advice to the Corporation and to the Colonial Office on these questions. Therefore, although I am glad the Minister has gone as far as he has, I am not altogether satisfied about his discretionary powers. I think the committees should be set up under Clause 7 and, under Clause 8, the people who live in the areas should be there to protect the interests of the native labour and to give all necessary advice.

Amendment agreed to.

CLAUSE 8.—(*Interests of employees to be consulted.*)

Mr. Strachey: I beg to move, in page 5, line 14, to leave out from " all," to end of line 15, and to insert:

" practicable steps to secure."

This Amendment, and the next Amendment, namely, to leave out lines 26 to 28, and to insert:

" (*a*) with persons or bodies appearing to them to represent or to have qualifications to speak on behalf of substantial numbers of the employees affected;

(*b*) where the matter in question arises in connection with the carrying on of activities in a Colonial territory, with the Government of the territory."

are for similar purposes. They are to meet valuable points made upstairs which we promised to try to incorporate. The first is a slight, but useful strengthening of the beginning of Clause 8 which enjoins the Corporation to take all practicable steps to secure the objects set out in paragraphs (*a*) and (*b*) which are thought to be vital. The second is an addition to the last two lines of Clause 8 and meets a valuable point made by my hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Dr. Segal). It gives a wider choice in the representation of native labour which, as was pointed out, might not necessarily be best represented by a so-called trades union organisation and, in more primitive conditions, the tribal organisation might be called upon.

I think they are useful Amendments, but I would say to my hon. Friends that, while it is right and proper for us to try to make these two safeguarding Clauses as effective as we can, the real safeguards for the native populations who work on these schemes—and for that matter the British personnel who work on them, who are very important—will be in the way the schemes are worked, in the intentions of the great public Corporations which manage them, and in the fact that those Corporations will be exposed to public criticism and control from this House and the whole range of public opinion in this country. I have not the faintest doubt that these Corporations must, in their own interests, set the

highest standards in these respects, and although the Corporation does not exist yet in East Africa, the managing agency, to its great credit, has already set a high standard in these matters. I feel that although the exact words we incorporate in the Bill are important, they are of rather secondary importance compared with what is actually done in the field.

Mr. Harry Wallace (Walthamstow, East): I welcome these Amendments, because I think them important. I recognise that in this field there must be some discretion left to the Minister. It is the duty of every Member of this House to pay more attention to what is happening in Africa and what will happen when these Corporations are set up. A heavy duty rests on some of my colleagues, and much will depend on the spirit in which this Measure is administered. I attach very great importance to the publication of the report, and I hope this House will see that the report is thoroughly discussed, so that we may perform our duty.

Amendment agreed to.

Further Amendment made: In page 5, leave out lines 26 to 28, and insert:

" (*a*) with persons or bodies appearing to them to represent or to have qualifications to speak on behalf of substantial numbers of the employees affected;

(*b*) where the matter in question arises in connection with the carrying on of activities in a colonial territory, with the Government of the territory."—[*Mr. Strachey.*]

CLAUSE 9.—(*Powers of responsible Minister.*)

Mr. Strachey: I beg to move, in line 35, to leave out " make an annual," and to insert:

" as soon as possible after the end of each financial year of the Corporation make a full."

This Amendment is designed to make good an undertaking I gave the right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) to use some such words as:

" the annual report shall be full and prompt."

The words proposed in the Amendment are thought by the Parliamentary counsel to be the most suitable, and I hope they meet the point raised by the right hon. Member for West Bristol.

Mr. Stanley: We on this side of the House are extremely obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for this Amendment. In Committee, he made it clear that his intentions in regard to this matter were the same as our desires, and I think the words now chosen are better not only than those in the original Bill but, in order to carry out our intentions, than the words we put down.

Amendment agreed to.

Further Amendment made: In line 37, leave out " the preceding " and insert " that."—[*Mr. Strachey.*]

CLAUSE 16.—(*Accounts and Audit.*)

Mr. Diamond (Manchester, Blackley): I beg to move, in page 8, line 32, at the end to insert:

" Provided that no person shall be qualified to be so appointed unless he is a member of one or more of the following bodies:

The Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales;
The Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors;
The Society of Accountants in Edinburgh;
The Institute of Accountants and Actuaries in Glasgow;
The Society of Accountants in Aberdeen;
The Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants, Limited."

I must first declare my interest by pointing out that I happen to be a very undistinguished member of this distinguished profession. In Clause 16 (3) the Bill provides:

" The accounts of the Corporation shall be audited by auditors to be appointed annually by the responsible Minister."

The purpose of this Amendment is to make it clear that those called upon to do the audits shall be well qualified to accept that appointment. The words used in the Amendment follow a long list of precedents in public and private Acts. They go back at least to 1930 in regard to public Acts. In view of the interest which I gather attaches to this unimportant Amendment, it might be helpful if I refer to the Acts where these identical qualifications are used. They are the Municipal Corporations (Audit) Act, 1932, the Local Government Act, 1933, the Betting and Lotteries Act, 1934, the Workmen's Compensation (Coal Mines) Act, 1934, the Herring Industry Act, 1935, the Housing Act, 1935, the Housing Act 1936, an Act entitled the General Cemetery Act, 1937, and, to come to more modern times the Electricity Act of 1947.

Having regard to that formidable list of precedents, I hope I shall be excused if I say in regard to any bodies which happen to be omitted from the list that it seems reasonable that we should adopt care and

[Mr. Diamond.]
caution in varying the list so as to include perhaps one body, and, by doing so seem to be excluding certain other bodies who might feel equally entitled to be included. The difficulty about any list is not those who are included, but those who are left out. I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I point out that the Institute of Chartered Accountants in Ireland has 10 members practising in this country, and when this matter was considered before no fewer than 11 hon. Members supported an Amendment on their behalf. I hope I shall not be misunderstood in suggesting that they and other institutes, not in the list, if they desire to be included, should go through the normal procedure, which seemed fit to this House in past years, of having their claims examined by a Select Committee.

I hope that the general purpose of my Amendment will not displease the House, and that the words I have used in regard to the Irish Institute will not displease them. It is perhaps worth while mentioning that the list has remained completely unchanged for more than 50 years and any change in it would be bound to lead to a number of similar applications. Without full inquiry it would be impossible to distinguish between the merits of the various claimants. It is anticipated that perhaps in the lifetime of this Parliament a Public Accountants Bill may be brought forward dealing with the status of members of the profession generally. That would be an appropriate occasion for dealing with any difficulties which might arise as between different bodies. But this Amendment affects only two audits, and it seems to me this is not an occasion to undertake a large-scale inquiry into inclusion of other bodies, which have not seen fit to request inclusion.

Mr. Anthony Greenwood (Heywood and Radcliffe): I beg to second the Amendment.

8.30 p.m.

Mr. Rees-Williams: We did not, in the first place, include any list of accountants in the Bill, but during the Committee stage I said that we would consider the matter on Report. We have done so, and we feel, in view of the numerous precedents that have been quoted to us today by my hon. Friend, that there would be no objection to the inclusion of these bodies in the Bill, and to accepting the Amendment. I have therefore much pleasure, on behalf of the Government, in accepting the Amendment.

Mr. Gage (Belfast, South): I beg to move, as an Amendment to the proposed Amendment, in line 6, at the end, to insert "Institute of Chartered Accountants in Ireland."

I should make it clear that I and those of my hon. Friends who support me do not quarrel with the original wording of the Clause, because I feel that no responsible Minister of the Crown would appoint to such an important task one who was unqualified or perhaps improperly qualified; but an Amendment has been moved by the hon. Member for Blackley (Mr. Diamond) which makes one serious mistake, in that it omits the Irish Institute. Perhaps I should tell the House something about the Irish Institute of Chartered Accountants. In the first place, it holds its position by virtue of a Charter from Queen Victoria enrolled in 1888. That specifically gave to the Irish Institute equal rights, powers, privileges and authority with the English, Welsh and Scottish Institutes. It is these powers and privileges which the hon. Member for Blackley, by his Amendment, now apparently seeks to restrict.

It is not disputed, and I notice that the hon. Member for Blackley did not attempt to dispute, that the members of the Irish Institute stand at least equal, if not higher, than their English and Welsh colleagues in professional ability and integrity. The other point I would make is that the Irish Institute embraces the whole of Ireland; it always has done and still does. When Ireland was divided, the profession, who took no part in politics, but whose sole concern was to elevate and keep elevated the standard of their profession, did not divide, as did many other professions. Consequently the original Amendment would debar both the chartered accountant from Down as well as the chartered accountant from Donegal. It would keep out the chartered accountants of Antrim and Armagh equally with the chartered accountants of Cork and Kerry, because over there they all belong to one profession on both sides of the border.

It seems to me entirely wrong that where reciprocal rights are granted in Ireland to members of the English and

Welsh institutes, those rights should be denied them or a restriction placed upon them in this country. The hon. Member for Blackley said there were only ten members practising here. My information is that that figure is entirely incorrect. There are very many more than that. But that is not the point, because if one member, otherwise properly qualified was a person whom the Minister might desire to elect, it would be utterly wrong that that member should be debarred simply because he was a member of the Irish Institute and not the English or Welsh Institute.

Those are the circumstances of the Irish Institute, and I say that it would be completely wrong for the Government to accept the original Amendment and to reject the Amendment to that Amendment which I am moving, because that would be discrimination in its basest form. It would be discrimination which, in my submission, would be wholly unjustified. Indeed, I am amazed at my own moderation in putting the Irish Institution at the bottom of the list instead of at the top where, so far as I am concerned, and many of the hon. Gentlemen on both sides of this House are concerned, they should be. We may be divided internally in matters which we look upon as private, but when the whole of our country is affected, and the whole of one of our most honoured professions is discriminated against, then I think we can draw support from all quarters of the House. I do ask the House to bear in mind the rights of these people and to accept my Amendment to the original Amendment.

Major Haughton (Antrim): I beg to second the Amendment to the proposed Amendment.

The mover of the proposed Amendment considers it right that in this Bill there should be an indication of the qualifying bodies or institutions from which the auditors should be drawn. I entirely agree with him. The exact standing of auditors called upon to deal with such very important business should be known. The standing of the Institute in Ireland is as high all over the world as any of the others which he has named. Irishmen are always accused of revelling in past history, but I take considerable pride tonight in going back over the history of this Institute of Accountants in Ireland to the year 1888. While I am not going to weary the House with a long recitation of the facts which have marked the joint action with the English, Scottish and Welsh accountancy bodies, I am going to cite two cases. In 1932, when the South African Society's Chartered Accountants proposed to make alteration in their by-laws, the Irish Institute was in joint action with the English, Scottish and Welsh bodies in opposition to that Measure. Again, in 1935, action was taken with the English Institute and the Scottish societies in connection with the India Bill. Each and every one of those pages in accountancy history marked one fact—that the Irish Institute was of equal standing with its two comrade bodies on this side of the channel.

It may be thought that a very great deal of fuss is being made by some of us on this side of the House about what may be considered to be rather an unimportant matter, but I think it should be understood that an accountant who is going to practise in different parts of the world has, by examination, and by the merit of passing his examinations, the right to put the letters "A.C.A." or "F.C.A." after his name. That is a very important matter. I think that the hon. Member for Blackley (Mr. Diamond) said that there were 10 members. It would be quite salutory to give him the exact number on 31st December, 1946. At that date the disposition of accountants who are members of the Irish Institute showed that in Great Britain there were 63; in Northern Ireland, 225; in Southern Ireland, 267; abroad, 27; and serving with the Forces, 24. That is a total of 606. I hope that the hon. Gentleman will accept those figures as being correct.

Mr. Diamond: I am in a little difficulty. The figure of 10 was given to me by the Institute of Chartered Accountants. Of course, what the Institute of Chartered Accountants says must be right.

Major Haughton: I am quoting precise figures which I have received from the Institute of Chartered Accountants in Ireland. I do not propose to withdraw any one of those figures. At present 63 members of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in Ireland are practising in Great Britain and not 10. The closest possible relationship and comradeship has existed between these bodies. That is

[Major Haughton.]
most desirable. I cannot understand why there should have been what seems to be the most deliberate attempt to discriminate against the Irish Institute which is a very honourable body. I am reluctant to pursue that topic, but I repeat that there has been a very deliberate attempt to discriminate. This Institute holds its head high. For many years it has worked in the closest harmony with the other bodies. Just as I have said that there are 63 Irish chartered accountants practising in Great Britain, so I am glad to say there are many members of the English and Scottish Institutes practising in different parts of Ireland. That is a most desirable thing.

Mr. Rees-Williams: We had not made up our minds on this matter. We preferred to hear the case put to the House by the hon. Gentlemen whose names are on the Order Paper. I must say that, having listened to their remarks—and my hon. Friends on the Front Bench agree—I consider that the hon. Members for South Belfast (Mr. Gage) and Antrim (Major Haughton) have made a good case. They put forward a well-reasoned convincing case. In the circumstances we feel that we must accept the Amendment to the Amendment. We do not hold ourselves out as being able to discriminate between one body of accountants rather than another, but in view of the many arguments they have put forward we cannot help but think that there is no case to discriminate against this distinguished body. It is a pleasure to meet our friends the Irish on these matters, particularly when they are all of one mind, and when they seem to have the support of a Welshman and a Scot in their submission.

Sir P. Hannon: May I say how grateful I am to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies for the concession he has made? It would be very unfortunate from the point of view of public opinion in Ireland, both North and South, that there should be what might be regarded as discrimination against public bodies such as the Institute of Chartered Accountants in Ireland. I am particularly grateful that the speeches of my hon. Friends have convinced the Minister of the rectitude of the course which we invited him to pursue. He has done a very charming service this evening to Irish public opinion. This Institute has reached just as high a level as any other institution in the country. As an old Member of this House who is still profoundly interested in the welfare of my own countrymen, I am glad that this position has made its appeal to the Parliamentary Secretary, and I congratulate both the Minister of Food and the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the concession which they have given.

8.45 p.m.

Mr. William Teeling (Brighton): Might I add a further word to what my hon. Friend has just said, and from another Irishman's point of view? I would like to thank the Government for having accepted this request. Quite frankly, there are a large number of Irish people, both in the North and the South, who are deeply interested in the whole development of the Colonial question and in the future of all the Colonies, and who would feel very strongly that, if the Irish Institute had been deliberately left out in this case, it would have been almost a slur on their own position, since many of them are actively taking part in the development of the Colonies. The Institute of Chartered Accountants in Great Britain and other bodies are now trying to come together to form a united whole, and they have been worried over the whole of this question whether the North and South of Ireland would come in under the Irish Institute and be united with them. I think this action by the Government will be further proof of the necessity for the Irish Institute being brought in on any matter with which the other bodies in Great Britain are concerned. I would like to say how grateful those of us who are interested in this matter feel to the Government for this concession.

Amendment to the proposed Amendment agreed to.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

SCHEDULE.—(*Provisions relating to the constitution, etc., of each of the Corporations.*)

Mr. Strachey: I beg to move, in page 12, line 7, after "death," to insert "injury."

This is a very obviously self-explanatory Amendment, since the word "injury" in line 7 should be included so that the Corporation might be empowered to pay pensions, gratuities and the like

benefits, not only in case of death or retirement, but also in cases of injuries, which, under the conditions in which this Corporation will operate, might well occur to its employees.

Amendment agreed to.

8.49 p.m.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Creech Jones): I beg to move, "That the Bill be now read the Third time."

It is not my wish to detain the House for more than a few minutes, but I feel that I should make a few general remarks in regard to the Bill as it has now emerged from the Report stage. I recognise that the Bill has the general support of all sections of the House, and also that it has been acclaimed outside the House with a great deal of enthusiasm, but, at the same time, I appreciate that there are a number of doubts in regard to certain parts of the Bill. One of these doubts has been put in the Debate this afternoon. It is the doubt whether Colonial opinion is quite satisfied that the Bill will not be used for the purposes of exploitation; the doubt whether the needs of Great Britain and Western Europe will not dominate over the essential development requirements of the Colonial peoples themselves.

I would like to assert, with all the emphasis I can, that this Bill is as much designed for the purpose of meeting the needs of the world as it is for meeting the special needs of the Colonial peoples. By that, I mean that it is imperative today, if the Colonial peoples are to go forward in attaining that standard of living, in reaching a higher stage of social development, and in enjoying the social services they demand, that their economic resources should be fully developed. This Bill will give some assistance in making Colonial economies more stable, in encouraging enterprise and in increasing the number of economic activities possible in the territories. At the same time, the Bill will minister to the needs of Europe, and of our own country in particular. I think that, arising out of it, there will be a closer integration of economic interests because of the mutual benefit which the operation of this Bill will bring.

I have no apprehension that, because the Bill provides for an Overseas Food Corporation, we shall be diverted, as a nation, from our main purpose of building up Colonial standards. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, answerable to Parliament, will still carry a general responsibility in regard to the whole of the economic development of the territories under his immediate control. It will be his duty and his responsibility to see that, whether it is the Colonial Development Corporation or the Overseas Food Corporation which is functioning in these territories, reasonable and proper standards are maintained, and that their activities fit in with the general economic plan of development of the territory concerned. It will be his special responsibility to see that reasonable standards are maintained, and, also, that the Corporation only functions with the understanding and consent of the local government and of the people involved.

This Bill, I think, marks a further big step forward in our conception of Colonial development. The Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945 were of great importance because of the planning which was involved under them in respect to social and economic development. As a result, under the programmes for the next 10 years which have been prepared, a tremendous amount of economic development becomes possible in the shape of providing for economic activities within the framework of which these economic activities can successfully proceed. That is to say, we are able, by grants from the Imperial Funds, to push on with road construction, railways, water conservation, soil conservation, irrigation works, power stations, and all those other essential utilities on which the rest of the economic activities of the territories depend.

We now have the opportunity of carrying economic development a stage beyond that, in so far as we are able to encourage enterprise, of both a private and public character, in order to increase the economic wealth and to exploit the economic resources for the general development of these territories.

It is sometimes little recognised that so far in Colonial development only a comparatively small sum of money has been invested for the purposes of exploiting the territorial resources. The capital has gone to some extent on mineral development, and chiefly on railway development, but in regard to the normal production activities the amount of capital

[Mr. Creech Jones.]
expenditure has been comparatively small. Indeed, a great deal of investment was switched away from Africa and our other Colonies for use in South America and the American Continent. To that extent, we have not given to the development of these territories the attention which we should have given in days gone by. There are enormous difficulties in the way of development. We ought not to delude ourselves that results can flow quickly when these tremendous difficulties have to be overcome before widespread development becomes possible. Vast arid areas, great bush areas with tsetse fly, problems of irrigation and water supply, opening out the country, large areas where there is a dearth of labour—these are enormous problems which have to be overcome if development is to go forward.

I believe that by the creation of these two Corporations enormous assistance can be given to enterprise. By collaboration with existing enterprise, by the creation of new enterprises of a public character, by association with peasant production and with co-operative groups, and in a thousand ways, enterprise which previously was impossible can now be launched and, I hope, can go forward for the betterment of those territories. I said a moment ago that results are not likely to be quick. At the moment we are up against enormous difficulties because of the shortage of the essential materials on which a great deal of development depends. The absence of steel, machinery and technicians are some of the difficulties which we have to overcome. But I believe that the launching of this big work by means of these two Corporations will make a very substantial addition to the wealth of our Colonies and to the happiness of the peoples involved, and we can prove ourselves more worthy of the Empire under our control.

I think it would probably be of interest to the House if I stated the composition of the Colonial Development Corporation, and indicated how it will proceed with its work. The appointments so far made are, of course, designate in anticipation of the passing of this Measure. As the House is aware, we have invited Lord Trefgarne to be Chairman of the Corporation, and perhaps I should inform the House that his salary will be £5,000 a year. As the House also knows the Deputy-Chairman will be Sir Frank Stockdale, whose reputation is very well known and widely recognised not only here, but in the Colonial Empire generally. As a full time Deputy-Chairman, his salary will be £3,000 a year. The Board will be a part-time Board and the remuneration of each of the members will be £500 per year. The persons who have been invited to serve are as follow:

Mr. Stanley: And accepted?

Mr. Creech Jones: Yes, and accepted. Mr. Tansley, formerly marketing director of the West African Produce Control Board; Sir Miles Thomas, chairman of the Development and Co-ordinating committee of Southern Rhodesia, until recently vice-chairman of Morris Motors Limited; Mr. H. M. Hume, chairman and managing director of Charterhouse Investment Trusts Limited; Mr. H. M. Gibson, who is a director of the C.W.S.; Sir Charles Darwin, director of the National Physical Laboratory; Mr. R. E. Brook, director of the Bank of England; Mr. J. Rosa, a banker who saw war service in the Treasury and the Colonial Office and was on the Commission of the East African groundnut scheme.

There are one or two vacancies which have not yet been filled, but we have tried to secure a widely experienced Board and I think it will satisfy the test which is laid down in the Bill which the House has been considering this afternoon. I hope the House will give the Bill its Third Reading with some enthusiasm, because from it we expect great things in the Colonies. Anyway, we shall drive ahead with our development plans and I am quite certain not only will our own country profit from the working of the Bill, but also enormous social and economic benefits will come to the Colonial peoples themselves.

9.2 p.m.

Mr. Stanley: First of all, may I thank the right hon. Gentleman for the courtesy with which he has announced to the House the composition of the Board of the Colonial Development Corporation, and also its functional division. I congratulate him very much on deciding on this form of managerial board. I think it is far better to have a whole-time chairman and deputy chairman, to have part-time people for the board on whom

one can call for specialist knowledge when it is wanted and from whom one can get general information on some big step, and then to have the functional direction in the hands of an executive under the chairman of the board. I am sure that, for this type of organisation in particular, that gives an ideal set-up.

With regard to the personnel, I think we can say at once that we find in this list of names a number of highly respected people of exactly the type of experience which would seem desirable for a Corporation of this kind. Tribute has been paid by more than one speaker to the services of Sir Frank Stockdale, and truly they have been pre-eminent—and not only in the field of agriculture, because as the right hon. Gentleman knows, he has also rendered extremely good service in a wider sphere in the West Indies Development administration. Without being at all invidious to other names, with which I personally have no intimate acquaintance, I would like to refer to the name of Mr. Tansley because I had experience at the Colonial Office during the war of the great service he did with the West African Board, and I can think of no one who is likely to be able to give sounder advice and riper knowledge on these subjects than Mr. Tansley. I noted that the right hon. Gentleman said that there were still some vacancies. A cursory glance at the list, without knowing all the names intimately, would suggest that it might be wise to use some of these vacancies in strengthening the side of actual Colonial experience. There is a wide range of interest covered here which deserves to be and should be covered, and I should have thought that some more vacancies might be used to strengthen the Colonial side.

Having thanked the right hon. Gentleman for that part of his announcement, let me say that I have little to add and nothing to subtract from what he said about the Bill itself. It happened as a mechanical result of our being on the Report stage that so far today we have been discussing only points on which we differ, but, of course, those points on which we differ are only a very small part of the Bill itself on which all of us agree. We put forward with sincerity the views we hold about the duplicated working of these two Corporations. They have been rejected by the House, but that does not in the least diminish our desire and hope that the experiment embodied in this Bill will prove a success which redounds not only to the credit but also to the prosperity of this country and of the Colonial Empire.

I accept entirely the assertion made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he approached this Bill, and the operations under the Bill, in no selfish desire merely to benefit the people of this country, but to bring benefits to the Colonial Empire, to this country—and why not to this country—and to the world at large. I am not in any way flattering the right hon. Gentleman when I say that, what ever differences we may have had in the past, and, no doubt, will have in the future, he has gained a reputation for sympathy with the Colonies and with Colonial objectives that make an assertion of that kind, coming from him, of particular value.

As I see it, the position is this: These new Corporations are a valuable method to which we assent and to which we wish well. They are different in their working to other methods which already exist, but with the Colonial Welfare Development Act and with private enterprise these Corporations make a third method of arriving at real economic development of the Colonial territories. I have been relieved not only by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman tonight but by some very wise words from the Minister of Food during the Committee stage. It seems to me that the Government are determined that all three of these partners shall be allowed to play their proper and particular part, and that there is room inside the Colonial territories for all three, because I think that there will be found particular things at which each one of the three will prove to be the better. There are certain kinds of development which are clearly best done by the Colonial Governments themselves with the help of the Colonial Welfare and Development side—the development of communications, water supplies and things of that kind.

There are certain larger scale operations which probably are best done by the Corporations; and I say at once that I do not think that under present conditions it would have been possible for private enterprise to have tackled the groundnut scheme. On the other hand, there are

[Mr. Stanley.]
a number of cases where private enterprise working, as it always must work now, under the laws of the Colonial territories, will be found the best method of developing the economies of those territories. Therefore, we look forward to a prosperous co-operation between these three partners, the Colonial Governments, the Corporations and private enterprise, in the hope that between them they will lead to a real and substantial development of Colonial economics.

In conclusion, I want to say to the right hon. Gentleman how wise I thought he was to warn people about extravagant hopes of quick results from these Corporations. He was wise to point out the difficulties that still exist. This is a period entirely unlike the world deflation before the war. We must realise that any capital equipment that we use under a new Bill of this kind is merely capital equipment which we are taking away from other projects which other Ministries are conceiving, or which other legislation gives power to carry through. Therefore, the right hon. Gentleman was wise to point out that we must make it plain that this is not some sudden new addition to the resources on which we can call, but an attempt in some cases to use to better advantage the capital equipment upon which we can call.

I am not depressed myself by the idea that development under these schemes will not be too rapid or too dramatic. I am perfectly certain the right hon. Gentleman will not fall into the error of thinking that nothing is any good unless it can make a big splash; that nothing will really help Colonial economics unless it is big enough, novel enough, and so-called progressive enough to hit the headlines in the newspapers. I believe that view to be a profound mistake. The right hon. Gentleman will find that the most immediate and, in deed, lasting benefits from these schemes and these Corporations will lie in the quite small ways in which he can develop and assist already existing or nascent industries and productions. I am sure that is his intention, and from the composition of the board we can rest assured that they will not be people looking only for dramatic but possibly extremely expensive schemes, but people looking for every opportunity to develop, even in the smallest way, the Colony upon which some territory depends. So we on this side of the House, in saying goodbye to the Bill at this stage, wish to both Corporations the greatest success in their work, believing that from their success will come great advantage, both to this country and, above all, to the Colonial Empire.

9.13 p.m.

The Minister of Food (Mr. Strachey): I have only one or two words to add to our Debate before we part with this Bill. I wish to thank the right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) for the remarks he has just made, which have been most helpful in the launching of what is a national series of enterprises. I should like to add one thing to the statement of my right hon. Friend in regard to personnel, and that is, I am very glad to be able to tell the House that Sir Frank Stockdale, whose great reputation has been referred to on both sides of the House, will be a member not only of the Colonial Development Corporation but of the Overseas Food Corporation. He is the interlocking point of the interlocking directorates, just as Mr. Rosa from the Overseas Food Corporation interlocks with the Colonial Development Corporation as has just been announced.

I know that everybody in the House recognises fully that in passing this Bill, as we shall do in a very few moments, we are doing very little unless we make possible that mobilisation of resources of which the right hon. Member for West Bristol has just spoken. They are, in the economist's phrase, very scarce resources indeed. That is an additional reason why we must mobilise them with the utmost care. We agree with the right hon. Gentleman that we have now, and shall have when this Bill is on the Statute Book, a triple instrument for Colonial and overseas development—the method of the Colonial government acting directly, the method of private enterprise, and now the method of Government Corporations, which has become for many years an established part of our national life in this country, and which we believe, although it is a daring new departure, can now play a great part in overseas development.

We certainly do not want to score any party points about which is the best of these forms of development. On both sides of the House we have tried to avoid that in our discussions, keen as they have been on particular provisions of this

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9.19 p.m.

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that should not detract from our recognition of the fact that it has been very ably piloted through to this stage by my right hon. Friends the Minister of Food and the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I should like to centre my remarks round a point made by the Colonial Secretary to-night. He said that this Bill aimed to meet world needs and the needs of the Colonial people. That will create a feeling of great confidence amongst the Colonial peoples in regard to the purposes of the Bill. However, if that is to materialise we have got to get the co-operation of the African in the operation of the schemes under this Bill. That is absolutely essential to the success of the Measure, because we have to realise that in this Bill the African is giving up something which he has dreamed about for a very long while and which a great many of the primary producing countries have dreamed about for years, namely, industrialisation. The African is sacrificing that in order that we may get food, timber and raw materials.

If that ideal is to be realised we must have his co-operation and if we are to have that co-operation the African must be trained to take his place in due course in the administration of the Colonial Development Corporation. We have to remember that Africa is his. Its resources are his, and if this Bill is to fulfil the desires of the Colonial Secretary, it can only do so if the African is allowed in the final outcome to administer this Colonial Development Corporation. In the end we must pass the control and organisation of this scheme into African hands, if it is to operate with success. It would be a splendid contribution if either of my right hon. Friends were able to say, before the Bill finally leaves the House, that, in the end, this is the aim and object we have before us.

9.36 p.m.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Walter Smiles (Down): I also welcome the Bill. It is extremely necessary today. Finance is different in 1948 from what it was in 1938. It would now be impossible for private enterprise unaided to develop all these vast territories that still remain. Out of every £1 made by companies that operate in Africa and in our territories overseas 12s. has to be paid by them to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That does not make for economy, and it certainly does not give those companies opportunities such as they had in the past of putting money away to develop the countries in which they operate. It is a matter for congratulation that it is not 100 years since Livingstone died, and not 100 years since he saw African slaves shackled together and driven by Arabs down to the coast, while whole areas of land were depopulated and whole villages laid waste. I can only hope that, as a result of the Bill, Africa will develop as quickly in the next 100 years as it has done in the last.

There are two things that I do not like about the Bill. I have already mentioned one in an Amendment which was refused and I do not propose to do more than to touch upon it. Among the names of the gentlemen whom the Colonial Secretary mentioned this evening I did not hear one of an expert in tropical agriculture. I suggest that when the right hon. Gentleman appoints more members in the future he should select an ex-agriculture officer from Kenya to serve perhaps for five years. After that, he might select one from the West Indies, then from Malaya and then from West Africa. That would improve the Corporation and would give some hope to men serving out there that when they retire their experience will not be entirely cast upon the dustheap.

The Minister of Food talked about food production. I would mention in passing that previous to the recent war Java produced 27 per cent. of the palm oil of the world and 25 per cent. of the coconut oil, and that last year she produced none at all. When Java ceases from civil war it is possible that she will make a substantial contribution to the food of the world again. The Amendment which was evidently in the wrong place was a most important one. It was——

Mr. Speaker: Not being in the Bill upon the Third Reading, that Amendment cannot be discussed now.

Sir W. Smiles: Very good, Sir. I would only say that there are weak points in the Bill. It would seem that the Colonial Secretary did not examine very carefully the territories for which he is legislating. We see the mistakes that have been made in the past. We see gullies 12 feet deep

[Sir W. Smiles.]

and 12 feet wide and land ruined through bad cultivation. That is not only the case in our own Colonial Empire; it is the case all over the world. When I am at home and see a ploughman ploughing straight up and down hill, I wonder if that will not make a gully in the next two years. Cultivation which has been carried on here for hundreds of years with our gentle rain could not be carried on in the territory the Colonial Secretary administers today. I remember being in the Residency in Basutoland where the agricultural officer was saying to me what wonderful steps he was taking for the preservation of the soil, and I said, " Look out "——

Mr. Speaker: I really thought I had indicated to the hon. and gallant Gentleman that discussion of this Amendment, which is not in the Bill now, was not in Order on the Third Reading.

Sir W. Smiles: It is very difficult to keep within the bounds, Mr. Speaker. I will conclude by saying that it is a pity that the right hon. Gentleman did not mention some of the ways by which he could improve cultivation as he will spend millions of pounds upon dams and irrigation, which is a most expensive way of coping with the problem. I have seen it said that the South African rivers now are too thick to drink and too thin to plough, that the reservoirs which the Colonial Secretary is providing money to build will be choked by silt from the bad cultivation above and that it would be a much more economical proposition to build these dams by means of hundreds of millions of blades of grass, which are nature's own forgiveness for the way the earth has been ill-treated in the past. It is not only there. We see it in the dust bowl of America, we see it in the Sahara desert and we see it in Mesapotamia, land ruined through greed and bad cultivation. While I welcome this Bill, it is a great pity that the Colonial Secretary did not include some mention of soil erosion. Perhaps he will be able to do so in another place.

9.43 p.m.

Mr. Anthony Greenwood (Heywood and Radcliffe): The hon. and gallant Member for Down (Sir W. Smiles) has pointed so effectively to the advantages of national enterprise over private enterprise that it would be superfluous for me to follow him in those remarks. I will therefore revert to the speech of the hon. Member for Leominster (Mr. Baldwin).

Mr. Dodds-Parker (Banbury): Has the hon. Member made any inquiries about soil erosion in the groundnut scheme in the Congo?

Mr. Greenwood: Not so far as erosion is concerned, but I cannot believe it is strictly relevant to what was said by the hon. Member for Leominster or the argument I propose to advance if the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Dodds-Parker) will allow me. Like my hon. Friend the Member for Tradeston (Mr. Rankin) I disagreed with a great deal of what was said by the hon. Member for Leominster. In one part of his speech, however, the hon. Gentleman got down to the crux of the problem when he said that the important thing was to ensure that the native races were well fed and lived in proper villages under healthy conditions.

I was sorry that neither of my right hon. Friends who preceded me developed very fully the welfare aspects of this scheme and did not give any real earnest of the Government's intention to see that the two Corporations make full use of the opportunities they are afforded under Clause 8. That Clause offers the most hope of improving the social conditions of the people in the Colonial Empire who will be affected by this Measure, but if, and only if, His Majesty's Government here and the Colonial Governments and the Corporations take their powers under that Clause really seriously. So far the reports one has received of the medical staff that they have appointed, and the great freedom and scope which they have given them, suggest that the Corporations are taking their powers seriously, and to that extent they are justifying the confidence which we in this House are reposing in them.

However, I would suggest tonight that we should make it perfectly clear to the Corporations that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government and this House that they should use fully the powers which we are conferring upon them. In the first place I would suggest that they should pay due attention to preventive medicine as well as curative medicine, because it is of the greatest importance that the Corporations should see that they do not import diseases like tuberculosis

and venereal disease into areas of native territory which so far have been immune from either of those diseases. I would like to see each scheme have attached to it a specialist tuberculosis officer because then, at least, we should know that the importance of nutrition and healthy villages would be under constant consideration by the Corporation—the point made by the hon. Member for Leominster.

I see one danger in the medical provisions of this scheme. That is that there may not be real co-operation and co-ordination between the Colonial medical services and the Corporation medical services. After all, it will be of little use if, shall we say, the Corporation cures one of its employees of tuberculosis and, as soon as he goes on leave, he goes back to a filthy, insanitary community where immediately he comes into contact again with the source of his original infection. I want to plead, therefore, for the most serious and complete co-operation between the Colonial Governments and the Corporation medical services.

In conclusion, may I say that, like all hon. Members, I appreciate the imaginative approach made by the Government to this problem. However, I hope they will accept this touchstone, that the test of whether this scheme is a success should not be the amount of raw materials or the amount of food which it brings to this country, but rather the benefits it confers upon the native subjects of His Majesty.

9.48 p.m.

Colonel Wheatley (Dorset, Eastern): The Minister of Food, in winding up his side of the question, uttered the grave words that it is a matter of life and death that we should increase the production of food, throughout the Empire and in other parts of the world. I entirely agree and, for that reason, I want to give a warning on that subject. The schemes which the two Corporations will undertake will not, as indeed my right hon. Friend the Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) warned us, produce a great deal of extra food in a very short time, for they are long-term experiments.

I will refer to Africa as it is a country about which I know something. There are always diseases, both of plants and animals, coming out of Africa, and from experience it has been found that it is unwise to rush into big schemes without adequate experiment. For example, in the case of the big Sudan cotton project, for at least 10 years before the Gezira scheme or the Gash scheme for growing cotton was begun, experimental farms were used to discover the various diseases of plants, and troubles with labour, and even then, when they had launched the big scheme in the Gezira, many difficulties were met which threw them back. So we have to beware of thinking that these schemes will save us in the next year or two.

In the groundnut scheme in Tanganyika things may go pretty well at first, but there will be set-backs. If we are to get what we want in the way of co-operation from the natives, we have to go in for mass adult education. Lord Bledisloe, writing to " The Times " a few months ago, warned us that we will never have a great increase in agricultural production in Africa until we improve the health and nutrition of the natives. I entirely agree, and think that is a wise warning. It will be a long time before we can get the natives to take to adult education, and it is very difficult even in simple ways. Take for instance the many worm diseases, which are such a great handicap to their health. If only we could persuade the natives to wear some sort of foot covering and to use sanitary pits, 85 per cent. of those diseases would be avoided. They are diseases which affect their health to an enormous degree, but, directly one tries to persuade them to do either of those things, one is up against a wall of prejudice, which can only be broken down by education.

I do not wish to appear to be throwing a spanner into the wheels, because I am as keen as anyone on this Bill, and I think it is a splendid idea so long as we keep on the right lines. I am as pleased about Clause 8 as was the hon. Member for Heywood and Radcliff (Mr. Anthony Greenwood). If we can select good people to carry on the educational labour, and the medical sides of the work of the corporations, we shall be on the right lines and in time—a long time ahead—we shall get the co-operaton of the natives. But, until we can do that, we ought to be warned not to think that now the Bill has gone through and the two Corporations are coming into being, we shall not need to worry any more about food. Particularly in regard to the groundnut scheme we shall have drawbacks, and there is not

[Colonel Wheatley.]

going to be such a wonderfully quick production of oils and other things which we require. Having spent many years in Africa and knowing what the Corporations can do for the people in that country, I welcome this scheme. I wish to emphasise that we are going in for these schemes because we feel we are helping the people of that great continent to improve their health and general welfare, and, for that reason, I think the schemes deserve great success.

9.54 p.m.

Dr. Segal (Preston): Now this Bill has reached its final stages I cannot help feeling, looking back on its passage, that it is a pity so much time has been spent in discussing the merits of the lesser of the two projects it embodies, and especially that so much time has been almost wasted in the, to my mind, quite unreal controversy about the respective powers to be allocated to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Minister of Food. I would rather like, at this late stage, to place much more emphasis on the true significance of the Colonial Development Corporation. Viewed in its proper perspective, it can open up a vast new horizon of development to the greater part of our Colonial territories. One hopes that it will ultimately achieve a great step forward in attempting a levelling up of the standard of living and the standard of prosperity among our different Colonies.

I am convinced that one of the greatest obstacles to co-operation among our four West African Colonies, for example, is the vast discrepancy which exists between the rate of income per head of the population of a Colony like Nigeria contrasted with the income per head of the population of a Colony like the Gold Coast. There they are, two almost adjacent territories, but the vast population of Nigeria, numbering something like 23 million, can only claim an income per head of the population of something like 10s. per year, whereas in the Gold Coast, with far richer natural resources, and with a far greater degree of development, the income per head of the population is at least £2 per head. Until we can achieve the same great forward move in the development of Nigeria to bring the income of that territory somewhere nearer to the income of the Gold Coast, I believe that this great Empire Development Corporation will have failed in its object.

I cannot too strongly endorse the appeal that was made from both sides of the House by the Minister of Food and the right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley), and later repeated by various other speakers on both sides of the House, that this Bill is so vast in its conception that all considerations of party strife and party slogans ought to be eliminated. We should all combine to work together, as far as we possibly can, for the welfare and development of our Colonial territories. I believe it is quite premature for anyone on this side of the House to assert that the foundations for a brave new world of bush Socialism have now been well and truly laid in the heart of Central Africa. I think we shall have to wait a long time yet before " Let Us Face the Future " has been translated into the language of the drums and the beat of the tom-tom resounds to all its rhythmic cadencies.

We can, however, say that we are agreed on all sides of the House that this Measure has at least been able to bring together the ranks of the peanut vendors in a large measure of agreement. There can be no stigma attaching to the term " peanut vendor " because on the future prosperity of our Overseas Food Corporation will depend to a considerable extent part of our bread and butter, or at least what goes today for butter, for the next few years to come.

I feel that this House cannot emphasise too strongly that whatever may happen when this Bill is translated into active machinery for the benefit of our African territories equally as of ourselves, one word will be completely eliminated from the minds of all those who work to bring this Measure to fruition. That word is " exploitation." I hope, above all, that no one in any of our Colonial territories will have in his mind the least vestige of suspicion that anyone connected with the machinery which this Bill initiates will ever be able to lend himself in the slightest degree to the exploitation of any single native in any of our Colonial possessions.

I think it is a significant fact that all sections of the House have combined to give this Bill their blessing, and I hope very sincerely that it may, in the not too

distant future, open up a great new era for a happier and fuller life to many of our Colonial populations who today are groping in the darkness of economic, cultural and political uncertainty. I think we can today lay the foundations of a development that would justify our faith in this country as one of the great, if not the greatest, Colonial Powers in the world.

10.1 p.m.

Mr. Dodds-Parker (Banbury): I hope the hon. Member for Preston (Dr. Segal) will forgive me if I do not follow him in some of his dreams of seeing the Colonial Secretary dressed in a grass skirt and the future Minister of Food dressed in a string of groundnuts. I think the point he has made is that throughout the discussion of this Bill we have concentrated too much on one or two of the only controversial matters between us and, by and large, except for the indications given by the Colonial Secretary in his final speech, there has been very little heard of the Colonial Development Corporation. I think it is a pity we have not had more opportunity of wider discussion on some of the bigger aspects of this Bill and it is in this respect that I would put to the Colonial Secretary that having set up this Corporation with the goodwill of everybody on both sides of the House, and having set up this machinery for spending £150 million of the taxpayers' money—which is still a lot of money—he should pay some heed to remarks made on both sides of the House as to some developments which may be undertaken.

With a group of hon. Members on both sides of the House I am associated in thinking out terms of practical development in East and Central Africa. I think we have to come to some sort of conclusion about the aspects of some kinds of development that the Government should put first including communications, harbours, railways, roads, and water—whether hydro-electric for irrigation or for domestic purposes—and the provision of cement and fertilisers, which would be the basics upon which those in Africa could develop and produce a tremendous amount for consumption, and for raising the standard of living in Africa. I think those are the basics which we want to produce through these Government Corporations if there is any slow down or hitch in their production by normal means. The Colonial Secretary referred to 120,000 tons of groundnuts held up in Northern Nigeria, most of which was the 1946-47 harvest, because there was not transport to get it to the coast, through locomotives spare parts being sent to East Africa in order to assist the new scheme. It may be an order to send locomotive spares to East Africa rather than West Africa, but I think it should be very carefully considered and the Government should not give priority to one scheme against another.

Enterprise can be and has been tremendous in Africa already. Encouragement should be given to enterprise of all sorts, whether private or public, Government, individual or co-operative. Sir Frank Stockdale in his report was right that probably the single family farm is going in Africa. We must work on the co-operative system, and there are a tremendous number of people, whether African peasants, co-operative workers or settlers who can produce a tremendous amount to assist us in the next few years.

I put it to the Government that they should very seriously pay attention to the question of land tenure and the availability of labour. It is seriously frightening a lot of people in certain parts of Central Africa, and we have had some reports, such as that on Nyasaland, showing that there may be some doubt whether people already settled there have the right to go on developing their land. The hon. Member for Tradeston (Mr. Rankin) talked about Africa for the Africans, but there are hundreds of thousands of European stock settled out there for many years who have as much right to be regarded as inhabitants as the indigenous population. Otherwise, we might find ourselves in the position of arguing with Scotsmen whether or not they have the right to be South of the Border. There is a certain doubt among a lot of the inhabitants who have settled out there as to their security of tenure.

There are other points, such as soil fertility and the question of the tsetse fly, which have to be overcome, and which I think, with the help of these Development Corporations, must be overcome before any big scale development can take place. Another point is that the Government should study marketing. One hon. Member mentioned Java and the production of some 25 per cent. more palm oil. An improvement in practically every primary

[Mr. Dodds-Parker.]
product can be effected, on the basis of the Java example, and would go a long way to solve the problems pressing on us today. I know that there are a lot of people who can produce more in the Empire, as I happen to be chairman of the British Empire Producers' Association, which is in close touch with these problems, and I think they should increase their production to the utmost, but we must give them some help in the direction of guaranteed markets for the future, and it is here that Imperial Preference played such an important part in the past and must play an important part in the future.

There is one other point which I would ask the Secretary of State to consider. Under Clause 11 of the Bill, and the borrowing powers provided by it, I am quite certain myself, having gone into this matter in considerable detail, that we are not going to be able to develop Southern Africa in the time at our disposal—five or ten years—and obtain the capital equipment entirely from this country—the bulldozers, rails, rolling stock and hydro-electric equipment—and that we must bring more from outside. We shall have to get assistance from outside in developing Southern Africa, and I believe it is quite possible to obtain a lot from North America. South Africa itself may provide some assistance, but I would ask if it is the intention of the Government that, under Clause 11 of this Bill, these Corporations shall have the right to raise funds in, say, Canada, to pay for equipment which they are going to use in Southern Africa? It would be the sort of point which private corporations would have the right to carry out, and which would be of great help in developing these territories, and would bring considerable support, particularly in Canada, if the Corporations were able to float debenture stock in Canada to provide the capital equipment.

Finally, I would join with all other hon. Members on both sides of the House who have wished this Bill well. Some years ago, a very distinguished scientist, at a meeting of the Parliamentary Scientific Committee, said that on the way in which we carried out the development of West Africa depended our ability to keep 45 million people in this country. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer this week has said that on our ability to develop Africa depends the survival of Britain. These are sombre words, but the expansion which we have encouraged is one in which many of us see great possibilities in overcoming to a large extent, though not completely, many of our economic problems, and, above all, that of the shortage of primary products in Britain. I therefore express the best of goodwill to this Bill and to all those in various parts of the world who will be effective in making it work.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read the Third time, and passed.

* * * * * * *

[For Continuation of Proceedings, see Official Report for Wednesday, 21st January, 1948.]

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

3rd March, 1948.

All Communications to:

"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND

Telephone:
BUCkhurst 2463

Your Ref......

Our Ref. .....ESP/AB.....

W.E.B. DuBois Esq.,
20 West 40th Street,
NEW YORK CITY,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. DuBois,

"The History of the Pan-African Conference is on sale at the bookshop of the School of Economics; my son brought it home.

I was astonished to see that the only two books on Ethiopia listed are "Ethiopia" by David Mathew, which is rather hostile and I think very harmful and in many respects unfair, and in the Bibliography, Lady Simon's book, which has probably done more harm to Ethiopia than anything else ever written. There is also a book called "Seething African Pot", which, if it is the book I know by that name, is a totally atrocious attack on the African people and, of course, the Ethiopians.

I am sure you do not intend any attack on Ethiopia, but surely you ought to be more careful about the books you recommend.

In the midst of many activities and handicapped by shortage of funds, I have managed to put together a few pamphlets giving a few facts about Ethiopia. I do not urge my own work and, therefore, make no complaint that these are omitted from your list, but I think the little pamphlet by the Eritrean youth Alazar Tesfa Michael might have secured admission to your list in preference to books by British and American writers who are opposed to African self-government and doing all they can to prevent it.

I would not trouble to worry you over these matters except for the fact that I believe you will be producing other publications and I would plead for more care in the books advertised and advocated.

Of course you know that matters are very critical in respect

of the Ex-Italian Colonies and the Russians have declared in favour of Italian Trusteeship, as I see it, a very grievous matter.

Faithfully yours,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

March 22, 1948

Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst, Editor
NEW TIMES AND ETHIOPIA NEWS
"West Dene"
3 Charteris Road
Woodford Green
Essex, England

Dear Miss Pankhurst:

Your letter of March 3, to Dr. DuBois, has arrived during his absence from the city. He will not return to New York until late in April, when I shall bring your communication to his attention.

With thanks for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:LM

Zilo

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

IIth October I948

23-30-18

All Communications to:
"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND
Telephone:
BUCkhurst 2463

Your Ref. .....
Our Ref. ESP/BW

W.E.Du Bois Esq.,
20, West 40th Street,
New York I8,
New York, U.S.A.

Dear Mr.Du Bois,

Mr.F.A.Ojeamiren Ojehomon is a student from Nigeria who has matriculated and is going to study at an American University. He hopes to be able to visit you. I understand he will be writing to you.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

E.Sylvia Pankhurst.

E.Sylvia Pankhurst.

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

All Communications to:
"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND
Telephone:
BUCkhurst 2463

22-40-119

Your Ref. .....
Our Ref. ESP/BW

17th November 1948

W.E.B.Du Bois Esq.,
20, West 40th Street,
New York 18.

Dear Mr.Du Bois,

I was delighted to see your letter about the affront to Ras Imru, and as you may have noticed I republished it in "New Times and Ethiopia News".

I wonder if you could see your way to write me an article on the organisation of the negro vote to secure better treatment from Congress and the American Government, and what will now be done to secure the realisation of promises made by President Truman?

The Italian American vote has been a menace to Ethiopia throughout, and the negro vote would be

22-40-120

larger if the negros could vote. This is but one instance in which the destruction of negro rights is very hurtful to world affairs, as well as to domestic affairs.

The question of the Colonies , you will have noticed, has been shelved, and meanwhile, unknown to the world, there have been serious revolts in Eritrea which have been crushed with tanks etc., because the youth of Eritrea are impatient for liberation. They see themselves next to free Ethiopia, and are disposed to fight for their freedom.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

E.Sylvia Pankhurst.

22-40-121

December 6, 1948

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst
"West Dene"
3 Charteris Road
Woodford Green
Essex, England

My dear Miss Pankhurst:

I have your letter of November 17. I am sending you herewith an article which I published recently in the Sunday magazine section of The New York Times. I am afraid you may not have seen it. You will realize from that just what the status of the Negro voter is today. A great deal of pressure is being put by Negroes and others on Mr. Truman to implement his promises. Personally, I do not think he is going to be able to do much in that line because of the attitude of his powerful Southern supporters; but we will watch and see.

As I said to you when in England, thedifficulty here is that American Negroes know so little about Ethiopia and have such narrow personal contact. I have tried myself to get in touch with the Ethiopian Legation and made one visit there and exchanged letters. I had a talk with Mr. Abraham of the educational department while I was in San Francisco. But there ought to be more contact and knowledge and more visiting of American Negroes in Ethiopia, until they begin to feel that these people are a part of their race and problem. I am going to do what I can by word and writing concerning the colonies, and I think we can bring some pressure there, at least with regard to Eritrea.

I have just received this morning from a well trained Negro professor in Roosevelt College, Chicago, a statement concerning Somaliland which I am sending you. I have my doubts about his conclusions but I shall be glad to have your reaction.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Young Ethiopia

With Every Good Wish
for
Christmas and the New Year

May 1949 bring Victory
to your dearest hopes!

To Dr Du Bois
with best wishes
for you and for
your fine work
From E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

3, Charteris Road,
Woodford Green,
Essex, England.

New Times and Ethiopia News
3 Charteris Rd., Woodford Green
Essex, England

Copy of this letter sent to each of the representatives
of the Little Assembly of the United Nations (Interim Committee)

NOTE: Russia not represented on the Little Assembly

January 30, 1948

H. E. Dr. Guillermo Enciso Velloso
Delegation of Paraguay to the United Nations
Consulate General of Paraguay
135 Broadway, Room 406 A
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Velloso:

We are enclosing a copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, which is, in printed form, the petition formally presented to the Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on October 23, 1947.

Because of the nature of this document and its significance for international peace, we are interested in having it circulated and made available to people in other countries. In this regard, would you please inform us whether you could arrange to have it printed Spanish and published in your country?

This petition was conceived and prepared with the purpose of having the matter it treats discussed and acted upon by the United Nations. We feel that it is a step in the right direction that will have positive ramifications for the good of oppressed people throughout the world. We would like to know if you would be willingto recommend to the proper authorities of the United Nations that the subject of this petition be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next meeting?

May we hear from you at your convenience? Please accept our thanks and appreciation for your courtesy and assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Enclosure

Reg INFO

Fayetteville State Teachers College

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

ESTABLISHED 1877

22-39-40

May 22, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am in the process of working out a long study of Dr. Benjamin E. Brawley at the Ohio State University. The study will eventually be worked into a biography. I am collecting for the study letters to or from Dr. Brawley, and the librarian at Howard University has suggested that I write you for old letters. Thank you for any help.

Already I have a few letters from the Howard Library and microfilm letters from the James Weldon Johnson Collection at Yale University.

Respectfully yours,
John W. Parker

Req to write Biography

May 27, 1948

Mr. John W. Parker
Fayetteville State Teachers College
Fayetteville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Parker:

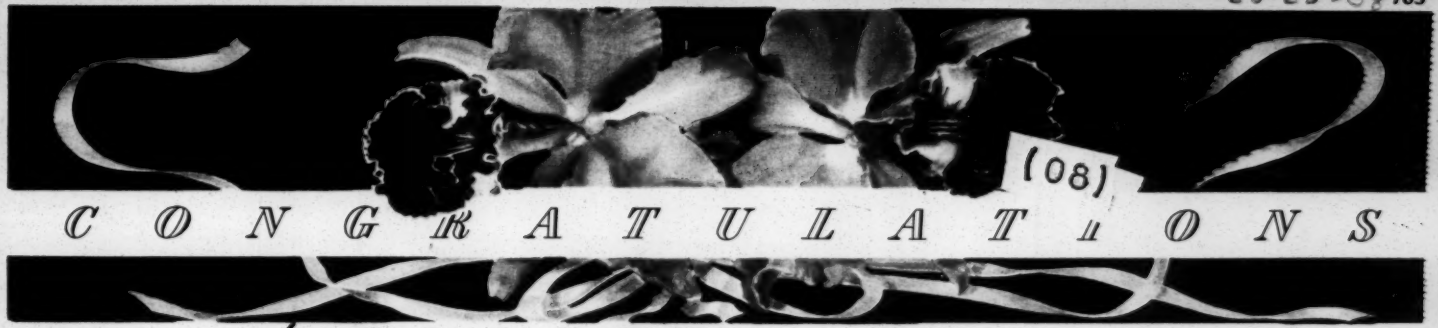
Mr. Herbert Aptheker, 1015 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, is engaged in an overall study of my life correspondance. I think he will be able to tell you of my correspondance with Mr. Brawley if you will write to him.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-25-58 763



by WESTERN UNION

N238 PD=WASHINGTON DC 23 253P

DR W E B DUBOIS=

:409 EDGECOMB AVE:

1948 FEB 23 PM 3 13

=CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS YOUR DAY I AM THINKING OF YOU=

TRUDEL.

~~Adella~~ Parks D.C.
1935 15th St., N.W.
WASH., D.C.

(P14 4 C)

April 9, 1948

Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd. Publishers
LONDON
ENGLAND

Gentlemen:

We have just had brought to our attention the volume, NEGROES IN BRITAIN, by Kenneth L. Little. We believe that this is the type of book which should be brought to the attention of the audiences that we reach in speaking and writing, and to the American public in general. We would appreciate it if you would send us a copy for examination, and we shall be glad to return it after it has served our purpose.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

83-20-69

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

LONDON & BIRMINGHAM

LONDON, E.C.

14 APR 1948

M

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MAY 3

LONDON &

Route

Mr. H.H. Smythe,

National Assoc. for the

Advancement of Colored People

20 West 40th Street,

New York 18, U.S.A.

Second fold here

To open cut here

Sender's name and address :-

ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL LTD,

68-74 CARTER LANE,

LONDON, E.C.4.

To open cut here

[2]

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TELEGRAMS: Columnae, London

Please quote Reference: CA/TLJ

Mr. H.H. Smythe,
Color & Democracy,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18.

14th April 1948.

23-20-90

Dear Sir,

We have your letter of April 9th, and have pleasure in sending under separate cover a copy of "Negroes in Britain" on loan.

Yours faithfully,
ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL LTD.

BY AIR MAIL

PHONE: MADISON ~~[illegible]~~ L728-W

Baltimore Home

EDWARD J. PECK
INTERIOR & EXTERIOR PAINTING & DECORATING
2327 ~~[illegible]~~ MADISON AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

May 29th. 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Morgan Park

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We beg to submit herein seperate estimates for painting at your residence as follows.

I. Exterior of house and garage; Paint all wood work and metal trim with two coats of Dutch Boy Paint. Shutters to be finished in Cabot's permanent color green paint. Canvas deck porch floor to be painted two coats. Burn off cracked paint and apply an additional coat of paint to burnt area. Remove all decayed and loose putty and reputty all work. Remove all rust accumulation from metal and prime with red lead paint, finish with graphite paint. ---------- $266.00

2. Interior of House: Ist and 2nd floors, remove wall paper and paint walls and ceilings with three coats of oil paint (flat finish). Kitchen and Bath walls to be given two coats finished in semi-gloss enamel. All wood work to be painted with two coats, enamel finish. $739.15

3. Repairing or pointing broken plaster is not included in above. This work will have to be charged for on a time plus basis at the rate of $I.65 an hour. The approximate cost of this work will be. $ 80.00

Thanking you and trusting that we may have the pleasure of serving you. I am,

Very truly yours,

Edward J. Peck

Edward J. Peck

22-36

36

22-36

June 9, 1948

Mr. Edward J. Peck
2327 Madison Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

My dear Mr. Peck:

I accept the contract for painting the exterior of the house and garage, in accordance with your letter of May 29. The cost of this is to be $266.00.

With regard to the interior, I shall have to let that go until later.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Letter of appreciation

275 College Street.
Burlington, Vermont.
March 20. 1948.

Mr. William Edward B. Du Bois.

22-82-20

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Will you pardon the liberty I am taking in writing to you after having read a sketch of your life in "Thirteen Against the Odds" by Edwin Embree.

I hesitate to allude to anything so personal, but I do not know when my heart has been so wrung with sorrow as "Of the Passing of the First Born".

I cannot describe my indignation when Marian Anderson was denied the right to sing in Constitution Hall by the D. A. R., "daughters of the very men who had given their lives to birth this new nation of freedom and equality". I shall always bitterly regret that I did not then resign my membership in that organization as Mrs. Roosevelt did. My only reasons for not doing so being that

my mother had been the organizing Regent of Vermont, and the realization that whatever feeble influence I might possess could be exerted only within the Society. So I have continued to work for justice with the group headed by Mrs. Claire Booth-Luce, thus far without success but I feel sure that right will ultimately triumph.

As a convert to the Catholic Church I know what persecution means, and the three things I cannot tolerate are racial, political or religious prejudice.

When Nicola Vetkoff was executed I felt a personal loss as I did when Mohandus Gandhi, whom I greatly admired, was slain by one of his own people.

I am also taking the liberty of enclosing an original poem, "Color Blind".

Very sincerely yours,

(Miss.) Theodora Agnes Peck.

22-38-21

Color Blind.

They tell me I am color-blind,
A strange affliction it seems to you,
And when I answer, "I'm proud to be",
You'll say my wits are all askew.

Whether man's skin be white or black,
Red or yellow, I do not care,
There's only one thing matters to me -
Whether the whiteness I wear be there.

Negro, Icelander, Mongol, Celt,
Greek or Hebrew, in Christ they're one,
Brothers linked in humanity
Under a Polar or Aztec sun.

Why should we hate or scorn a man
Because his skin is not like ours
Each star wears a different luster shines,
Infinite are the hues & flowers.

For the Father of all made every man,
Made them of one blood, each in his kind,
Formed them to earn Heaven in brotherhood
Be thankful that God is color-blind,

Theodora Ogus Peck.

22-38-22

April 28, 1948

Miss Theodora Agnes Peck
275 College Street
Burlington, Vermont

Dear Miss Peck: On my return from a long lecture trip, I find your letter of March 20. May I thank you for writing to me. I appreciate friends always and everywhere.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:s

22-28-09

THE P. E. N. A WORLD ASSOCIATION OF WRITERS
48 CENTERS IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, AND THE AMERICAS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY · JANE HUDSON · 123 E. 94TH ST., NEW YORK 28, N.Y. SACRAMENTO 2-6751

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February 5, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Color & Democracy Colonies & Peace
Nat'l. Assn. for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you into the PEN Club.

Members are billed for yearly dues some time in January for the current year. Therefore, I have applied your check for $10.00 to your 1948 dues so that you will not be billed until 1949.

Looking forward to meeting you at a PEN Dinner during the winter, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jane Hudson

Jane Hudson
Executive Secretary

JH:HM

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22-26

THE P. E. N. A WORLD ASSOCIATION OF WRITERS
48 CENTERS IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, AND THE AMERICAS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY · JANE HUDSON · 123 E. 94TH ST., NEW YORK 28, N.Y. SACRAMENTO 2-6751

February 16, 1948

The next dinner of the P.E.N. Club - probably the last dinner of this season - will be given over to the theatre. The subject will be The Playwright's Future. Among the Guests of Honor, who will speak, will be Arthur Hopkins, eminent producer, and Marc Connelly, author of GREEN PASTURES and many other successes. John Mason Brown, dramatic critic of the Saturday Review of Literature, will preside.

The dinner will be held on Wednesday evening, March 3rd, at 7:30 o'clock, at The Netherland Club, 10 Rockefeller Plaza. The price will be $3.75 per person. Dress is optional.

Will you please make your reservations early by filling out and mailing immediately the blank at the bottom of the page. No reservations will be made or cancellations accepted, after noon the day preceding the dinner. Please make all checks payable to the P.E.N. Club.

THE DINNER COMMITTEE
Roger W. Straus, Jr., Chairman
John Hersey
Ken McCormick

* * * * * * * *

Mrs. Jane Hudson
Executive Secretary, P.E.N.
123 East 94th Street
New York 28, N.Y.

Please reserve _____ places for me at the P.E.N. dinner on Wednesday evening, March 3rd, at 7:30 o'clock, at The Netherland Club, 10 Rockefeller Plaza, at $3.75 per person. I enclose my check for _____.

_____

My guests will be_____

Seating preferences (if possible)_____

News from The P.E.N.
WORLD ASSOCIATION OF WRITERS
AMERICAN CENTER

PRESIDENT, HENRY SEIDEL CANBY

Exec. Sec.: JANE HUDSON 123 EAST 94th STREET New York City Tel.: SAcramento 2-6751

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY
June 1948

OFFICERS: At the annual business meeting of the American Center of P.E.N., held at luncheon on Wednesday, May 26th, at the Stockholm Restaurant, the following officers and members of the Executive Board were elected for the coming year:

President:	Henry Seidel Canby
Vice Presidents:	Leonard Bacon Rita Halle Kleeman Frederic Melcher
Secretary:	Manuel Komroff
Treasurer:	Kenneth McCormick

Executive Board:

Maxwell Aley	Carl Carmer	Merle Miller
Emanie Arling	Robert Frost	William I. Nichols
Hamilton Basso	John Hersey	Elmer Rice
Van Wyck Brooks	B. W. Huebsch	William Sloane
John Mason Brown	Langston Hughes	Roger W. Straus, Jr.
Pearl Buck	Victor Knauth	Thornton Wilder
	Anne O'Hare McCormick	

Dr. Canby explained that he had accepted the Presidency with the understanding that while he was out of town, which he would be for part of next winter, his duties would be carried on by the Steering Committee (the three Vice-Presidents and the Secretary).

A rising vote of thanks was given to our retiring President, John Mason Brown.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS: The 1948 International Congress of P.E.N. Clubs was held in Copenhagen May 31-June 4, instead of in New York, as originally planned. The American Center greatly regretted the unavoidable postponement of holding the Congress in New York. Our planning Committee, whose Chairman was William I. Nichols, had put in months of hard work setting up the machinery for the Congress, but, after the inability of European delegates to come to New York, because of money and other restrictions, had been pointed out to us by European Centers, we were forced to the obvious conclusion that it would be impossible to hold a representative or satisfying Congress in New York at this time. World conditions being

what they are, we therefore turned our attention and energies to raising money for the sending of food and clothing to writers in Europe.

Our delegates at the Copenhagen Congress were Ira and Editha Morris. We were also represented there by Dr. Paul Schwarz.

P.E.N. INTERNATIONAL RELIEF FUND: Just under $5000 was raised this winter by the P.E.N. International Relief Fund Committee, whose Chairman is Victor Knauth. This was done by letters appealing to our membership, publishers, the Writers Guild, and the Dramatists Guild; and by full-page advertisements donated by the Authors League Bulletin, the Saturday Review of Literature, Publishers' Weekly, and Story Magazine. With this money, 415 CARE food packages have been sent to writers in Europe who greatly needed them, not only from lack of food, but because of the great tedium of diet. The recipients were mostly members of the Austrian, French and English P.E.N. Centers, the Greek Writers Association, and a list sent to us by Thomas Mann of German writers who had been carefully screened by a Committee of exiled German writers in London. The small amount of money left in the Treasury will be saved for emergency cases.

An appeal was made to our membership for clothes during the winter, which was most generously answered. Margaret Loring Thomas, in charge of collecting and sending these clothes, sent almost 700 pounds of garments of all kinds, in about 50 packages, to nine European countries.

Letters of thanks from the recipients of both the food and clothing packages have all stressed their joy not only for the material help but for the deep feeling of friendship and solidarity with American writers which these packages have brought them, and they have all asked that the members of P.E.N. be fervently thanked.

Last year we sent $2,440 to the Chinese Writer's Association. We have just received a letter from them, in which they say they allocated this money as follows:

1) $1500 has been distributed among fifty needy writers.

2) $500 is reserved for needy and sick writers who might need assistance.

3) $440 has been spent on payment to writers who contributed articles to their periodical "The Chinese Writers".

In explanation of the 3rd item, they say they spent the sum mentioned for this purpose because there are too few progressive literary magazines in China which can represent the people. Many writers fail to find an adequate periodical in which to publish their articles, so they found it necessary to publish "The Chinese Writers".

In March our fellow-member Archibald MacLeish, who was flying to Caracas to represent the government at the inauguration of the new President of Venezuela, Romulo Gallegos, a prominent writer and member of the Caracas P.E.N., took with him a letter of felicitation from the American Center to the Caracas Center. The Executive Board also empowered our President, John Mason Brown, to cable Mr. Gallegos our congratulations on the day of his inauguration.

EXECUTIVE BOARD: The International Secretary, Hermon Ould, sent to the Secretaries of all P.E.N. Centers a Prospectus gotten up by the English Center which contains a P.E.N. Charter, based on resolutions passed at international Congresses, and most particularly the American resolution passed at the Stockholm Congress two years ago. Mr. Ould stated that all new members of the London Center must subscribe to this Charter, and suggested that it would be a simplification of procedure if all Centers adopted the same formula. At a Board meeting in February, our Executive Board agreed to do this.

The Board also decided this winter to allow the Admissions Committee to vote on new members, instead of the Board itself, as has been done in the past.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE: The American Center gave three dinners during the past winter: on October 16th, the subject under discussion was literary criticism, and the speakers Harry Hanson, Orville Prescott, and John Mason Brown; on December 11th, the Book Clubs and their effect on the literature of America produced a controversial session, the disputants being Harry Scherman, Mylo Sutliff, Lewis Gannett, Joe Margolies, and Margaret Widdemer; and on March 3rd, a dinner which covered the playwright's future, the speakers were Arthur Hopkins and Marc Connelly.

A tea was given on April 14th for Mme. Antonina Vallentin, at the home of Dr. Henry Goddard Leach.

At the annual business meeting held, as previously noted, at luncheon at the Stockholm Restaurant on May 26th, Frederic Melcher gave a brief talk on an UNESCO conference he had just attended in Paris, which was called to advise on the working out of details relative to translating the lists of the books of the world most worthy of translation into other languages, for which UNESCO asked last year. Among them is the list which UNESCO asked the American Center to send them.

MEMBERSHIP: 35 new members have joined the American Center this year. We have had 8 resignations and one death -- Will Irwin, one of our most beloved and valued members. The membership now stands at 310.

Respectfully submitted

Manuel Komroff.

THE P.E.N. A WORLD ASSOCIATION OF WRITERS

50 CENTERS IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, AND THE AMERICAS

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY · JANE HUDSON · 123 E. 94TH ST., NEW YORK 28, N.Y. SACRAMENTO 2-6751

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THORNTON WILDER

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October 15, 1948

The first P.E.N. dinner of the season will be held on Wednesday evening, November 3rd, at 7:30 o'clock, at The Netherland Club, 10 Rockefeller Plaza. There are no scheduled speakers, but Ira Morris, who, with his wife Editha, officially represented the American Center at the International Congress of P.E.N. Clubs in Copenhagen last June, will give a short report on the Congress.

Dinner will be the same price as last year, $3.75 per person. Dress is optional.

Please make your reservations early by filling out and mailing immediately the blank at the bottom of this page to the Executive Secretary. No reservations or cancellations can be accepted after noon the day before the dinner. Please make all checks payable to the P.E.N. Club. We do not send out tickets.

* * * *

Mrs. Jane Hudson
Executive Secretary, P.E.N.
123 East 94th Street
New York 28, N.Y.

Please reserve_____places for me at the P.E.N. dinner on Wednesday, November 3rd, at 7:30 o'clock, at The Netherland Club, 10 Rockefeller Plaza. I enclose my check for _____.

_____

My guests will be_____

Seating preferences (if possible)_____

AMERICAN CENTER

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THE P.E.N. A WORLD ASSOCIATION OF WRITERS
50 CENTERS IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, AND THE AMERICAS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY · JANE HUDSON · 123 E. 94TH ST., NEW YORK 28, N.Y. SACRAMENTO 2-6751

December 9, 1948

You are cordially invited to a P.E.N. cocktail party in honor of a distinguished member of the Danish Center of P.E.N., Piet Hein, on Thursday afternoon, December 16th, at 5:30 O'clock, at the home of Edita and Ira Morris, 124 East 57th Street (top floor-walk up). Mr. Hein is the Danish President of the Movement for World Federal Government.

Will you please let the Executive Secretary, Jane Hudson, know if you will be present. A blank is at the bottom of the page for your convenience.

* * *

Mrs. Jane Hudson
Executive Secretary, P.E.N.
123 East 94th Street
New York 28, N.Y.

I will be present at the P.E.N. cocktail party on Thursday afternoon, December 16th, at 5:30 O'clock, at the home of Ira and Edita Morris, 124 East 57th Street.

_____

MOnument 2-5110

The PEOPLE'S VOICE

210 WEST 125th STREET
New York 27, N. Y.

22-28-08

JANUARY
21st 1
9
4
8

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Let me thank you for the booklet form copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, the petition presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations on October 23, 1947.

Preparation of this petition in this way should make it especially valuable to all persons who want to keep this petition as a matter of permanent record.

I have asked our book editor to make some comments on it and at the first opportunity I shall comment on it editorially.

With sincere personal regards, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

Deton J. Brooks Jr.

Deton J. Brooks, Jr.
General Manager

D
J
BROOKS
M
F
F

February 2, 1948

Mr. Deton J. Brooks
People's Voice
210 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Brooks:

Dr. DuBois asked that you be reminded that your publication is $75.00 in arrears in payment for his columnar material, PAN AFRICA, appearing weekly in the VOICE. We would appreciate your attention to this matter.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Enclosure: Pan Africa column

March 9, 1948

Mr. Deton J. Brocks
THE PEOPLE'S VOICE
210 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Brocks:

Checking over our records I notice that on March 13 you will be four weeks in arrears in your payments to Dr. DuBois for his column, PAN AFRICA. Perhaps this is due to an oversight in your accounting department. However, we would appreciate your immediate attention to this matter.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 22, 1948

REGISTERED MAIL

Mr. Deton J. Brooks
THE PEOPLE'S VOICE
210 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Brooks:

I am writing you in regard to the account of Dr. DuBois. As you know, we contacted your office before in regard to the fact that you are four weeks behind in payment for the PAN AFRICA column. We would appreciate some word from you concerning this matter.

We noticed in the last issue of THE PEOPLE'S VOICE his column was not published. Would you please be kind enough to explain this omission.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience. If you are unable to write, our telephone number is LOngacre 3-6890.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:LM

22-28

The PEOPLE'S VOICE

An A. B. C. Newspaper
210 WEST 125TH ST. NEW YORK, N.Y.
TEL. MONUMENT 2-5110

March 30, 1948

23-38-3

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Due to increased cost of production, we have been forced to cut our staff and endeavor to operate within a budget to meet these high charges.

On this account, we regret very much that we will have to discontinue your feature weekly article. We know that you understand our situation, and we can assure you that as soon as things adjust themselves here we hope we can call on you for the future.

With every good wish, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

Leonard Lowe
General Manager

LL:ls

Greetings on Our Sixth Anniversary

March 31, 1948

Mr. Leonard Lowe
THE PEOPLE'S VOICE
210 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Lowe:

Thank you for your letter of March 30 and I shall be sure and bring it to the attention of Dr. DuBois.

Unfortunately, it does not answer the question I asked you over the telephone concerning the account of Dr. DuBois. According to our records THE PEOPLE'S VOICE owes Dr. DuBois the sum of $120.00 for material used in his column, "Pan Africa."

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience concerning this matter. With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

SPECIAL DELIVERY

April 20, 1948

The Publisher
The People's Voice
210 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

You are indebted to me in the sum of $210.00 for articles mailed to you on February 2, 9, 16, 20, and March 1, 8, and 15.

Unless I hear from you this week, I shall reluctantly place this matter in the hands of a lawyer.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

May 12, 1948

Mr. Saul M. Perdue
2140 College Avenue
Baltimore 14, Maryland

My dear Mr. Perdue:

Our house ought to be painted inside and out, and also the walls of the basement ought to be redone. I do not suppose that I can afford to have the whole job done now, but I should like to get hold of a responsible contracting firm and talk to them. Perhaps this Spring I could have the outside painted, and then later have the rest done. Could you recommend a firm for such a job? We tried a single contractor when we had it painted before and the job was not satisfactory.

I would be very glad for any advice that you can give; or perhaps you might telephone to Yolande directly. I shall be in town, Monday May 17.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[PERRY]

CAPitol 5455

Dorothy Kraus and Minerva Perry

Public Relations

ONE PARK STREET
Boston 8, Massachusetts

lecture

January 28th, 1948

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

23-38-92

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In connection with the publicity which we are planning for Mrs. Bobitt-Gardner relative to her Finer Arts program, February 15th, on which you are to be the guest speaker, we should like very much to arrange for a radio interview with you on Saturday morning, the 14th, at 11:45 a.m. over station WLAW - here in Boston.

Will you kindly advise us whether you plan to be in Boston on Saturday and if you would be willing to be interviewed?

Thank you

Sincerely yours,

Minerva Perry

Minerva Perry

I shall not arrive in Boston until Saturday night

January 30, 1948

Miss Minerva Perry
Kraus & Perry
1 Park Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Perry: Thank you for your letter of January 28. Unfortunately, the activities of Dr. DuBois will make it impossible for him to arrive in Boston until Sunday night, February 15.

With regrets but appreciation for your interest and courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

CAPitol 5455

Dorothy Kraus and Minerva Perry

Public Relations

ONE PARK STREET
Boston 8, Massachusetts

lecture

February 2, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you for your letter of January 30th. We regret that Dr. DuBois will not arrive in Boston in time to arrange for a broadcast interview.

Your letter states that Dr. DuBois will not arrive in Boston until Sunday night, February 15th. The program on which he is to be the speaker is on Sunday afternoon, February 15th, at 3:15 p.m. No doubt this is a stenographic error but we would appreciate your confirmation.

Sincerely yours,

Minerva Perry

Minerva Perry

23C-38-38

February 3, 1948

Miss Minerva Perry
Kraus & Perry
1 Park Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Perry: Thank you for your letter of February 2, which has just arrived. I appreciate your calling my attention to the typographical error in my letter of January 30. Dr. DuBois will not arrive in Boston until Saturday night. This will correct and confirm the matter referred to in your note.

With thanks for your courtesy,

I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

translation

(PERU7

THE WALDORF-ASTORIA

5 February 1948

5 copies

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23-46-21

My dear Sirs:

I have had the pleasure of receiving your courteous letter of January twenty-second and the copy of your publication "An Appeal to the World" which I have read with the greatest interest and sincere sympathy.

I share your thoughts with reference to the interest this document would have were it circulated and known by the people of other countries.

Therefore I have the pleasure to inform you that when I return to Peru, the end of February, I shall ascertain, with great pleasure, the best means by which this document might be published there.

With regard to the translation, it seems to me that it would be much better for you, yourselves, to make the translation and send it to me in Spanish, because in Peru it is more difficult from the point of view of accuracy.

It will give me great pleasure to support the recommendation that the subject be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the United Nations Assembly.

My address in Lima, Peru is as follows:
Doctor Alberto Ulloa
Apartado 128
Lima, Peru

Awaiting further information, I am

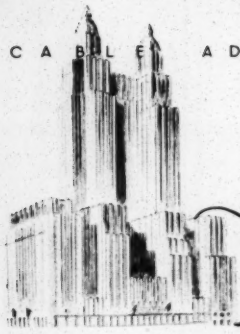
Very sincerely,

(signed) Alberto Ulloa

[PERU]

CABLE ADDRESS: "WALDORF, NEW YORK" / ELDORADO 5-3000

"Latin American" - Peru



The WALDORF-ASTORIA

PARK AND LEXINGTON AVENUES / 49TH AND 50TH STREETS / NEW YORK 22,

5 copies

5 de febrero de 1948

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

4440 FEB-6'48

23-46-28

Muy senores mios:

He tenido el agrado de recibir su atenta carta del 22 de enero a la cual acompanan un ejemplar de la publicacion "An Appeal to the World" que he leido con el mayor interes y muy sincera simpatia.

Participo del pensamiento de ustedes respecto del interes que tendria que ese documento circulara y fuera conocido por el publico de otros paises.

En consecuencia tengo el gusto de informarles que cuando regrese al Peru, a fines de febrero proximo me ocupare con mucho agrado de la mejor manera de que aquel documento pueda ser publicado alla.

En cuanto a la traduccion me parece que es mucho mejor que ustedes mismos la hagan y me la remitan en espanol, pues esto alla es mas dificil desde un punto de vista de perfeccion al respecto.

Tendre mucho gusto de apoyar cerca de mi gobierno la consideracion de recomendar la incorporacion del tema en la agenda de la proxima Asamblea de las Naciones Unidas.

Mi direccion en Lima Peru es la siguiente:

Doctor Alberto Ulloa
Apartado 128
Lima, Peru.

En espera de sus nuevas notidas soy de ustedes atento S. S.

Ulloa

Alberto Ulloa

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cable-gram unless its de-ferred character is in-dicated by a suitable symbol above or pre-ceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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LD59F OM 21 PD

VN SANFRANCISCO CALIF 337PM MARCH 7 1948

DR W E DUBOISE

NAACP OFFICIAL WHITCOMB HOTEL 1231 MARKET STREET SFRAN WILL BE PRESENT AT DINNER WOULD LIKE TO SEE YOU AFTERWARDS YOUR ORGANIZATION HANDLED MY ARMY CASE. NOW ATTENDING UC BERKELEY

LOUIS PETE JR

348P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Crime Letter

5025 So 1 troop 11
Chgo, Ill.

Dear Sir

I am a white fellow 30 yrs of age + also a member of the N.A.A.C.P. but in the eyes of God we all are colored. I read a book on anthropology I am thoroughly convinced we all belong to God's children. May I ask you a question can I marry a girl who is colored according to the Bible I can please give me your opinion sir. I want to be on the color human beings side please show me how. Friend I read a lot of books on color flokes + how they suffered I feel

22-38

(OVER)

awful sorry for them I would like to marry a color girl & not our kind.

Yours Truly
Lawrence Peters

22-38

22-38

January 6, 1948

Mr. Lawrence Peters
5025 South Throop Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Peters:

Your undated letter to Dr. Du Bois has been turned over to me for reply. Marriage is a personal matter, a thing that must be settled between the parties concerned. Consequently, you will have to decide for yourself whether or not you wish to marry the sort of person you mentioned. Let your conscience be your guide.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

Request-Miscellaneous

5025-50-9 Group VI

8/1/48

Chgo, Ill.

Dear Sir

As the ink flows & my pen writes may the creator rid our Universe of Race Prejudice for ever among the White & Colored people. Friend I am a fellow 30 yrs old & I am very much interested in your problems my one ambition is to fight for your Rights until God takes me from this earth. I am a member of your organization the N.A.A.C.P I have letters from the Gov Mayor & Gen Supt of Schools in thier letters they stated that they are going to abolish discrimination & segregation in the City of Chgo. But I have a difficult time trying to convince your people that I am for them a 100% I was born in Chgo near the color people 2955 So Park. Please forgive me for corresponding this way I feel awful embarrass sir. Can you answer this question should I continue to fight this Prejudice Problem or should I give it up. I am an ordinary individual I work for

(OVER)

23-31-19

for a living & I don't hold office in the White House & I know congress may not listen to my words but God will please advise as what I should do.

Yours Sincerely
Lawrence Peters
A member of the N.A.A.C.P

August 6, 1948

23-21-20

Mr. Lawrence Peters
5025 South Throop Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Peters: I think that you should renew your membership in the N.A.A.C.P., and work as well as you can for our objects. I am sure that we will all appreciate it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Mr. Rosenwald

5025-SO-THROOP-ST
8/12/48
CHICAGO-ILL

Dear Sir

I received your stupendous letter friend I shall keep those words in my memory until God calls me from this earth. Sir do you realize my one ambition is seeing your people being treated like human beings I will stay as a member of the N.A.A.C.P I want to live & die with your people. Please dont think I am speaking nonsenical I speak as an American to my fellow man I love my holy Bible also Democracy & I like to see a better America. Friend according to my estimation your a great philanthropist we need more man like you in America & in the White House may the Lord give your people their Civil Rights. I am a so call white fellow but I like your people I feel at home with them some of them are friendly & some you cant make friends with them but I like them just the same God Bless each & ever one of them. Do you know I am going to marry a chick & I am going to be married in a church with the help of God my sympathy goes

(OVER)

22-38

toward your people. I am corresponding constantly to men of great importance such as the Gov Mayor & Supt of Schools to abolish segregation & discrimination & bring Democracy to life. I received satisfaction from them all they answerd my letters saying that they will do ever thing in their power to do away with discrimination & segregation in the City of Chgo. Sir can you do me a great favor by sending me a letter saying that I am doing ever thing in my power for your people because as I said before I have a difficult time trying to convince some of your people. Next month I am going to join the Masonic Lodge over by your people do realize I was born at 2955 So Park that is where your people are now. I am over by the white people I am white but I hate my people as sure as God's in heaven. I hate them because they won't give your people a decant job or home & besides their Civil Rights I will hate them until I go to my grave. I went to the extremes corresponding to the Cross in regards about passing to the most

(OVER)

22-38

momentous Bill in the White House the bill of humanity the Civil Right Bill & I didn't receive an answer I wonder if those congressmen know what Democracy means.

Yours Sincerely
Lawrence Peters
a member of the N.A.A.C.P

22-38

P.S. I would appreciate your generosity if you would answer my letter

August 18, 1948

22-38

Mr. Lawrence Peters
5025 Throop Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Peters:

Your letter of the 12th, to Dr. DuBois, has arrived and the Doctor thanks you for writing. Your spirit is to be lauded and you must keep on with what you are doing, for your intentions are in the right direction.

Unfortunately, Dr DuBois is out of the city just now and unable to reply personally, but whenever he has the time you will hear from him.

With thanks for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

H. H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

"United Nations"

PHILIPPINE MISSION
TO THE
UNITED NATIONS

6231 Empire State Building
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

February 9, 1948

23-416-16

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Your letter of January 30, 1948, enclosing copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, was received during the absence of Ambassador Romulo. Please be assured it will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return to the office.

Sincerely yours,

FOR THE CHIEF OF MISSION:

Renato Constantino

RENATO CONSTANTINO
Executive Secretary and
Adviser on Social and Cultural
Affairs

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Director, Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

PHYLON

A Quarterly Review of Race and Culture

Atlanta University

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Editorial Office

August 4, 1948

23.39.54

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Color and Democracy
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Smythe:

Robert Weaver has sent us the revised copy of Doctor Du Bois' Chicago paper, which we are publishing in the current issue. As you may have noted in the galley, we have made no changes.

With good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Editor

IDAR:b

To Bunche

PHYLON

THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

REVIEW

OF

RACE & CULTURE

32-34-24

A Reprint

From:

Vol. IX. No. 4....

1948..

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Atlanta 3, Georgia

By MERCER COOK

Phylon Profile, XVIII: Ralph Johnson Bunche—Statesman

WHENEVER I hear anyone say that Ralph Bunche is lucky, I am reminded of a sermon preached by the late Richard Hurst Hill at Sisters Chapel, Spelman College, some years ago. Reverend Hill's topic, "Chance favors the prepared mind," might well have found its best example in this young Negro diplomat who has recently inherited the dangerous mantle of Count Folke Bernadotte as United Nations Mediator in Palestine. The facts of his incredible career have been repeated in numerous magazines and newspapers; in this article they will be buttressed by comments and anecdotes obligingly supplied by friends who have been intimately associated with Ralph Bunche at various stages of his life.

Fate hardly seemed in a smiling mood when it robbed Ralph of both mother and father shortly after his birth in Detroit forty-four years ago. Raised by a devoted grandmother, Mrs. Anna Johnson, and two aunts, he moved to Los Angeles at the age of eleven, and made it the hard way, as two of his early associates observed. George Johnson, dean of the Law School at Howard University, remembered Ralph dashing off to UCLA at about five a.m. to clean buildings in which he would be studying later in the day. Even more explicit was Attorney Charles H. Matthews, of Los Angeles, who wrote:

> I first met Ralph Bunche as a newsboy. Ralph had a company route while I had a private route. We came in conflict because many of the regular company customers cancelled their subscriptions to take delivery from me. We were brought together on an occasion when the local newspapers sponsored a trip to the amusement center at Venice, California, for all newsboys. The newspapers bought out all the concessions on the pier (which amusements are similar to those at Coney Island) and Ralph and I were the only Negro newsboys who attended. Everything was lovely until time to take a swim in the Venice Plunge. Both of us were refused because of color and were, by this incident, brought together. . . .
>
> I recall on one occasion while Ralph was working at the City Dye Works and was required to lay carpets in the S. S. City of Los Angeles (it may have been the S. S. City of Honolulu, I'm not sure which) Ralph worked hard in order to make the deadline before sailing time and when he finished, stood out on the pier and wished 'that the damned boat would sink in the middle of the ocean.' The ship set sail and never arrived in Honolulu, having burned and sunk in the middle of the ocean.

> In the summer of 1922 a group of fellows including Ralph went to Huntington Beach and spent the night in a hayloft. Ralph slept in the hay and as a result a piece of straw went into his ear. He had finished high school in February of 1922 and later entered UCLA in the fall of '22. During his first year in college he began having severe headaches and it was discovered that a mastoid had developed from the straw which he had gotten in his ear during the summer. This caused Ralph to remain out of school for the year 1922 to 1923, during which period he had two operations for mastoiditis and resultant loss of hearing in one ear.

At Jefferson High School in Los Angeles, and subsequently at UCLA, he was an honor student, debater, guard on the basketball team, and member of the baseball team. Mrs. Caroline Wickliffe Antoine, a freshman at UCLA when Bunche was a junior, remembers having heard that he was president of the student council at Jefferson High, but suggests that this be checked by future biographers. Concerning his years at UCLA, Mrs. Antoine stresses the fact that he was at once brilliant and "a regular fellow." She recalls how, because of the ear injury, his attempts at whispering were too audible to escape the college librarian's attention. After several warnings, he was ejected from the library, but even this drastic measure did not cure the situation, for his booming whisper could still be heard by readers as he chatted with classmates on the front steps of the building.

Valedictorian of his class at UCLA, Bunche narrowly missed a Rhodes scholarship, according to Emmett T. Dorsey, who later became his colleague in the Department of Political Science (now Government) at Howard University. Instead of being discouraged by this rebuff — which the Rhodes people have had ample cause to regret — he entered Harvard University the following September. While there, in addition to maintaining a dazzling academic record, he met William Hastie, now Governor of the Virgin Islands. The two had much in common, and it has not been surprising to see their friendship continue through the years.

Another of his friends at Harvard, Robert C. Weaver, author of *The Negro Ghetto* and recently appointed to the faculty of New York University, added this incident which presumably occurred during a later phase of Ralph Bunche's graduate study. A faculty committee, meeting to determine the recipient of a certain fellowship, was considering Bunche for the award. One of the professors, suspected of racial prejudice, objected: "Gentlemen, I frankly am opposed to encouraging Negro students, no matter how brilliant, to pursue studies that can lead only to frustration. Look at Du Bois! Just think where he would be if he were not a Negro!" "Gentlemen," another professor interrupted, "Bunche clearly deserves this fellowship on his record, and I'm for awarding it to him even if it *kills* him!" Bunche was awarded the fellowship, but there must have been many who wondered what on earth a Negro would do

with an advanced degree in political science.

With his M. A., young Bunche came to teach at Howard University in the fall of 1928, at a salary of $1500 per annum. His impact on Washington was little short of tremendous. Men liked him for his keen mind, his Western frankness, his amazing energy, and his engaging friendliness. The gentler sex thought him a romantic figure, with his youthful smile, handsome physique, and burning, deep-set eyes. Yet Bunche had little time or inclination for the social whirl; as acting head and sole member of the Department of Political Science, he had a job to do. There were papers to correct, lectures to prepare, students to interview. Organizations like the NAACP claimed much of his surplus energy; subsequently he would become one of the moving spirits in Hastie's New Negro Alliance as it campaigned to obtain additional employment for colored Washingtonians. To keep physically fit, he took up golf.

"During Bunche's early days as a teacher at Howard," writes Governor Hastie, "he occasionally played golf with several of his students. One of the students was subsequently disappointed to receive a grade of 'C' in one of Ralph's courses when he had anticipated at least a 'B'. An appeal to the instructor to change the grade was rejected pleasantly but firmly. The student then suggested a sporting proposition; namely, that student and instructor play eighteen holes of golf. If student won, the grade should be 'B'; if the instructor prevailed, a 'D' should be entered in the record. Bunche replied that he would accept the proposal with one minor modification, that the grade should be 'A' if the student won and 'F' if the instructor won. The student decided to take his 'C' and forget about it."

Another of Bunche's former colleagues at Howard, Dr. Abram L. Harris, associate professor of economics in the University of Chicago, pays tribute to his friend's sportsmanship in an interview which Frank L. Hayes published in the *Chicago Daily News* for October 4, 1948:

> Ralph never misses a football game if he can help it, said Dr. Harris. He told me once, "I could play billiards all day." He likes the game — any game. He likes to play the game. . . . He plays seriously, as one solving a problem. Yet he laughs heartily at his own mistakes or at his bridge partner's. He is not cantankerous. He really believes in fair play.
>
> He can work terrifically. I have known him to work 15 hours in a day while his leg was strapped up for varicose veins and propped on a table. He won't crack up, though. He knows how to relax. He never broods. He has a great sense of fun. He's healthy emotionally.

When, after two years in the classroom, Ralph Bunche was named assistant to President Mordecai Johnson, the appointment was hailed by teachers and students alike. With his usual competence, energy, and approachability, he rendered brilliant service in this new post, yet found time to spend many of his evenings at the Library of Congress working

on his doctoral dissertation. On one occasion he confided to this writer: "You know, my ambition is to teach and to write; I'll be satisfied with a full professorship — someone else can do the administrative work." Soon he was off for a year in Europe and Africa, then another year at Harvard, whence he returned with his Ph.D. Incidentally, Harvard awarded him a prize of some $250 for having written the best doctoral thesis that year in the field of political science. "Lucky Ralph!" said some people, ignorant of the nights spent in the Library of Congress, the painstaking first hand research in Africa, the exceptional ability which had won him this distinction.

This official recognition strengthened his determination to do more writing, but did not inflate his ego. [In fact, throughout all the honors that have befallen him, he has retained a naturalness, a modesty which have made him even more likable.] Hitherto, he had contributed articles to such periodicals as the *Crisis, Opportunity,* the *Journal of Negro History,* and the *Journal of Negro Education.* In 1936, however, he was commissioned to write his first book, *A World View of Race* (Washington, D. C., The Associates in Negro Folk Education). The very title of this work reflected a broad outlook which had been one of his attributes even before his sojourn in Europe and Africa. Near the end of *A World View of Race* he predicted:

> The world race war will never be fought, however. Unquestionably, wars involving white and dark peoples will be fought, so long as there are dark peoples to be conquered and held in subjection, just as there will be wars between groups of white peoples and wars between groups of dark peoples. There will be sporadic outbreaks when subject peoples become restless under too harsh measures of imperialistic oppression. But the signs throughout the world are unmistakable. Despite the frantic efforts of many of those who control national and world policy to conjure up international race issues, the lies are forming in a totally different manner. Race issues appear but tend to merge into class issues. Throughout the world the issue between working and owning classes is sharpening. The titanic conflicts of the future will be the product of the uncompromising struggles between those who have and those who have not. These conflicts now wage within all groups, racial and national. (Pp. 95-96)

It took more than luck to produce that kind of prophecy and that type of writing in 1936.

Feeling that more extensive travel was an indispensable preliminary for a new volume that he was planning, Dr. Bunche received a sizable grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, and journeyed to Hawaii, East, West, and South Afrcia, and Japan. The formidable array of documentation resulting from this trip was laid aside as he accepted the important assignment of assistant to Gunnar Myrdal in the preparation of the Carnegie Study. Motoring through the South with his

Swedish colleague, he was chased out of several towns but, with the perseverance that has always characterized him, he got the facts and helped Myrdal present them in what is unquestionably the most complete report on the race problem in the United States, *An American Dilemma.* In Atlanta, I sat in on a conference between Bunche, Myrdal, Benjamin Davis, Sr. (Republican National Committeeman from Georgia), and several other Negro politicians. I marvelled at Bunche's astute, pertinent questions, and the easy, disarming manner with which he handled the entire proceedings. Furthermore, he was instrumental in selecting capable Negro scholars — Allison Davis, Abram Harris, Sterling Brown, and others — to furnish Mr. Myrdal with trustworthy background material on various aspects of the vast project.

Those who wondered what use a young Negro could find for an advanced degree in political science began to receive an even more eloquent answer when, during the war, Dr. Bunche was called first to the Office of Strategic Services, and then to the State Department. His intimate knowledge of colonial peoples and policies, combined with his tremendous capacity for work, enabled him to advance rapidly; under a Secretary of State from South Carolina he served as associate chief of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs. At Dumbarton Oaks, San Francisco, London, and other sites of international conferences, he performed so impressively that, early in 1947, he was named to his present post, director of the trusteeship division of the United Nations. His acceptance of this position quieted the rumor that he was about to become a full professor at the University of Pennsylvania. By this time people were wondering what couldn't a Negro do in the field of political science.

Perhaps the most difficult challenge that Ralph Bunche has faced has been the situation in the Holy Land. In the *Washington Post* of October 3, 1948, Peter Kihss writes:

> The Palestine problem has dragged down to despair nearly everyone who has ever tackled it. Dr. Bunche goes into that crucible as a man with courage — and a cause. He did not hesitate, in his first task as mission chief, to get the facts and to follow them unflinchingly.
>
> His inquiry showed Count Bernadotte had been slain in a Jewish-held area of Jerusalem, by Jewish assailants, while traveling under Jewish escort. Dr. Bunche held Israel accountable for detection and punishment of the killers.
>
> Further, he warned the militant Foreign Minister, Moshe Shertok, that statements he had made about the U.N. observers were "not calculated to discourage reprehensible acts of this kind." And the Arabs, so those who know Dr. Bunche are sure, will face equal firmness and equal frankness.

Other published reports have lauded Bunche's courage in denouncing the assassins and disregarding personal danger. Threats of violence in Palestine may have reminded him of similar threats in Mississippi, but

in neither place have they deterred him from pursuing his mission. Whatever the final solution of the Arab-Jew dispute, we can assume that Ralph Bunche has handled that explosive issue with resourcefulness, courage, and diligence. As this is being written, he has arrived safe and sound at the U. N. meeting in Paris, where Mrs. Bunche is expected to join him.

Mention of Mrs. Bunche, née Ruth Harris, a former public school teacher whom he married on June 23, 1930, calls for an intimate glimpse of Ralph at home. One of his closest friends, Professor Gustav Auzenne, Jr., head of the Department of Business Administration at Howard University, comments:

> As Ralph has assumed ever greater responsibilities, which have kept him away from home much of the time, his primary concern has been the welfare of his family. Before they joined him in New York, it was not unusual for him to make two or three trips a week to Washington, just to spend a few hours with his wife and children (Joan, Jane, and little Ralph.)
>
> Fundamentally a family man, he has never been too busy or absorbed in the affairs of the United Nations to remember the little things that usually bring happiness to a home with growing children. Every Christmas Eve he decorates the family Christmas tree with appropriate gifts for each member of the household. Frequently he will join in the chores of the kitchen, and sometimes he tries his hand at the culinary art.
>
> Before leaving for the troubled zone of the Holy Land, he made sure that the education of his children would not be interrupted, and that the family would be adequately provided for in the event of any serious occurrence.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to summarize, at least to the extent of indicating those characteristics which have brought Ralph Bunche such unprecedented success. Foremost among these are his intellect, broad vision, courage, sportsmanship, energy, and perseverance. Not the least of his assets is the uncanny ability to make and keep friends. One of his former schoolmates puts this aptly when she says, "Ralph's eyes always light up when he sees a friend approaching; he makes you feel that he is genuinely glad to see you." At times he can be caustic; he once told a certain dean, after that official had repeated on three different occasions, "When I came to.....my salary was $500 a year," "Mr. Dean, for all I know, that was all you were worth." Nevertheless, Bunche probably said this with a twinkle in his eye and a smile on his lips, for, to my knowledge, he did not incur the dean's enmity.

A penetrating analysis from another of Ralph's best friends, the distinguished poet Sterling Brown, sheds light on many of these points:

> Ralph is to be admired, even envied, for his thoroughness and determination. He can play hard and he works harder. If Ralph has a job to do he sits down and does it. If he has to write an essay or

report, due Monday, he can listen to a Redskin or World Series broadcast on Sunday afternoon, enjoy it with no apparent worries, and then get to work on the due job. If it takes all night, he'll stay up all night.

He never sings the blues about the toughness of the job. As a matter of record, he sings no blues. He may explode in anger at wrongs such as kicking people around, or blundering, or hypocrisy — (he does not suffer fools or knaves or cowards gladly) — but he never complains. He gives more quarter than he asks. He can be tough, but he has a warm friendliness, a rather wide sympathy when you get to know him. He just won't take any stuff from Jews or Arabs, Occidentals or Orientals, our folks or their folks. But he makes friends with all folks. . . . He will do anything for his friends. He will do a lot for people not his friends.

He loves music, good food, company and talk. He is a prime raconteur, and a good listener as well. He knows the heavy stuff in his field and he will read — when he gets the chance — lighter stuff too. Alas, even trash. . . . His mind is quick, clear, thoughtful. He is learned, but not academic in the usual sense, informed but not pedantic, intellectually curious but not inquisitive, intellectually devoted but not worshipful. He balances well. Common sense and humor serve him.

He hates to lose in athletic contests or games of chance. And he also hates not to do a job well. So he does them well.

Maybe he has been lucky, this Negro orphan with his mastoiditis and his varicose veins; on second thought, however, the minority group to which he belongs seems far more deserving of the epithet.*

32-34-28

* The Editorial Board of PHYLON is sincerely grateful to the author, Dr. Mercer Cook, and the many friends of Dr. Ralph Bunche who contributed much of the information contained in this profile.

WILLIAM PICKENS
SAVINGS BONDS DIVISION
UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Sept. 23, 1948

Dr/ W.E.B. DuBois,
Private Residence,
New York City,
Per Kindness of Lieutenant Harriet Ida Pickens.

22-40-94

My dear Dr. DuBois:-

I recall writing you, congratulating you and the others on your accepting a recall to the work of the NAACP, just two or three years ago. A member of the Board was kindly informing me about the whole proceedings at that time, and I know that you did not seek your way back but that certain insiders came out to seek you. I am therefore shocked to read from at least one of the liars who writes in the newspapers that you, in desperate desire, took the initiative in getting back with the Association.

This is just a personal word to you. I cannot thank the other parties for this move which I read has just been made if not completed.-- No thanks whatever to any of them for they meant to cut my throat, but perhaps did me the greatest possible service and unintended "favor".

I think I understand the situation there: I most certainly know the people involved.

My best wishes to you for all the rest of your life.

Very truly yours,

William Pickens

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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DICTATED TO MDJ BY MRS. WHITE OVER TELEPHONE 1/31/48 9:30 AM

W. E. B. DUBOIS
WALTER WHITE
ROY WILKINS

PLEASE WIRE US COLLECT 75 WORDS FOR PUBLICATION ON SIGNIFICANCE OF GANDHI'S DEATH AS IT AFFECTS COLORED PEOPLE

23-24-61

WM. C. NUNN, MANAGING EDITOR
PITTSBURGH COURIER
PITTSBURGH, PA.

mdj

JAN 31 1948

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23-24-62

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WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

5 PR 53 PRESS RATES COLLECT TELEGRAM February 2, 1948

The Editor
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER
2628 Center Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa.

MOHANDUS KARAMCHAND GANDHI WAS A GREAT LEADER OF THE COLORED PEOPLE AND ONE OF THE GREATEST LEADERS IN THE WORLD. IN SOUTH AFRICA, HE DEFENDED NOT ONLY THE INDIANS BUT ALSO THE NATIVES AND THE COLOURED PEOPLE. WHEN ONE REMEMBERS THAT HE LIVED IN A WORLD WHERE WEALTH, FAME, AND FORCE WERE ALWAYS THE IDEALS, IT IS ASTONISHING THAT THIS MAN INSISTENTLY WORKED FOR SELF-DENIAL AND SPIRITUAL POWER. WE HAVE LOST A GREAT MAN BUT HIS FAITH AND INFLUENCE WILL LIVE FOR MANY YEARS.

W. E. B. DuBOIS

23-13-61

June 23, 1948

Mr. P. L. Prattes
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER
2628 Center Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Prattes:

Enclosed is a letter from Howard Fast. Fast is really a fine fellow and his conviction is most unjust. I wonder if you could not arrange to have THE COURIER print at least a part of this letter. I think it would be a tribute to the author of FREEDOM ROAD.

The conviction of these men had nothing to do with Communism. They were helping the Spanish Revolution by collecting money.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Pittsburgh Courier

POST OFFICE BOX 1828
PITTSBURGH 30, PA.
MAyflower 1401

Office of the
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

June
29
1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
The N.A.A.C.P.,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York, N. Y.

23-17-2

Dear Dr. BuBois:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 23 and the enclosure written by Howard Fast.

Personally, I should like to do whatever I might to help Mr. Fast. I know how he and others are being victimized.

However, I do not know just what I can do in The Courier without creating an issue. There is so much dust in the air these days your motives are obscured and impugned. I shall mull over the Fast letter for a few days and do whatever I can with the hope of not making bad matters worse.

Yours very truly,

P. L. Prattis

P. L. Prattis, Executive Editor
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

PLP/fej

[PM Magazine]

May 12, 1948

Mr. Joseph Barnes
Editor of PM
164 Duane Street
New York 13, New York

Sir:

In your plans for reorganizing PM, may I make a suggestion? The role which Africa is going to play in the modern world is increasing in importance. The newspapers of the United States omit most that is going on there. Only a few matters from Africa are considered news.

23-26-27

I wonder, however, if it would not be wise for a forward-looking newspaper, about one a week, to make a summary of significant happenings in Africa: of the unrest in British West Africa; of the steps being taken to make East Africa an outpost of the reorganized British Empire; of the election which is pending in South Africa; of the industrial organization in South West Africa; and of a number of movements in Ethiopia and Liberia?

It seems to me that a short weekly article, perhaps no more than a half or quarter of a column would prepare the world and your readers for the role that Africa is destined to play in the near future, and would also be interesting reading.

If you think this idea is of any worth, I should be glad to talk to you about it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

February 25, 1948

Mr. and Mrs. Langdon Post
2682 Filbert Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Post:

Your air mail letter to Dr. DuBois has come since his departure on a lecture tour that will take him to the West Coast. In accordance with your instructions, I am forwarding the letter.

When Doctor arrives in San Francisco, he may be reached at the Palace Hotel, or you may contact him through Dr. David Jenkins, California Labor School, 240 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Card sent 5-7-48

PRENTICE P-H HALL, INC.
70 Fifth Ave. New York 11, N.Y.

May 6, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Instructor:

Recently we had the pleasure of sending you an examination copy of NEWS OF THE NATION

We are wondering if we can be of assistance to you in your examination of this text. Perhaps you have some questions about the book that you would like to have answered.

If, on the other hand, you have already finished your evaluation, will you take a moment to give us your opinion of the book on the enclosed card? We would also like to know if and when you expect to adopt this book for use in your classes.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

L. H. Merchant

L. H. Merchant, Manager
School Textbook Division

23c - 29-19

CLARK COLLEGE

Clark University was founded as a co-educational institution in 1869 by the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The University was changed in 1940 to Clark College. Clark College is rated as an "A" class four-year college by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern states.

R. & R. NEWS CO., ATLANTA, GA.

GENUINE CURTEICH-CHICAGO "C.T. ART-COLORTONE" POST CARD REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

ATLANTA GA
AUG 18
1948

A.M.

POST CARD

Having a nice vacation. The days are just rolling by too quickly.

Sincerely,
Jennie Pritchard

Mr. + Mrs. Hugh Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue
New York 35, N.Y.
Apt 2-C

165—Campus Scene, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia

Reg for Info

2514 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland
April 18, 1948

22-39-69

Mr. Hugh Smythe
N. A. A. C. P. Building
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Please send me any material that you have available on segregation. It can be in the form of clippings, pictures and pamplets.

I shall certainly appreciate this favor at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,
Mrs. Grace Proctor

22-39-70

April 19, 1948

Mrs. Grace Proctor
2514 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Proctor:

I have just received your letter of April 18, and I want to thank you for writing. Unfortunately, the material we have on segregation is not for distribution, since we have only single copies and our clipping material is for our office reference. However, I am going to forward your request to Miss Julia Baxter of this organization, and she should have some pamphlets and other information which I believe you will find quite helpful.

It would be advisable to write, also, to Congress of Racial Equality, 2929 Broadway; National Urban League, 1133 Broadway; Common Ground, 20 West 40th Street; and Federal Council of Churches, Race Relations Bureau, 297 Fourth Avenue. All of these are in New York, New York. From these places you will receive material that will serve your purpose well.

If we can be of further service, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:S

22-39-91

January 5, 1948

Mr. C. B. Baldwin
Executive Vice Chairman
Progressive Citizens of America
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Sir:

I am very strongly of the opinion that Henry Wallace should run as an independent candidate for president for 1948.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-39-89

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PCA | Progressive Citizens of America

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. * MU 3-5580

January 6, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter in which you say you strongly approve Mr. Wallace's decision to run as an independent candidate for president.

I have told Mr. Wallace about your letter and he has asked me to express his gratitude to you. This will be a tough fight and you may be sure that we will call on you for all the help you can possibly give us in this most important campaign.

Sincerely yours,

C B Baldwin

C. B. Baldwin
Executive Vice Chairman

Honorary Chairman
JO DAVIDSON

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PCA | *Progressive Citizens of America*

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. * MU ~~3-5580~~ 6-5300

Lecture

January 23,1948

23-38-98

Dr. W.E Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York,N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are very glad indeed that you are able to speak in Baltimore under the auspices of our chapter there on Friday evening , January 30th. As I told you on the telephone, the meeting is to take the form of a Roosevelt Memorial with a very special emphasis on the fact what better memorial to F.D.R. is there than working with and for Henry A. Wallace.

As I understand it we will of course take care of your traveling expenses plus $ 25.00 for additional expenses.

Would you please give every consideration to getting to Baltimore in time for a small reception around 5 P.M. the day of the event. We feel it most important that a few key figures that cannot make the evening meeting get to shake hands with you -- say a few words. We will see to it that you have ample time to rest before your evening stint. You are last on the program.

I'll be in touch with you next week on transportation.

Cordially yours,

Theodora Peck

Theodora M.Peck
Speakers Bureau

tmp:st
uopwa # 16

Lzetur2

PCA | Progressive Citizens of America

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. * MU 3-5580

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22-33-12

January 27, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please forgive me for not calling you back immediately today. I was tied up with a meeting.

I have informed Henry Beitcher, our Maryland State Director, that you will call him at Lexington 7304 (Baltimore) sometime Friday afternoon, January 30.

There is a dinner scheduled at 6:00 PM at the Sussman-Lev Banquet Hall, 923 East Baltimore Street, and the mass meeting at 8:30 takes place at the NMU Hall, 1012 East Baltimore Street. Leo Krzycki and Harold Buchman are also on the program. You will be the last speaker, and it would be fine if you could speak for about half an hour.

As I told you, it is a memorial to Roosevelt, with of course special emphasis on all progressives' part in the Wallace campaign.

If you will send me your expenses for the trip, I will mail you a check for that and the $25 sometime next week.

Many, many thanks. We are very proud that you are going to be with us.

Cordially,

Theodora M. Peck

Theodora M. Peck
Speakers' Bureau

uopwa/16

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~~BEITCHER~~

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Lecture

[Progressive Citizens of America]

February 2, 1948

Miss Theodora Peck
205 East 42nd Street (Progressive Citizens of America)
New York, New York

Daar Miss Peck:

Following is the information I think you will need in making out the check for Dr. DuBois in connection with the Baltimore address of January 30.

Fee.....$25.00

Travel Exp... 17.60

Total...$42.60

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

hhs;lm

22-33

[Progressive Citizens of America]

February 25, 1948

Miss Theodora Peck
Progressive Citizens of America
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Peck:

As yet we have no record of having received a check for Dr. Du Bois' appearance in Baltimore on January 30. It may be that your communication has gotten lost in the mails. At any rate, I thought you would like to know this.

May I have an early reply from your office concerning this matter?

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

[Progressive Citizens of America]

NATIONAL *Wallace for President* COMMITTEE

39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. • MU 3-5580

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March 3,1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Enclosed find a check for $ 42.60 for Dr. DuBois's appearance in Baltimore, Md on Jan 30th. Please forgive us for not sending it sooner but our bookkeeping department like every other department is under staffed and therefore way behind in its operation and as the weeks roll by we of course increase our activities which does not help the general situation.

Again many many thanks for Dr. DuBois's fine contribution.

Cordially yours,

Theodora M. Peck
Speakers Bureau

tmp:sg
uopwa # 16

[Progressive Citizens of America]

March 4, 1948

Miss Theodora M. Peck
39 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Peck:

Thank you for your letter of March 3 with the enclosed check to Dr. DuBois. I understand the reason for your delay and sympathize with your position. I hope that it will improve in the future.

Sincerely y urs,

Hugh M. Smythe

HMS:LM

23C - 38 - 42

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22-39

PCA | Progressive Citizens of America

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. * MU 3-5580

April 6, 1948

TO: All members of
PCA Board of Directors

FROM: Craig Vincent
Executive Director

There will be a meeting of the National Board of Directors of PCA on Saturday, May 8th at 2:00 P.M. in the board room, National PCA headquarters, 39 Park Avenue, New York City.

New party organizations have been started in many states, and state Wallace for President Committees have been started in most others. Therefore, the main subject for discussion by the PCA Board at its meeting will be to consider the PCA organization in the light of the organizational report adopted at the National Convention, and the events which have taken place since then.

We are anxious to have the fullest possible representation from state organizations, and I hope very much that you can be present.

Doctor:-
You will be enroute to Cleveland on this date (May 8) to speak on the 9th

[Enclosure?]

PCA

National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions
39 Park Avenue, N.Y.C.

Dr. Harlow Shapley, Chairman

I vote YES_____ NO_____

on the following paragraph in the resolution of April 6th, 1948 submitted to all members of the National ASP Council:

"Be it resolved, therefore, that in accordance with the policy voted in Chicago last January, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions immediately confer with the National Board of PCA with a view to the establishment of an independent organigation to be known as the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and that all local ASP Councils hold similar conferences with state or local PCA chapters, where they still exist, in order to effectuate similar action. It is our hope that the independent National Council of ASP can be established early in May."

COMMENTS:

SIGNED: Name_____

Address_____

_____

22-39

22-39-88

New York State Chapter **PCA** | PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS of AMERICA

39 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. ★ MUrray Hill 6-5300

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Treasurer
ABRAHAM L. POMERANTZ

April 12, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Dubois:

You have been elected to the Executive Board of the Literature Division PCA. Our first meeting will be held at the home of Horace Titus, 322 East 50th Street, at 5:30 P.M., Thursday, April 15.

At this meeting the Board will elect Co-Chairmen and discuss both long range plans for the Division and our activities in the Wallace campaign. We feel that you can contribute a great deal to this discussion and hope that you will be able to attend.

Cordially,

Howard Fast

mt

Howard Fast, Maxim Lieber

Maxim Lieber

(PROG. PARTY, 1948)

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

23-27a-23

FACT SHEET
ON
U. S. - U.S.S.R. RELATIONS

Introductory Note

Every time an opponent succeeds in switching the discussion about presidential elections in the U. S. on to problems of Russian internal politics or Soviet behavior in international relations, he scores a tactical victory, no matter how successfully you counter his arguments.

If you are not equipped to shatter his assertion, the attention of the audience is diverted from the problems of this country to real or imagined faults of the Soviet government, while you and the candidate you promote suddenly find yourselves in the position of scapegoats for the government of another country.

Even if you destroy every argument, you inevitably achieve this result only through explaining and justifying the actions of the Soviets. Thus, although a winner in the struggle of facts and ideas, you indirectly (in the minds of the public) concede to the adversaries one very important point — by appearing to be an apologist for another government.

All such attempts by opponents should be countered by a reminder that we are not discussing elections in the Moscow Soviet and therefore Stalin's shortcomings are of no consequence whatsoever. What interests all of us is to improve our own government, and the discussion should bear on this and this only. As to the question of normal relations with Russia, advocated by the Progressive Party, such relations are necessary for the maintenance of peace and of American prosperity.

It must always be reiterated that we demand measures which will make our nation truly strong; that we stand for the security of the American people against all enemies. It is our opponents who would weaken the country and destroy the freedom and security of its people. The effects of their policies would include depriving our nation of allies, creating disunity among our people; subjecting them to the domination of international cartels and monopolies; destroying even our military effectiveness by building weapons which are profitable to their makers but are as ineffective as the costly Maginot line was to France.

We will talk about Russian domestic policies only because these points are raised by our opponents, often because they are trying to divert attention from the weakness of their arguments on American domestic or foreign policy issues.

Does Russia Threaten the United States?

Our opponents' whole case for militarizing the nation, including the draft, UMT, civilian censorship, the Mundt Bill, etc., rests on the assumption that Russia does threaten the United States. We must then answer the questions: Is Russia able to attack us? Does Russia wish to attack us?

Is Russia Able to Attack Us?

First of all, it must be remembered that the Soviet Union lost some 15 to 20 million lives in the last war. That is, some 40 or 50 times the casualties suffered by the United States. Over 600,000 square miles of Soviet territory with a population of 88,000,000 were occupied by enemy armies at the height of the German invasion. (Imagine if that had happened in our country, the area from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi would have been under foreign military occupation.) In this area the invaders demolished and burned, completely or partially, 1710 towns, over 70,000 villages, over 6,000,000 buildings, 31,580 industrial enterprises, 40,000 hospitals and medical institutions, 84,000 schools, 43,000 public libraries, 98,000 collective farms — and deprived 25,000,000 people of their homes.

(more)

Soviet industry and agriculture were bled white. Russia lost at least 10 years of her industrial progress, while the United States was the only nation on earth to increase its industrial capacity and output during the war. Russian production of "the sinews of war" -- steel, oil, and electric power -- cannot catch up with American capacity for many years, despite the fact of an unprecedented rate of expansion in the Soviet Union.

Russia does not encircle the United States with bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guatemala, lower California and British Columbia. It is we who have the circle of diplomatic, military and economic power in the Aleutians, Japan, Korea, China, Iran, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France and Western Germany. Beyond this, we devote an increasing proportion of our vast industrial power to direct war preparations, while it is known that the Soviet Union has progressively reduced her defense budget. Furthermore, in addition to our possession of the greatest navy in world history, it was publicly announced that we were continuing top-speed production of atomic bombs even before the phony "crisis" was fomented in American-Soviet relations. We still produce atomic bombs at top speed. Our question truly becomes -- who is able to attack whom?

23-27a-24

Does Russia Wish to Attack Us?

Much of this question has already been answered above, but let us assume that a country which suffered so bitterly may be eager to lose 20 or 30 million more of her lives, to see more of her cities and villages destroyed. What would be the signs of eagerness for war? One sign would be a propoganda campaign to stir up the people to hatred; yet we hear from our correspondents in Russia, that the Russian people are indoctrinated to fight for only one thing--defense of their own land. They literally danced in the streets, as did people all over Europe, when the Smith-Molotov exchange briefly relieved their terrible fear of an American attack.

Alexander Werth, Manchester Guardian correspondent, recently reported from Moscow that there was less war talk there than in any capital in the world. Where do you find a campaign of hatred? Read your own newspaper. No Russian leader or public figure has ever proposed "to drop a few atomic bombs" on the White House. It was former Governor Earle who first proposed this indecent onslaught against the Russian people. Similar ideas have frequently been expressed in the press, over the radio, from public platforms and even in the Halls of Congress.

Is Russia Aggressive?

It has frequently been charged that Russia has seized some 250,000 square miles of territory since the beginning of the war. It is forgotten that after World War 1, her territorial losses amounted to 330,000 square miles. Actually, since its establishment, the Soviet Union has suffered a net territorial loss of 80,000 square miles. In addition to the former Russian territory regained, the USSR's territorial acquisitions since the beginning of the war have been small areas directly contiguous to Soviet territory, granted by direct agreement with her wartime allies, with the sole exception of tiny Tannu Tuva (64,000 square miles) on the border of Mongolia, whose economy and population were already completely integrated with the USSR.

The "evidence" offered of Russian "aggression" is usually the Soviet absorption of the Baltic states, the 1939 war against Finland, her occupation of Western Poland during the war, the return to Russia of the Western Ukraine, Western Byelo Russia, and Bessarabia. Most recently, the change in the Czechoslovakian government has been cited as "Russian aggression."

Every responsible historian has stated and restated the obvious as to the Baltic states, Finland and Poland. Having pleaded for many years for collective security, only to see Britain, France and the United States aiding the Nazis, and finally betraying Czechoslovakia at Munich, the Soviet Union was forced to defend herself against certain attack. Later, it became clear that in defending herself, she served to protect those who later became her allies. First, Russia moved to reoccupy a part of the territory stolen from her by the brutal treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Finland was a fascist military base, as close to Leningrad as White Plains is to New York. Even Winston Churchill, arch-enemy of the Soviet Union, admits in his memoirs that the merging of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union was of great and direct military benefit to the allies long before the Soviet Union was attacked.

Only the Polish fascists claim that Russia "attacked" Poland. The Polish people, and particularly the Jews, know that Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland saved millions of Poles and hundreds of thousands of Jews from enslavement or extermination. Hitler even cited these moves in his declaration of war

(more)

as an indication of Russian hostility to Germany.

After their first drive across Poland, which kept the Nazi armies from occupying all of Poland and reaching the Soviet borders at that time, the Red Army withdrew to the Curzon line. This was the line which was considered the rightful Soviet border by the Allies after World War 1. The Poles in an unprovoked war of aggression in 1920 had driven deep into Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia, and seized and kept control of this territory, splitting its population away from Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelo-Russia. The Red Army in 1939 thus remained in occupation only of those territories legitimately a part of the USSR, and in subsequent plebiscites the population overwhelmingly voted to rejoin respectively the Soviet Ukranian and Soviet Byelo-Russian Republics. An agreement on population transfer permitted the minority of Poles inhabiting those areas to be repatriated into Poland proper.

The Baltic states, along with Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia, were amputated from Russia following World War 1 when the western powers sought to crush the Bolshevik Revolution. The United States did not at first recognize the "independence" of the Baltic states, asking, rather, in the words of Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, that:

> ....the territorial integrity and true boundaries of Russia shall be respected. These boundaries should properly include the whole of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland, and such territory as may by agreement form a part of the Armenian state.

In the case of Finland, all the USSR asked were those territories within artillery range of Leningrad, a base in the Gulf of Finland, and the return of Petsamo — all of which, as shown in the war when Finland was Hitler's ally, were essential for Soviet security and so recognized by her allies.

In the case of Bessarabia, this territory was simply stolen from Russia by Romania after the first World War. The United States never recognized the Romanian annexation of Bessarabia. When the Red Army liberated Bessarabia there was no question on the part of the allies that it should be reunited with the USSR.

The United States Army gave what should have been a final answer on the question of Russian "aggressiveness" during the war, in its Fact Sheet #53, "Checking the Score on Our Soviet Ally," which declared:

> On its record the Soviet policy has had a clear and realistic aim. Its avowed policy has been peace through international collective security, if possible, or strong defense by its own efforts if collective security failed. Originally left out of the League of Nations, the Soviet joined in 1934. During the next five years it took a strong stand for collective action against the series of aggressions by Italy into Ethiopia, by Japan into China, and by Germany and Italy into Spain.

There is absolutely no evidence that the Soviet Union has a different policy now.

What About the Russian "Conquest" of Czechoslovakia?

There certainly was no Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia in any way comparable to the Truman Doctrine intervention in Greece. Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, former British intelligence agent, admitted of the recent Czech developments in the July 1948 Foreign Affairs that "Russia neither instigated the action nor chose the moment." The change was, he said, "a spontaneous and quickly organized counterstroke to a legitimate but inept tactical move by the anti-Communist ministers."

It is worth emphasizing that the recent Czech crisis was started by the abrupt withdrawal of rightists from the United Front Government, in which they had important posts, despite the fact that the Communist Party was the largest in the country.

At any rate, the crisis was created by the Czech rightists, as Lockhart and other American and English observers admit. It would seem that if the shift in Czechoslovakia was a Communist or Russian "plot," they would have

(more)

chosen the time and place for it -- not their adversaries. Why did the rightists destroy the coalition government when they did?

Obviously because they had been promised the same backing which the Truman-Marshall-Forrestal forces had already given rightists in France, and Italy, where U. S. pressure admittedly had forced the Communists out of the government.

P3-27-26

It is a matter of record that U. S. Ambassador Lawrence Steinhardt declared on his arrival in Prague the day before the Rightists ministers resigned: "I have not lost all hope that Czechoslovakia will reconsider her decision and participate directly in the Marshall plan." Steinhardt insisted, by the way, that this statement be published. Under the circumstances, it was a provocative statement. The U. S. Government had made perfectly clear that countries in whose governments Communists participated could not come into the Marshall Plan. Therefore, Steinhardt's openly expressed hope for a reversal of the Czech position was synonymous to suggesting a new Czech government excluding the Communists.

That Czech rightists should receive U. S. backing in their plans to oust the Communists from the Czech government can surprise no one -- since the U. S. has intervened openly throughout the world in behalf of the most discredited fascists and reactionaries who claim to be fighting Communism.

Won't Russia "Bore from Within" by means of the Communist Party?

Our opponents must have very little confidence in the strength of our institutions if they believe a tiny handful of Communist Party members can overturn the most powerful nation on earth with no other weapons but pens, pencils and mimeographs.

The claim is often made that the American Communist Party is dominated by Russia. This view ignores the historically established fact that Communism is a product of social and economic conditions and has never been imposed from above or abroad. Parties based on Communist ideology existed in many countries, including the United States, long before the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. That there are strong ties of sympathy between the Soviet Union and Communist parties elsewhere in the world, including the United States, is certainly true. But this does not make the Communists foreign agents; American Communism has its roots in our own history, and if it has remained a small party with minority influence it is because our democratic American institutions have been flexible and capable of growing to meet a changing world. Our problem is to keep them so and not to fall for the Red bogey of Adolph Hitler.

Is There Any Difference Between Russia and Nazi Germany? Between Stalin and Hitler?

This question most clearly demonstrates the purposes of the warmongers. Their argument is that since we fought Nazi Germany we must therefore fight the Soviet Union. The difference is vast. If one seeks interests which are identical with Nazi interests, one finds them first and foremost among the international Wall Street financiers. whose money helped build the Nazi war machine and who now work to rebuild it. Not with their own money, but with the peoples' money. Every responsible historian and scholar knows that a comparison of fascist Germany to Socialist Russia is false. Perhaps it is enough, however, to refer again to the official statement of the United States Government, to the State Department, and to the War Department during the war.

In Fact Sheet #53, issued by the War Department and approved by the State Department, the above question was asked. The answer reads in part:

> The Nazi idea is that Germany and the whole world must be ruled by a little clique of greedy men for the benefit of a small group. This clique never intends to relinquish its power. It is not interested in improving the lot of the ordinary people. It is interested only in war, plunder, and world power.
>
> The Soviet idea is that the dictatorship must serve the people. There is no 'master race' idea in the Soviet Union; all people are considered equal. Working conditions were constantly being improved before the war, at a time when the Nazis were ruthlessly destroying the German labor unions and turning their own people into slave laborers.

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> The Soviet government raised the status of women to equality with men, while the Nazis considered women fit only to breed children. The Soviet government increased the number of school children by 400%, and of college students by 800 per cent, while the Nazis cut the number of students in Germany by more than half.
>
> The Soviet government has as its goal the building of a better, happier country for its people. The Nazi government has as its goal the building of a powerful war machine that will plunder the world to enrich Germany.

However one may differ with the Soviet conception of democracy and however far they may be from reaching their ultimate goal, it is important to note that in all basic speeches and writings of Soviet leaders, the expansion of democracy in its most far-reaching sense is stressed as a basic aim of Soviet society. Contrast this with the attitude of the fascist states, that democracy is permanently finished as a way of life. Mussolini called democracy a "putrid corpse", and Hitler insisted that the Nazi form of government would last 1000 years.

Are Soviet Trade Unions Free?

Trade unions in Russia naturally differ in some respects from trade unions here. For example, unions are encouraged, do not have to fight for recognition, and most workers are members. But a CIO delegation, sent to the Soviet Union in the fall of 1945 to determine the character of Soviet trade unions, found that:

> While there are many obvious differences in the systems and governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, we found parallels in the functioning of labor unions in both countries, as indeed throughout the world.

The Report, written by the Secretary Treasurer of the CIO, James Carey, declared further:

> We were impressed with the character of the Soviet trade unions, with their many excellent activities in promoting the interest of the workers, in the economic, social, welfare and cultural fields -- as well as with the most far-reaching character of the social insurance system they operate, which is designed to protect working people and their families against all contingencies from the cradle to the grave.

The CIO Report explained the functioning of the Soviet trade union set-up: there are 168 All-Union industrial unions. Union elections are by secret ballot. A convention of each industrial union must be held at least once every two years. Union dues amount to approximately one per cent of wages. Wages and working conditions are covered by collective agreements.

More than 25,000 such agreements were signed in 1947 between enterprises and unions in the USSR. About 90 per cent of the 14 million workers affected reportedly attended meetings at which the agreements were discussed.

There is no anti-strike legislation in the USSR, but strikes seldom occur. This may be traced to the fact that the machinery for handling disputes is respected by both sides and insures equality of bargaining. Every American worker knows that the Wagner and Norris-LaGuardia Acts which upheld collective bargaining and gave workers something approaching equality of bargaining position tended to lessen the number of strikes, while the Taft-Hartley Act which took these rights away has increased them.

Why Did Russia and the Countries of Eastern Europe Refuse to Participate in the Marshall Plan?

When the conference of Three Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and the USSR met in Paris, in June, 1947, Molotov arrived accompanied by 89 experts, a move suggesting a readiness to participate. This in spite of the fact that the invitation to Molotov came after Bevin and Bidault had already met, and after Bevin in the House of Commons had delivered a violent tirade against the USSR. After Molotov walked out of the conference, Frederick Kuh sent a dispatch

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from Paris, published in PM and the Chicago Sun, July 3, 1947, saying:

> Thus ends the Save-Europe Conference which, on the basis of private remarks made to this correspondent by high participating officials, was from start to finish a sham. According to top flight American, British and French authorities in Europe, Bevin and Bidault knew that the American Congress would refuse the money to finance any European Recovery Program in which Russia played a major part. Therefore, the same officials said, Bevin and Bidault had to await the best opportunity Molotov offered them to exclude Russia and go ahead without her.

Testimony before Congressional Committees by government officials and the debates in Congress made clear that ERP funds would be withheld from countries friendly to the Soviet Union and with Communists influential in their government.

When Molotov arrived in Paris, he expressed support for a plan of American economic aid for the rehabilitation of the national economies of the European countries, based on their actual needs -- with priority to the victims of Axis aggression -- and in no way infringing on their sovereignty or interfering with their own economic plans.

But when he heard the details of the plan already drawn up by Bevin and Bidault after discussion with U. S. Under-Secretary of State Clayton (this plan has been followed pretty closely in subsequent developments), Molotov, according to his statements made at the time, found these features objectionable:

> The Steering Committee which would have power to intervene in the affairs of Marshall Plan countries.
>
> The danger represented by such an organization of splitting Europe into two groups of states and creating new difficulties in their relations.
>
> The idea that the United States and not the European countries themselves would have the decisive role in restoring their economic life.
>
> The proposal that the possibility of obtaining American credits should be linked with obedient behavior toward the proposed organization.
>
> Failure to differentiate among Allied States, former enemy states and neutral states and to give first consideration to those which had suffered from aggression.
>
> By-passing of the European Economic Commission of the United Nations.
>
> Most important, perhaps, the plan to rebuild German industry at the expense of the needs of other countries and to use the Ruhr resources as the heart of the program, while reparations claims of the countries suffering from German aggression were still unsatisfied. The by-passing of established procedures for concluding the peace treaty with Germany, while continuing plans for a separate Western Germany and integrating it into the Recovery Program, instead of seeking the restoration of a united, democratic German state.

Mr. Molotov offered a counter-plan, but the western powers refused even to discuss it. Western Germany -- the puppet "Trizonia" -- now gets a good share of ERP aid.

What About the Veto in the UN Security Council?

The word "veto" does not appear anywhere in the UN Charter. It is newspaper shorthand for the "principle of unanimity" which governs the voting of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

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The "principle of unanimity" is nothing new in international organizations; it is simply the principle that no nation can be legally bound by decisions reached without its consent. In the late League of Nations, every nation-- big and small -- had the right of veto over any decision.

The sad history of the League led the founders of the UN to seek a revision of this rule. It was obvious to Roosevelt and the Allied leaders, however, that the other extreme-- majority rule -- could not be applied in a world setup of more than 50 sovereign or semi-sovereign states, each of different size, industrial and military strength, and with different political and social systems. So a compromise was found in the introduction of a new body -- the Security Council which alone could impose sanctionsagainst aggressors. To be binding, decisions of the Security Council had to obtain not only the necessary majority of votes, but also the unanimous support of the five permanent members.

It is well to remember that this procedure for voting was proposed by President Roosevelt. It was admitted that the United States would not enter the United Nations unless its sovereignty was protected by the veto, that it would not put itself in the position of being bound by decisions reached by other nations with which it was not in agreement.

From the beginning the United States has been in a position where it can muster a mechanical majority against the Soviet Union in the Security Council. This mechanical majority, however, as the conservative columnist Walter Lippman has frequently admitted, is not a democratic majority, for the voting of states cannot be equated to the voting of individuals. The mechanical majority in the Security Council would simply exclude from any voice in the decisions reached the hundreds of millions of people who live in the Soviet sphere.

Have the Russians Abused The Veto?

The Russians have used the veto 26 times (as of July 1, 1948). This use of the veto reflects the fact that the UN has not been, as the Charter declared it should be, "a center for harmonizing the actions of nations." The blame for the failure of the UN to become such a center cannot be determined by employing the mechanical criterion of the use or non-use of the veto. It is necessary to study the concrete policies and actions of the great powers.

Those who talk about Soviet vetoes rarely if ever mention the issues in which the Soviet Union has used the veto.

Of the 26 vetoes, four have been used against "deals" with Franco Spain.

Six Soviet vetoes have been used in an effort to block alien military intervention in behalf of the Greek fascists and Nazi collaborators against the Greek people.

Eleven Soviet vetoes have been used on the question of admitting new members. The applications of Trans-Jordan (where Britain's puppet King Abdullah rules supreme), of Portugal (a fascist dictatorship), and of Ireland, were twice rejected by Soviet vetoes (a total of six). At the same time, the U. S. was responsible for the rejection of Albania and Outer Mongolia. The Soviet Union also vetoed the applications of Italy (three times), of Austria and Finland -- because of the U. S. refusal to stand by the Potsdam agreement which provided for the admission of all five former enemy states when the peace treaties went into effect. The U. S. and Britain sought to admit only those under western influence.

Two Soviet vetoes were used to block an investigation of the February change of government in Prague. One was used in the question of the withdrawal of French and British troops from Syria and Lebanon (Feb. 1946), when the USSR opposed an American proposal to let France make its withdrawal conditional on economic and strategic concessions from Syria and Lebanon. And another to block a British resolution finding Albania guilty of knowledge of the placing of mines in Corfu Channel, although no proof was produced to that effect.

On June 22, 1948, the Soviet Union vetoed approval of the U. S. plan for atomic energy which included suspension of the Atomic Energy Commission.

This record of Soviet vetoes hardly substantiates the charge that the USSR has abused the veto or has sought to disrupt the UN.

Why Did the USSR Reject the Baruch Plan on Atom Bombs?

This is a part of the record of the Soviet Union on the question of disarmament. The Soviet Union initiated a drive for world-wide disarmament right

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after the first World War. When this failed, it tried to unite the countries of the world against the growing threat of fascism by a system of collective security. This also failed, and the world paid the price. With the main strength of fascism destroyed in World War II, Russia again proposed disarmament, proposed to destroy all atom bombs and other weapons of mass destruction, and to develop atomic energy for the betterment of mankind.

Henry Wallace, in his famous Atomic Energy Letter to President Truman in the summer of 1946, pointed to a "fatal defect" in the American plan for control of atomic energy. He said:

> That defect is the scheme, as it is generally understood, of arriving at international agreements by "easy stages" of requiring other nations to enter binding commitments not to conduct research into the military uses of atomic energy and to disclose their uranium and thorium resources while the United States retains the right to withhold its technical knowledge of atomic energy until the international control and inspection system is working to our satisfaction. In other words, we are telling the Russians that if they are 'good boys' we may eventually turn over our knowledge of atomic energy to them and to the other nations. But there is no objective standard of what will qualify them as being 'good' nor any specified time for sharing our knowledge."
>
> Is it any wonder that the Russians did not show any great enthusiasm for our plan? Would we have been enthusiastic if the Russians had a monopoly of atomic energy, and offered to share the information with us at some indefinite time in the future at their discretion if we agreed now not to try to make a bomb and give them information on our secret resources of uranium and thorium? I think we would react as the Russians appear to have done. We would have put up counter proposals for the record, but our real effort would go into trying to make a bomb so that our bargaining position would be equalized.

The Soviet Union has consistently made a distinction, which the Baruch plan did not, between atomic energy as a means of destruction and atomic energy for peaceful construction. That is why it has proposed as the essential first step a convention for the prohibition of atomic weapons, destruction of existing stocks, and the use of atomic fuel for peaceful purposes only. It has conceded the necessity of international control to guard against the violations of this convention. It has opposed the turning over of management of the production of atomic energy to an international commission as going far beyond the right of inspection and in violation of its own and other nations' sovereign right to utilize atomic energy for industrial and other peaceful purposes.

Did the Soviet Union Start the Cold War?

The American Government today blames the Soviet Union for starting the cold war. But Let's look at the record:

The first big snag in our relations with our wartime allies took place at the London Conference of Foreign Ministers in the fall of 1945. John Foster Dulles played a leading role in this conference. Headline writers blamed Russia for the failure of the Conference, but American and British correspondents admitted in their dispatches that Anglo-American failure to abide by the Potsdam agreement really broke up the conference.

For example, in the New York Times, October 3, 1945, Herbert Matthews, in a dispatch from London, declared that, "in fact the conference broke down over that issue." It seems clear, he added,

> that the Americans and British at Potsdam did not realize clearly the implications of the agreements they reached... It is on the basis of the Potsdam text that Russia insists on holding the peace machinery to the Big Three, and all efforts of the Americans and British to break down that line failed.

At the time of Truman's open proclamation of the Cold War, in the Truman Doctrine, well informed Washington columnists revealed that the Cold War had been decided upon during the 1945 Conference in London.

Arthur Krock in the New York Times, March 22, 1947, revealed that "as long ago as the London Conference of Foreign Ministers, "the president "began to abandon...official treatment of Russia as a government friendly to

the United States." Krock added: "He made up his mind then that when a fitting opportunity arose, and one which Congress and the people would recognize as such, he would proclaim the new doctrine. On several occasions he thought the time had come, but some of his important advisers talked him out of it."

The cold war is the result of the reversal of Roosevelt's policy of collaboration with our wartime allies by the bankers and generals who took over the government after he died, rather than of Russia's so-called drive for conquest.

Of course the Russians are not without blame in their situation, but the atmosphere of distrust created by the cold war - the atmosphere that leads to provocations by both sides, was essentially initiated by the Republican-Democratic coalition.

Has the USSR Violated Agreements as the State Department Charges?

The State Department in an effort to justify its refusal to talk peace with the Soviet Union has charged the Soviet Union with 37 violations of agreements. These alleged violations deal almost exclusively with problems of the peace settlement arising from World War II. Eleven of the 37 alleged violations concern the former Axis satellite countries. The charge is, in sum, that contrary to agreement, the Russians failed to consult with us about occupation policies in Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria prior to the conclusion of the peace treaties with these countries.

What are the facts? The Russians did not act in a vaccum. The first satellite country to be occupied was Italy. It was the U. S. and England which established in Italy a policy of non-consultation with the Russians on occupation policy. The U. S. and Britain didn't consult with Moscow before putting one of Mussolini's generals, Badoglio, in charge of the Italian government. They acted unilaterally in disarming the Italian partisans who were the only Italians to fight on our side against the Axis and the only group which could form the nucleus of a democratic army. They didn't consult with the Russians before handing back big factories in Italy to Pierelli, Montecatini, Fiat, and other great industrialists who had put Mussolini in power, or before giving back the big estates to the feudal landowners who have kept the Italian peasant in misery for centuries.

Once the State Department started a policy of non-consultation with the Russians in Italy, it could hardly expect the Russians to do otherwise in the eastern countries.

The State Department charges seven alleged violations by the Russians concerning Austria. The list does not even discuss the main Austrian problem — the tragic failure to conclude a peace treaty and end the occupation of Austria more than three years after the end of the fighting in Europe.

For months, negotiations for an Austrian peace treaty were held up by wrangling over the claims of the American oil companies to properties in Austria. According to statistics submitted by the oil companies to the U. S. Treasury Department, their total investment in Austria was less than five million dollars.

But in the peace treaty negotiations, the State Department claimed for the Socony Vacuum Oil Company and its European cartel partner, Royal Dutch Shell, properties valued at more than $56 million.

After the breakdown of the Foreign Ministers Conference in London in December 1947, discussions on an Austrian peace treaty were resumed. In these discussions, the Russians repeatedly reduced their economic claims for German-owned assets in Austria as provided in the Potsdam agreement. They first reduced their claim to a level which the Austrian government declared satisfactory. But the United States, which had posed as the protector of Austrian interests, refused to accept this settlement. The Russians then reduced their demands even further. But State Department policy was to block any agreement, and so none has been reached. Furthermore, we should not forget that the United States took the initiative in breaking off the negotiations.

Ten alleged Soviet violations concern Germany. One of these terrible offenses listed by the State Department reads as follows: "Soviet authorities have permitted the state governments of Brandenburg and Saxony-Anhalt to grant partial tax exemptions to large groups of wage and salary earners in violation of this legislation."

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While the U. S. Government castigates the Russians for lowering taxes for German workers, its representatives in Germany appoint former Nazi industrialists to key positions in the political and economic setup of western Germany. The basic facts of our own government's policy in Germany have been in complete and fundamental violation of the spirit and principles of the Potsdam agreement for the democratization and denazification of Germany. The U. S. Military Government in Germany — in violation of the Potsdam agreement — has refused to pay reparations not only to Russia but to the Western European countries which were supposed to get most of the surplus equipment and coal from Western Germany.

Other alleged violations specified by the State Department concern Korea and Manchuria. Here again the State Department employs the technique of picking details out of context and presenting these without reference to actual existing situations, and without reference to America's own policy or actions.

What Specifically Can Be Done to Ease Existing Tensions?

Henry Wallace has given a specific program for accomplishing this. In his Open Letter to Premier Stalin he proposed definitive, decisive steps looking towards the following major objectives:

1. General reduction of armaments — outlawing all methods of mass destruction.

2. Stopping the export of weapons by any nation to any other nation.

3. The resumption of unrestricted trade (except for goods related to war) between the two countries.

4. The free movement of citizens, students and newspaper men between and within the two countries.

5. The resumption of free exchange of scientific information and scientific material between the two nations.

6. The re-establishment of a re-invigorated UNRRA or the constitution of some other United Nations agency for the distribution of international relief.

Henry Wallace concludes:

There is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the USA and the USSR which can be settled by force or fear, and there is no difference which cannot be settled by peaceful, hopeful negotiations. There is no American principle or public interest, and there is no Russian principle or public interest which would have to be sacrificed to end the cold war and open up the Century of Peace which the Century of the Common Man demands.

Premier Stalin, who has frequently spoken of the need and desirability for friendly relations between the U. S. and the USSR, accepted Mr. Wallace's proposals as a basis for discussion between the two powers.

SEE PROGRESSIVE PARTY PLATFORM.

[PROG. PARTY, 1948]

PROGRESSIVE PARTY, Public Relations Dept., 39 Park Ave., New York 16, N.Y.

IF PUTTING OUT A LEAFLET IS A HEADACHE FOR YOU....

THIS IS WHAT THE DOCTOR ORDERS!

ALREADY-CUT STENCILS

23c-32-25

We've worked out a new method for helping you to solve one of your major headaches -- putting out local mimeographed leaflets.

We are now able to supply you with stencils upon which is already cut the artist's illustration and the headline - which is usually your biggest problem.

But not only that ... we also give you a sheet of suggested copy that follows the key idea of the illustration and headline. All you have to do is fill in a few blanks with the indicated local material, then type the completed copy on the stencil, and you have a first-rate local leaflet with your own imprint, ready for distribution!

Basic idea is to help you jump over the hurdle of getting good artwork and lettering for your leaflets, and to provide you with good ideas for handling major issues with a local slant, so that they hit home right in your own community or shop.

To show you a sample, a proof (not the stencil itself) of one of these already-cut stencils is attached, together with the sheet of suggested copy. It's a housing leaflet.

Here's how you can use these special stencils:

(1) You can follow the suggested copy closely, filling in the blanks as indicated.

(2) You can eliminate the references to local conditions if you do not know the facts, and still have a sound leaflet on a national issue.

(3) You can rewrite the suggested copy as extensively as desired, if you feel you have a better angle for local use.

(4) If you want to add more material to the end of a leaflet, to advertise some local meeting or some local candidate or give registration and voting dates and addresses, there is room to make your leaflet legal-size.

(5) If you type in your copy on the already-cut stencil, and then decide to cut out or change the wording, you can cut out the picture and headline part of the stencil and "patch" it into a fresh stencil of your own - on which you can type in your revised wording. *

(more)

From the following description of already-cut stencils, pick out those you would like to mimeograph and distribute locally. Every stencil has already-cut illustration and headline. Send in your orders for the prepared stencils and copy, at 10¢ per stencil ordered. Indicate which stencils you want by the headline.

Order from Estelle Ellis, Progressive Party, 39 Park Ave., N. Y. 16. Usual credit terms to State parties and committees only. All other groups - local committees or other organizations - must pay cash in advance or order C.O.D.

1. "HOW'S YOUR HEALTH?"

   Health's a deep concern of all people in low and middle income groups. This leaflet tackles that worry about inability to pay for medical care, shows how Wallace health insurance program would meet it, and exposes failure of old parties to provide national medical care.

2. "WHO'S CUTTING YOUR WAGES?"

   High prices approached from labor angle. Explains inflation as a cut in wages, points to unions as means of getting higher wages and workers' own party - Progressive Party - as means of bringing down prices.

3. "LET'S END THIS CIRCUS!"

   Using a political cartoon on high prices done on a circus theme, the copy shows how trusts work with old parties to boost prices, ends with Wallace program to reduce living costs.

4. "THAT APPLE FOR THE TEACHER IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN YOU THINK".

   The sad state of the public school system is tackled with low pay for teachers as the opening. Approach is directed to parents' concern for decent schooling for their own kids. Wallace program for federal aid to education is contrasted with old party do-nothing.

5. "YOU MAY HAVE TO LIVE IN A PACKING CASE ... BUT YOU DON'T HAVE TO THINK IN ONE!"

   Congress is content to let you live in a packing case or a slum because the big business pals of the Dems and Reps make more dough out of fancy housing than low-cost federal housing. Federal funds for war are compared with funds for housing and the Progressive program for 4 million homes in 2 years is closing punch for voting Wallace-Taylor.

6. "GET OUT OF THAT EASY CHAIR!"

   A Register-and-Vote leaflet that shows what it will cost you to sit tight in your easy chair and not vote.

7. "BEWARE! COMMUNISTS!"

   Tackles red-baiting problem by using concrete examples to ridicule cry of "red" at anything and everything the phonies don't like. Uses precedents in history to show how silly it was then, and how silly it is now, used against Wallace.

8. "WHAT CAN YOUR KIDS LEARN IN A SCHOOL LIKE THIS?"

   Under cartoon of a rickety old schoolhouse bursting with kids at the seams runs copy that bangs home point that we care less for educating our kids than for liquor or tobacco. Uses concrete facts about federal budget to prove it, and shows how Progressive call for real federal aid to education would give our own kids a break.

9. "THEY HELPED BUILD AMERICA ... WHAT WILL AMERICA DO FOR THEM?"

   Scandalous treatment of our senior citizens by old parties is sketched in and Progressive plank for $100 a month at 60 is made climax of leaflet.

(more)

10. "PUZZLE: FIND THE CROOK!"

Dick Tracy himself plays a part in this high prices leaflet, hunting for the thieves who steal the housewive's milk and break thru high prices. Exposes phony claims that high wages or high farm prices are responsible for inflation and puts finger on profiteering of trusts with aid of old party politicians.

* How to Patch Part of One Stencil to Another.

This is done as follows: Using a sharp knife or razor-blade, cut out the picture and headline part of the stencil, leaving a half-inch margin around them. Cut an opening in your own fresh stencil just large enough to accomodate the actual illustration and headline. Cement the illustration and headline from our stencil to your stencil by lifting its overlapping edges and applying mimeograph correction fluid — which serves as a cement — thinly all around edges of opening in stencil. Leave no uncemented surface where ink may seep through. Be sure overlapping edges are pressed tightly to cement. Allow at least 1 minute to dry and your stencil's ready for use.

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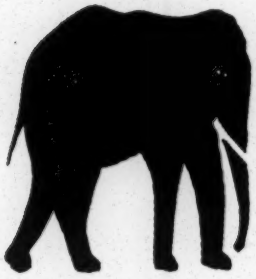
uopwa #16

[PROGRESSIVE PARTY, 1948]

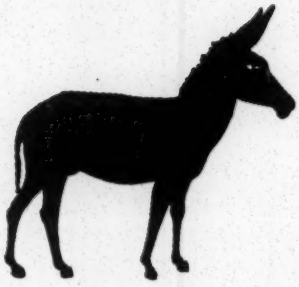
BY THEIR DEEDS SHALL YE KNOW THEM

32.25.61



AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION:

Ted Poston, Negro correspondent, wrote in the New York *Post* that Negro delegates were Jim Crowed and ignored by National Republican Committee and by candidates, and that the Platform Committee refused to hear Negro delegates plead for "performance instead of promises."



AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION:

No Negro delegates from most states; big talk - no action on civil liberties. (Two weeks later, scared by growing Wallace sentiment among leading Negro spokesmen, Truman issued phoney "request" to end discrimination in army and navy, appointed committee to "study the situation." As Commander in Chief, he has power to issue an executive order abolishing Jim Crow in armed forces, but refuses to use that power.

AT THE PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION:

This is what the PITTSBURGH COURIER (June 23rd, '48) said about the first convention of the Progressive Party which nominated Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor:

"There were Negroes in greater number in this convention than in any major party in history . . . and everywhere Negroes were found, they were treated with *dignity* and *equality* . . .

"At least eighteen Negroes addressed the Convention and for the first time in American History, a Negro acted as keynoter and temporary chairman.

"Attorney Charles P. Howard apparently voiced the feeling of Negro members of the Progressive Party when he said, *"For the first time in my life, I am experiencing human dignity."* . . .

"Songs played an important part in this convention . . . the words of one of the verses expressed the general atmosphere of the convention. It said, *'We're building, black and white together!'"*

Progressive Party 39 Park Avenue, N. Y. C. 16
Elmer A. Benson, Chairman
Clark Foreman, Treasurer

The Progressive Party demands immediate action to smash Jim Crow forever!
REGISTER and VOTE for Henry WALLACE and Glen TAYLOR

Till - Wallace

SONGS of the Progressive Party

Star-Spangled Banner

Oh! say, can you see,
By the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hail'd
At the twilight's last gleaming!
Whose broad stripes and bright stars
Thro' the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watch'd
Were so gallantly streaming;
And the rockets' red glare,
The bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thro' the night
That our flag was still there.
Oh! say, does that Star-Spangled
Banner yet wave,
O'er the land of the free,
And the home of the brave!

Oh, thus be it ever
When free men shall stand
Between their lov'd homes
And the war's desolation!
Blest with vict'ry and peace,
May the heav'n-rescued land
Praise the pow'r that hath made
And preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must,
When our cause it is just,
And this be our motto:
"In God is our trust!"

And the Star-Spangled Banner
In triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free
And the home of the brave!

2. GREAT DAY

Copyright 1948 by People's Songs, Inc.

CHORUS: (after each verse)

GREAT DAY!
GREAT DAY, THE PEOPLE MARCHING,
GREAT DAY!
WE'RE GONNA BUILD OUR COUNTRY
STRONG!

Solo: We want no cowards in our band,
Cho: WE'RE GONNA BUILD OUR COUNTRY
STRONG!
Solo: We call for valiant hearted men,
Cho: WE'RE GONNA BUILD OUR COUNTRY
STRONG!

One of these mornings bright and fair....
Truman and Dewey won't be there....

One of these mornings in our land....
We'll all be marching hand in hand....

Sing this song in every state....
Wallace and Taylor in '48....

Complete words and music for these songs available in "Songs for Wallace," (25c). Order from Progressive Party, 39 Park Avenue, N. Y. C. Choral arrangements, orchestrations, recordings and film strips available from People's Songs, Inc., 126 West 21 St., N. Y. C.

Copyright 1948, People's Songs, Inc.

[WITH ANN SMITH LETTER, OCT. 1, 1948

3. The Same Merry-go-round

Copyright 1948 by Glaser and Wolff

The donkey is tired and thin
The elephant thinks he'll move in,
They fume and they fuss
But they ain't foolin' us 'cause they're
Brothers right under the skin.

CHORUS:

IT'S THE SAME, SAME MERRY-GO-ROUND
WHICH ONE WILL YOU RIDE THIS YEAR?
THE DONKEY AND ELEPHANT BOB UP
AND DOWN
ON THE SAME MERRY-GO-ROUND.

The elephant comes from the North
The donkey may come from the South
But don't let them fool you,
Divide you and rule you—
They've got the same bit in their mouth.

CHORUS:

If you want to end up safe and sound,
Get offa the merry-go-round
To be a real smarty,
Just join the new party
And get your two feet on the ground.

CHORUS:

4. Sing Along

Copyright 1948 by Malvina Reynolds

I get butterflies in my stomach
Whenever I start to sing
And when I'm at a microphone
I shake like anything.
But if you'll sing along with me
I'll holler right out loud.
'Cause I'm awf'ly nervous, lonesome
But I'm swell when I'm a crowd.

CHORUS:

SING ALONG, SING ALONG,
AND JUST SING "LA LA LA LA LA"
IF YOU DON'T KNOW THE SONG
YOU'LL QUICKLY LEARN THE MUSIC,
YOU'LL FIND YOURSELF A WORD
'CAUSE WHEN WE SING TOGETHER
WE'LL BE HEARD.

My Congressman's important
He hob-nobs with big biz,
He soon forgets the guys and gals
Who put him where he is.
I'll just write him a letter
And tell him what I need
With a hundred thousand signatures
Why, even he can read. CHO:

5. Friendly Henry

Copyright 1948, Harburg and Agar

CHORUS:

EVERYONE WANTS WALLACE,
FRIENDLY HENRY WALLACE,
FRIENDLY HENRY WALLACE
IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

If you want the right man,
Now's the time to fight, man,—
Fight to get the right man
In the White House
Get out and shout
From every roof and steeple—
Here's a man who's of and by
And for the people. CHO:

EVERYONE WANTS WALLACE (ETC.)
IN THE BIG WHITE HOUSE

CHORUS:

EVERYONE WANTS TAYLOR,
FRIENDLY GLEN H. TAYLOR,
FRIENDLY GLEN H. TAYLOR
IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

If you want the right team,
Now's the time to fight, team
Fight to put the right team
In the White House.
Get out and shout
From every roof and steeple—
We've got the men, both of and by
And for the people. CHO:

EVERYONE WANTS TAYLOR (ETC.)
IN THE BIG WHITE HOUSE

6. Hallelujah, I'm A'Travelin'

Copyright, 1946, People's Songs, Inc.

Music: Old Hymn Tune

Stand up and rejoice!
A great day is here!
We are fighting Jim Crow,
And the Victory is near!

CHORUS:

HALLELUJAH, I'M A-TRAVELIN'
HALLELUJAH, AIN'T IT FINE?
HALLELUJAH, I'M A-TRAVELIN'
DOWN FREEDOM'S MAIN LINE!

I read in the news,
The Supreme Court has said,
"Listen here, Mister Jim Crow,
It's time you was dead." CHO:

I'm paying my fare
On the Greyhound bus line,
I'm riding the front seat
To Nashville this time. CHO:

Columbia's the gem
Of the ocean, they say,
We're fighting Jim Crow
In Columbia today. CHO:

Well, I hate Jim Crow
And Jim Crow hates me
That's why I'm fighting
For my liberty. CHO:

7. I'VE GOT A BALLOT

Tune: "I've Got Sixpence," by permission, Mutual Music. Words by Harburg and Lomax

I've got a ballot
A magic little ballot,
I've got a ballot
And it means my life.
It can bring a higher wage,
It can pension my old age,
It can make a little home for
kids and wife.

CHORUS:

The Republicans, they grieve me,
The Democrats only deceive me,
I've a brand new party, believe me,
And we are rolling up the vote.

ROLL IT UP FOR WALLACE!
ROLL IT UP FOR TAYLOR!
THERE IS MAGIC IN THAT BALLOT
WHEN YOU VO-O-O-OTE!

HAPPY IS THE DAY
WHEN THE PEOPLE GET THEIR WAY,
AS WE GO ROLLING UP THE VOTE.

You've got a ballot,
A magic little ballot,
You've got a ballot,—
It can win the peace.
If you'll only come along
We can make the U.N. strong,
We can settle things in
Palestine and Greece. CHO:

We've got the ballot,
That magic little ballot.
We've got the ballot
For our guiding star.
It means freedom from want,
Freedom from fear,
And all the dreams we shared
with F.D.R. CHO:

8. Passing Through

Mountain tune. Words by Dick Blakeslee

Copyright 1948 by Dick Blakeslee

I saw Adam leave the garden
With an apple in his hand.
I said, "Now you're out what are
you gonna do?"
"Plant my crops and pray for rain,
Maybe raise a little grain,
I'm an orphan now and only passing
through."

CHORUS:

PASSING THROUGH, PASSING THROUGH,
SOMETIMES HAPPY, SOMETIMES BLUE,
GLAD THAT I RAN INTO YOU;
TELL THE PEOPLE THAT YOU SAW ME
PASSING THROUGH.

I saw Jesus on the cross
On that hill called Calvary,
"Do you hate mankind for what they
done to you?"
He said, "Talk of love, not hate,
Things to do, it's getting late,
I've so little time and I'm just
passing through." CHO:

I shivered next to Washington
One night at Valley Forge,
"Why do the soldiers freeze here
like they do?"
He said, "Men will suffer, fight,
Even die for what is right,
Even though they know they're only
passing through." CHO:

Was at Franklin Roosevelt's side
Just a while before he died.
He said, "One world must come out
of World War II.
Yankee, Russian, white or tan,
Lord, a man is just a man.
We're all brothers and we're only
passing through." CHO:

9. Use Your Ballot

Copyright 1948, Louise Jeffers

If you want good government,
there's no doubt,
You've got to vote this Congress out . . .
YOU BETTER USE YOUR BALLOT,
USE YOUR BALLOT,
USE YOUR BALLOT,
WALLACE IS YOUR MAN!

Want a good president, here's
what to do,
Take your neighbors to the polls
with you. CHO:

Truman in the White House playin'
a tune,
Prices are risin' higher than the
moon. CHO:

Hague and Hannegan will sing and
pray,
But the donkey's dead all but his bray.
CHO:

Just one thing I sure do hate
Is a mustache bigger than a candidate.
CHO:

Dewey in Albany looking mighty
sweet,
While homeless veterans walked the
streets. CHO:

You can rack your brains and scratch
your head,
Not recollect a thing that Dewey
ever said. CHO:

10. We Are Building

New words by Lomax and Seeger

Copyright 1948, People's Songs, Inc.

We are building a People's Party
We are building a People's Party
We are building a People's Party
Brothers, in our land.

Every new day we grow stronger,
(3 times)
Brothers, in our land.

Every new man makes us stronger,
(3 times)
Brothers, in our land.

We are black and white together,
(3 times)

Brothers, in our land.

Marching on with Henry Wallace,
(3 times)
Brothers, in our land.

11. STAND AND BE COUNTED

Traditional tune. Words by Lomax-Seeger

Copyright 1948 by People's Songs, Inc.

We will stand and be counted
For freedom and peace
We will stand and be counted today
And with Henry Wallace as our leader
We will stand and be counted today

We will stand and be counted
Against Jim Crow . . . (rest of verse
the same)

We will stand and be counted
For the right to have our say. . . .

We will stand and be counted
Don't say it can't be done. . . .

12. Battle Hymn of '48

Copyright 1948 by Bryant M. French

There's a fresh breeze blowing
all across this mighty land,
And it sings of peace and progress
and prosperity at hand,
With security and plenty
for the people to command
For the People's March is on!

CHORUS:

GLORY, GLORY, HALLELUJAH!
GLORY, GLORY, HALLELUJAH!
GLORY, GLORY, HALLELUJAH!
For the PEOPLE'S MARCH is on!

From the Bay of Massachusetts
out into the Golden Gate
Henry Wallace leads his army
'gainst destruction, fear and hate.
We Americans will save the
precious land that we create,
For the People's March is on! CHO:

From the village, from the city,
all the nation's voice has roared;
Down the rivers, 'cross the prairies,
like a torrent it has poured!
We will march like Gideon's army,
we will fight with Gideon's sword,
For the People's March is on! CHO:

You cannot VOTE unless you REGISTER

REGISTRATION DAYS:

Monday	Sept. 27	5:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.
Tuesday	Sept. 28	5:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.
Wed.	Sept. 29	5:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.
Thursday	Sept. 30	5:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.
Friday	Oct. 1	5:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.
Saturday	Oct. 2	5:00 a.m. to 10:30 p.m.

ENROLL

American Labor Party

The American Labor Party is the New York Arm of the new national Progressive Party.

Special Yankee Stadium Rally edition

Out of our history a new world
creating,
Into the future we march once more!

13. WALLACE-TAYLOR TRAIN

Copyright 1947 by Woody Guthrie

Tune "Wabash Cannonball"

From the high Canadian Rockies to
that land of Mexico,
The city and the country, wherever
you may go,
Thru the wild and windy weather,
The sun, the sleet and rain,
Comes a-whistling thru the country,
This Wallace-Taylor Train.

CHORUS:

OH LISTEN TO THE JINGLE,
THE RUMBLE AND THE ROAR,
SHE'S A-ROLLING THRU NEW ENGLAND,
TO THE WEST PACIFIC SHORE.
IT'S A LONG TIME WE BEEN WAITING,
NOW SHE'S WHISTLING ROUND
THE BEND,
AND WE'LL RIDE INTO THE
WHITE HOUSE
ON THE WALLACE-TAYLOR TRAIN!

There's lumberjacks and teamsters,
And sailors from the sea;
And there's farming boys from Texas
And the hills of Tennessee;
There's miners from Kentucky,
And there's fishermen from Maine,
They're all a-ridin' with us
On this Wallace-Taylor Train! CHO:

[PROGRESSIVE PARTY]

Peace · Freedom · & Abundance ·

32-5-18

The Platform of the Progressive Party
as adopted at the Founding Convention,
Philadelphia, July 23-25, 1948

Peace Freedom & Abundance

Preamble

THREE years after the end of the second world war, the drums are beating for a third. Civil liberties are being destroyed. Millions cry out for relief from unbearably high prices. The American way of life is in danger.

The root cause of this crisis is Big Business control of our economy and government.

With toil and enterprise the American people have created from their rich resources the world's greatest productive machine. This machine no longer belongs to the people. Its ownership is concentrated in the hands of a few and its product used for their enrichment.

Never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many.

Ten years ago Franklin Delano Roosevelt warned: "The liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state. That, in its essence, is fascism."

Today that private power has constituted itself an invisible government which pulls the strings of its puppet Republican and Democratic parties. Two sets of candidates compete for votes under the outworn emblems of the old parties. But both represent a single program—a program of monopoly profits through war preparations, lower living standards, and suppression of dissent.

For generations the common man of America has resisted this concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a few. The greatest of America's political leaders have led the people into battle against the money power, the railroads, the trusts, the economic royalists.

We of the Progressive Party are the present-day descendants of these people's movements and fighting leaders. We are the political heirs of Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln—of Frederick Douglass, Altgeld and Debs—of "Fighting Bob" La-Follette, George Norris, and Franklin Roosevelt.

Throughout our history new parties have arisen when the old parties have betrayed the people. As Jefferson headed a new party to defeat the reactionaries of his day, and as Lincoln led a new party to victory over the slave-owners, so today the people, inspired and led by Henry Wallace, have created a new party to secure peace, freedom, and abundance.

With the firm conviction that the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States set forth all fundamental freedoms

The Platform of the Progressive Party as adopted at the Founding Convention, Philadelphia, July 23-25, 1948

for all people and secure the safety and well being of our country, the Progressive Party pledges itself to safeguard these principles to the American people.

betrayal by the Old Parties

THE American people want peace. But the old parties, obedient to the dictates of monopoly and the military, prepare for war in the name of peace.

They refuse to negotiate a settlement of differences with the Soviet Union.

They reject the United Nations as an instrument for promoting world peace and reconstruction.

They use the Marshall Plan to rebuild Nazi Germany as a war base and to subjugate the economies of other European countries to American Big Business.

They finance and arm corrupt, fascist governments in China, Greece, Turkey, and elsewhere, through the Truman Doctrine, wasting billions in American resources and squandering America's heritage as the enemy of despotism.

They encircle the globe with military bases which other peoples cannot but view as threats to their freedom and security.

They protect the war-making industrial and financial barons of Nazi Germany and imperial Japan, and restore them to power.

They stockpile atomic bombs.

They pass legislation to admit displaced persons, discriminating against Catholics, Jews, and other victims of Hitler.

They impose a peacetime draft and move toward Universal Military Training.

They fill policy-making positions in government with generals and Wall Street bankers.

Peace cannot be won—but profits can—by spending ever-increasing billions of the people's money in war preparations.

Yet these are the policies of the two old parties—policies profaning the name of peace.

The American people cherish freedom.

But the old parties, acting for the forces of special privilege, conspire to destroy traditional American freedoms.

They deny the Negro people the rights of citizenship. They impose a universal policy of Jim Crow and enforce it with every weapon of terror. They refuse to outlaw its most bestial expression—the crime of lynching.

They refuse to abolish the poll tax, and year after year they deny the right to vote to Negroes and millions of white people in the South.

They aim to reduce nationality groups to a position of social, economic, and political inferiority.

They connive to bar the Progressive Party from the ballot.

They move to outlaw the Communist Party as a decisive step in their assault on the democratic rights of labor, of national, racial, and political minorities, and of all those who oppose their drive to war. In this they repeat the history of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Franco Spain.

They support the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its vilification and persecution of citizens in total disregard of the Bill of Rights.

They build the Federal Bureau of Investigation into a political police with secret dossiers on millions of Americans.

They seek to regiment the thinking of the American people and to suppress political dissent.

They strive to enact such measures as the Mundt-Nixon Bill which are as destruc-

tive of democracy as were the Alien and Sedition Laws against which Jefferson fought.

They concoct a spurious "loyalty" program to create an atmosphere of fear and hysteria in government and industry.

They shackle American labor with the Taft-Hartley Act at the express command of Big Business, while encouraging exorbitant profits through uncontrolled inflation.

They restore the labor injunction as a weapon for breaking strikes and smashing unions.

This is the record of the two old parties—a record profaning the American ideal of freedom.

The American people want abundance.

But the old parties refuse to enact effective price and rent controls, making the people victims of a disastrous inflation which dissipates the savings of millions of families and depresses their living standards.

They ignore the housing problem, although more than half the nation's families, including millions of veterans, are homeless or living in rural and urban slums.

They refuse social security protection to millions and allow only meagre benefits to the rest.

They block national health legislation even though millions of men, women, and children are without adequate medical care.

They foster the concentration of private economic power.

They replace progressive government officials, the supporters of Franklin Roosevelt, with spokesmen of Big Business.

They pass tax legislation for the greedy, giving only insignificant reductions to the needy.

These are the acts of the old parties—acts profaning the American dream of abundance.

No glittering party platforms or election promises of the Democratic and Republican parties can hide their betrayal of the needs of the American people.

Nor can they act otherwise. For both parties, as the record of the 80th Congress makes clear, are the champions of Big Business.

The Republican platform admits it.

The Democratic platform attempts to conceal it.

But the very composition of the Democratic leadership exposes the demogogy of its platform. It is a party of machine politicians and Southern Bourbons who veto in Congress the liberal planks "won" in convention.

Such platforms, conceived in hypocrisy and lack of principle, deserve nothing but contempt.

principles of the Progressive Party

THE Progressive Party is born in the deep conviction that the national wealth and natural resources of our country belong to the people who inhabit it and must be employed in their behalf; that freedom and opportunity must be secured equally to all; that the brotherhood of man can be achieved and the scourge of war ended.

The Progressive Party holds that basic to the organization of world peace is a return to the purpose of Franklin Roosevelt to seek areas of international agreement rather than disagreement. It was his conviction that within the framework of the United Nations different social and economic systems can and must live to-

gether. If peace is to be achieved capitalist United States and communist Russia must establish good relations and work together.

The Progressive Party holds that it is the first duty of a just government to secure for all the people, regardless of race, creed, color, sex, national background, political belief, or station in life, the inalienable rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The government must actively protect these rights against the encroachments of public and private agencies.

The Progressive Party holds that a just government must use its powers to promote an abundant life for its people. This is the basic idea of Franklin Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights. Heretofore every attempt to give effect to this principle has failed because Big Business dominates the key sectors of the economy. Anti-trust laws and government regulation cannot break this domination. Therefore the people, through their democratically elected representatives, must take control of the main levers of the economic system. Public ownership of these levers will enable the people to plan the use of their productive resources so as to develop the limitless potential of modern technology and to create a true American-Commonwealth free from poverty and insecurity.

The Progressive Party believes that only through peaceful understanding can the world make progress toward reconstruction and higher standards of living; that peace is the essential condition for safe-guarding and extending our traditional freedoms; that only by preserving liberty and by planning an abundant life for all can we eliminate the sources of world conflict. Peace, freedom, and abundance—the goals of the Progressive Party—are indivisible.

Only the Progressive Party can destroy the power of private monopoly and restore the government to the American people. For ours is a party uncorrupted by privilege, committed to no special interests, free from machine control, and open to all Americans of all races, colors, and creeds.

The Progressive Party is a party of action. We seek through the democratic process and through day-by-day activity to lead the American people toward the fulfillment of these principles.

We ask support for the following program:

Peace

American-Soviet agreement

HENRY WALLACE in his open letter suggested, and Premier Stalin in his reply accepted, a basis for sincere peace discussions. The exchange showed that specific areas of agreement can be found if the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations and acceptance of the right of peoples to choose their own form of government and economic system are mutually respected.

The Progressive Party therefore de-

mands negotiation and discussion with the Soviet Union to find areas of agreement to win the peace.

The Progressive Party believes that enduring peace among the peoples of the world community is possible only through world law. Continued anarchy among nations in the atomic age threatens our civilization and humanity itself with annihilation. The only ultimate alternative to war is the abandonment of the principle of the coercion of sovereignties by sovereignties and the adoption of the principle of the just enforcement upon individuals of world federal law, enacted by a world federal legislature with limited but adequate powers to safeguard the common defense and the general welfare of all mankind.

Such a structure of peace through government can be evolved by making of the United Nations an effective agency of cooperation among nations. This can be done by restoring the unity of the Great Powers as they work together for common purposes. Since the death of Franklin Roosevelt, this principle has been betrayed to a degree which not only paralyzes the United Nations but threatens the world with another war in which there can be no victors and few survivors.

Beyond an effective United Nations lies the further possibility of genuine world government. Responsibility for ending the tragic prospect of war is a joint responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States. We hope for more political liberty and economic democracy throughout the world. We believe that war between East and West will mean fascism and death for all. We insist that peace is the prerequisite of survival.

We believe with Henry Wallace that "there is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the USA and USSR which can be settled by force or fear and there is no difference which cannot be settled by peaceful, hopeful negotiation. There is no American principle or public interest, and there is no Russian principle or public interest, which would have to be sacrificed to end the cold war and open up the Century of Peace which the Century of the Common Man demands."

We denounce anti-Soviet hysteria as a mask for monopoly, militarism, and reaction. We demand that a new leadership of the peace-seeking people of our nation—which has vastly greater responsibility for peace than Russia because it has vastly greater power for war—undertake in good faith and carry to an honorable conclusion, without appeasement or sabre-rattling on either side, a determined effort to settle current controversies and enable men and women everywhere to look forward with confidence to the common task of building a creative and lasting peace for all the world.

end the drive to war

THE Progressive Party calls for the repeal of the peacetime draft and the rejection of Universal Military Training.

We call for the immediate cessation of the piling up of armament expenditures beyond reasonable peacetime requirements for national defense.

We demand the repudiation of the Truman Doctrine and an end to military and economic intervention in support of reactionary and fascist regimes in China, Greece, Turkey, the Middle East, and Latin America. We demand that the

United States completely sever diplomatic and economic relations with Franco Spain.

We call for the abandonment of military bases designed to encircle and intimidate other nations.

We demand the repeal of the provisions of the National Security Act which are mobilizing the nation for war, preparing a labor draft, and organizing a monopoly-militarist dictatorship.

These measures will express the American people's determination to avoid provocation and aggression. They will be our contribution to the reduction of mistrust and the creation of a general atmosphere in which peace can be established.

United Nations

THE Progressive Party will work to realize Franklin Roosevelt's ideal of the United Nations as a world family of nations, by defending its Charter and seeking to prevent its transformation into the diplomatic or military instrument of any one power or group of powers.

We call for the establishment of a United Nations Reconstruction and Development Fund to promote international recovery by providing assistance to the needy nations of Europe, Africa and Asia, without political conditions and with priorities to those peoples that suffered most from Axis aggression.

We call for the repudiation of the Marshall Plan.

We urge the full use of the Economic and Social Council and other agencies of the United Nations to wipe out disease and starvation, to promote the development of culture and science, and to develop the peaceful application of atomic energy.

We demand that the United States delegation to the United Nations stop protecting fascist Spain and press for effective economic and diplomatic sanctions against Franco's dictatorship.

disarmament

THE Progressive Party will work through the United Nations for a world disarmament agreement to outlaw the atomic bomb, bacteriological warfare, and all other instruments of mass destruction; to destroy existing stockpiles of atomic bombs and to establish United Nations controls, including inspection, over the production of atomic energy; and to reduce conventional armaments drastically in accordance with resolutions already passed by the United Nations General Assembly.

Germany and Japan

THE Progressive Party calls for cooperation with our wartime allies to conclude peace treaties promptly with a unified Germany and with Japan. The essentials for a German settlement are denazification and democratization, punishment of war criminals, land reform, decartelization, nationalization of heavy industry, Big-Four control of the Ruhr, reparations to the victims of Nazi aggression, and definitive recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as the Western boundary of Poland. On this basis, we advocate the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty and a simultaneous withdrawal of all occupation troops.

Similar principles should govern a settlement with Japan.

State of Israel

THE Progressive Party demands the immediate de jure recognition of the State of Israel.

We call for admission of Israel to the United Nations.

We call for a Presidential proclamation lifting the arms embargo in favor of the State of Israel.

We pledge our support for and call upon the Government of the United States to safeguard the sovereignty, autonomy, political independence, and territorial integrity of the State of Israel in accordance with the boundaries laid down by the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations of November 29, 1947.

We support the prompt extension to Israel of generous financial assistance without political conditions.

We oppose any attempt to interfere with Israel in its sovereign right to control its own immigration policy.

We call upon the United States Government to provide immediate shipping and other facilities for the transportation of Jewish displaced persons in Europe who desire to emigrate to Israel.

We support, within the framework of the United Nations, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the Holy Places.

We appeal to the Arab workers, farmers and small merchants to accept the United Nations decision for a Jewish and Arab state as being in their best interest. We urge them not to permit themselves to be used as tools in a war against Israel on behalf of British and American monopolies, for the latter are the enemies of both Arabs and Jews.

the far east

THE Progressive Party supports the struggle of the peoples of Asia to achieve independence and to move from feudalism into the modern era. We condemn the bipartisan policy of military and economic intervention to crush these people's movements. World peace and prosperity cannot be attained unless the people of China, Indonesia, Indo-China, Malaya and other Asian lands win their struggle for independence and take their place as equals in the family of nations.

We call for the immediate withdrawal of American troops and abandonment of bases in China.

We demand cessation of financial and military aid to the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship.

We follow the policy of Franklin Roosevelt in encouraging the creation of a democratic coalition government in China. We urge support for and the granting of large scale economic assistance to such a government.

We support the efforts of the people of Korea to establish national unity and the kind of government they desire. We demand an early joint withdrawal of occupation troops.

colonial and dependent peoples

WE believe that people everywhere in the world have the right to self-determination. The people of Puerto Rico have the right to independence. The people of the United States have an obligation to-

ward the people of Puerto Rico to see that they are started on the road toward economic security and prosperity.

We demand the repeal of the Bell Trade Act relating to the Philippines and the abrogation of other unequal trade treaties with economically weaker peoples.

We urge action by the people of the United States and cooperation with other countries in the United Nations to abolish the colonial system in all its forms and to realize the principle of self-determination for the peoples of Africa, Asia, the West Indies, and other colonial areas.

We support the aspirations for unified homelands, of traditionally oppressed and dispersed people such as the Irish and Armenians.

Latin America

THE Progressive Party urges a return to, and the strengthening of, Franklin Roosevelt's good-neighbor policy in our relations with republics to the South.

We demand the abandonment of the inter-American military program.

We call for economic assistance without political conditions to further the independent economic development of the Latin American and Caribbean countries.

displaced persons

THE Progressive Party calls for the repeal of the anti-Catholic, anti-semitic Displaced Persons Act of 1948 which permits the entry into the United States of fascists and collaborators. We call for the enactment of legislation to open our doors in the true American tradition to the victims of fascist persecution.

Freedom

end discrimination

THE Progressive Party condemns segregation and discrimination in all its forms and in all places.

We demand full equality for the Negro people, the Jewish people, Spanish-speaking Americans, Italian Americans, Japanese Americans, and all other nationality groups.

We call for a Presidential proclamation ending segregation and all forms of discrimination in the armed services and Federal employment.

We demand Federal anti-lynch, anti-discrimination, and fair-employment-practices legislation, and legislation abolishing segregation in interstate travel.

We call for immediate passage of anti-poll tax legislation, enactment of a universal suffrage law to permit all citizens to vote in Federal elections, and the

full use of Federal enforcement powers to assure free exercise of the right of franchise.

We call for a Civil Rights Act for the District of Columbia to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination in the nation's capital.

We demand the ending of segregation and discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone and all territories, possessions and trusteeships.

We demand that Indians, the earliest Americans, be given full citizenship rights without loss of reservation rights and be permitted to administer their own affairs.

We will develop special programs to raise the low standards of health, housing, and educational facilities for Negroes, Indians and nationality groups, and will deny Federal funds to any state or local authority which withholds opportunities or benefits for reasons of race, creed, color, sex or national origin.

We will initiate a Federal program of education, in cooperation with state, local, and private agencies to combat racial and religious prejudice.

We support the enactment of legislation making it a Federal crime to disseminate anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, and all racist propaganda by mail, radio, motion picture or other means of communication.

We call for a Constitutional amendment which will effectively prohibit every form of discrimination against women—economic, educational, legal, and political.

We pledge to respect the freedom of conscience of sincere conscientious objectors to war. We demand amnesty for conscientious objectors imprisoned in World War II.

the right of political association and expression

THE Progressive Party will fight for the constitutional rights of Communists and all other political groups to express their views as the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people.

We oppose the use of violence or intimidation, under cover of law or otherwise, by any individual or group, including the violence and intimidation now being committed by those who are attempting to suppress political dissent.

We pledge an all-out fight against the Mundt-Nixon Bill and all similar legislation designed to impose thought control, restrict freedom of opinion, and establish a police state in America.

We demand the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and similar State Committees, and we mean to right the wrongs which these committees have perpetrated upon thousands of loyal Americans working for the realization of democratic ideals.

We pledge to eliminate the current "Loyalty" purge program and to reestablish standards for government service that respect the rights of Federal employees to freedom of association and opinion and to engage in political activity.

We demand the full right of teachers and students to participate freely and fully in the social, civic and political life of the nation and of the local community.

We demand that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other Government agencies desist from investigating, or interfering with, the political beliefs and lawful activities of Americans.

We demand an end to the present prac-

tices of Congressional Committees—such as the House Labor Committee—in persecuting trade unionists and political leaders at the behest of Big Business.

We demand an end to the present campaign of deportation against foreign-born trade unionists and political leaders, and will actively protect the civil rights of naturalized citizens and the foreign born.

nationality groups

THE Progressive Party recognizes the varied contributions of all nationality groups to American cultural, economic, and social life, and considers them a source of strength for the democratic development of our country.

We advocate the right of the foreign born to obtain citizenship without discrimination.

We advocate the repeal of discriminatory immigration laws based upon race, national origin, religion, or political belief.

We recognize the just claims of the Japanese Americans for indemnity for the losses suffered during their wartime internment, which was an outrageous violation of our fundamental concepts of justice.

We support legislation facilitating naturalization of Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, Chinese, and other national groups now discriminated against by law.

We support legislation facilitating naturalization of merchant seamen with a record of war service.

democracy in the armed forces

THE Progressive Party demands abolition of Jim Crow in the armed forces.

We demand abolition of social inequalities between officers and enlisted personnel.

We call for basic revision in the procedure of military justice, including the more adequate participation of enlisted men in courts-martial.

We urge that admission to West Point and Annapolis be based on the candidates' qualifications, determined by open competitive examinations, and that an increasing percentage of young men admitted be drawn from the ranks.

representative government

THE Progressive Party proposes a constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of the President and Vice President by popular vote.

We call for Home Rule and the granting of full suffrage to the disfranchised citizens of the District of Columbia.

We favor the immediate admission of Hawaii and Alaska as the 49th and 50th states of the Union.

We urge that all general and primary election days be declared holidays to enable all citizens to vote.

separation of Church and State

THE Progressive Party intends to maintain the traditional American separation of church and state and protect the freedom of secular education.

Abundance

high cost of living

THE living standards of the American people are under bipartisan attack through uncontrolled inflation. The only effective method of combating inflation is to take the profits out of inflation.

The Progressive Party calls for legislation which will impose controls that will reduce and keep down the prices of food, shelter, clothing, other essentials of life, and basic materials. Such controls should squeeze out excessive profits, provide for the payment of subsidies to farmers wherever necessary to maintain fair agricultural prices, and allocate materials and goods in short supply.

We call for removal by the President of the Housing Expediter who is administering rent control in the interests of the real estate lobby.

We call for strengthening rent control, providing protection against evictions, and eliminating the present "hardship" regulations which are a bonanza for the large realty interests.

economic planning

THE Progressive Party believes in the principle of democratic economic planning and rejects the boom-and-bust philosophy of the old parties.

We mean to establish a Council of Economic Planning to develop plans for assuring high production, full employment, and a rising standard of living.

We mean to develop, on the TVA pattern, regional planning authorities in the major river-valleys the country over to achieve cheap power, rural electrification, soil conservation, flood control and reforestation, and to accelerate the growth of undeveloped areas, particularly in the South and West.

We mean to promote, through public ownership and long-range planning, the peaceful use of atomic energy to realize its great potential as a source of power and as a tool in science, medicine, and technology.

Only through the planned development of all our resources will the full benefit of the nation's wealth and productivity be secured for the people.

breaking the grip of monopoly

MONOPOLY'S grip on the economy must be broken if democracy is to survive and economic planning become possible. Experience has shown that anti-trust laws and government regulation are not by themselves sufficient to halt the growth of monopoly. The only solution is public ownership of key areas of the economy.

The Progressive Party will initiate such measures of public ownership as may be necessary to put into the hands of the people's representatives the levers of control essential to the operation of an economy of abundance. As a first step, the largest banks, the railroads, the merchant marine, the electric power and gas industry, and industries primarily dependent on government funds or government purchases such as the aircraft, the syn-

thetic rubber and synthetic oil industries must be placed under public ownership.

We mean to strengthen and vigorously enforce the anti-trust laws to curb monoply in the rest of the economy.

We call for the immediate abolition of discriminatory freight rates, which help to keep the South and West in bondage to Wall Street.

Tideland oil resources belong to the people, and we fight the efforts of the oil companies to steal them. We support Federal control of such resources.

We demand the repeal of the Bulwinkle law which exempts railroads from anti-trust prosecution.

We call for the repeal of the Miller-Tydings legislation which eliminated retail competition in branded goods, excluding these from the coverage of the Anti-trust laws.

labor

THE Progressive Party recognizes that from the earliest period of its history the organized labor movement has taken leadership in the struggle for democratic and humanitarian objectives. Organized labor remains the mainspring of America's democratic striving, and the just needs of labor are of special concern to the Progressive Party.

We hold that every American who works for a living has an inalienable right to an income sufficient to provide him and his family with a high standard of living. Unless the rights of labor to organize, to bargain collectively, and to strike are secure, a rising standard of living cannot be realized.

We demand the immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the reinstatement of the principles of the Wagner and

Norris-LaGuardia acts. These last measures are essential to restore labor's equality in collective bargaining and to prevent business from using government to establish a dictatorship over labor by injunction.

We will demand the right for employees in publicly owned industries to organize, to bargain collectively, and to strike.

We call for the establishment of collective bargaining machinery for Federal employees.

We support the legitimate demands of all wage and salary earners, including Federal employees, for wage and salary increases and improved working conditions. We demand the enactment of a minimum wage of $1 an hour, extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to cover all workers, enforcement of equal pay for equal work regardless of age or sex, and the elimination of any regional wage differential.

We oppose governmental strike-breaking through seizure of struck industries under the pretext of Federal operation, while profits continue to go to private employers.

We urge the enactment and stringent enforcement of Federal and State laws establishing adequate safety and health standards for miners, longshoremen, railroad workers, merchant seamen, and all other workers in hazardous industries.

We pledge drastic amendment of the Railway Labor Act to make certain that the railroad workers enjoy genuine collective bargaining and the right to strike. We call for amendment of the Railroad Retirement Act to grant railroad workers pensions of $100 minimum after 30 years' service or when they become 60 years old.

We call for Federal legislation to improve railroad working conditions by establishing a 40-hour, 5-day week for non-operating and terminal employees, a six-hour day for roadmen, and train limit and full crew provisions.

We actively support measures to repair and improve the living standards of the 12 million white collar and professional employees, who have suffered particularly under the inflation.

We call for an end to the second-class citizenship of our nation's two and a half million agricultural wage workers, and the thousands of food-processing workers who are excluded from the protection of social and labor legislation. We stand for legislation to protect the right of agricultural workers to bargain collectively. We call for extension of social security and fair labor standards coverage to all agricultural and food-processing workers.

We demand an immediate end to the arbitrary security orders issued by the Department of National Defense which blacklist employees in private industries under government contracts.

agriculture

THE Progressive Party recognizes that the welfare of farmers is closely tied to the living standards of consumers. We reject the "eat-less" policy of the old parties and proclaim our intention to develop within the framework of an economy of planned abundance, a long-range program of full agricultural production, combined with necessary safeguards for the security of farmers and for the conservation of our natural resources.

We stand for the family-type farm as the basic unit of American agriculture. The Farmer's Home Administration, (formerly, Farm Security Administration) must be expanded to provide ample low-cost credit to assist tenants, sharecroppers, and returned veterans to become farm-owners. Marginal farmers must be assisted to become efficient producers. Where farming is incapable of yielding an adequate family income, supplementary employment on needed conservation and public works projects must be provided.

We propose as a major goal of Federal farm programs that all farm families be enabled to earn an income of not less than $3000 a year. We repudiate the program of Big Business which would eliminate as many as two-thirds of the nation's farmers.

We call for a 5-year program of price-supports for all major crops at not less than 90 percent of parity—parity to be calculated according to an up-to-date formula. Dairy products and certain specialties should be supported at higher rates than 90 percent.

We demand that all essential crops be insured against hazards which are beyond the control of the individual farmer.

We support the principle of direct payments to farmers for soil conservation practices, crop adjustment, and rodent control.

We favor the principle of compensating payments and production subsidies when needed to encourage a high level of consumption without jeopardizing farm income. We also call for assistance to low-income consumers through such programs as the food stamp plan and the school hot-lunch program.

We favor international commodity agreements and a World Food Board

under the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization to stabilize world markets and to move farm surpluses to deficient areas.

We call for a long-range national land policy designed to discourage the growth of corporation farms and absentee ownership. This policy is especially important in the South to promote the proper development of its resources and to provide land for the landless. Priority in the purchase of land made available by river-valley projects must be given to tenants, sharecroppers, and small farmers.

We regard it as of utmost importance that programs of conservation, production, marketing, and price-support be administered by democratically-elected farmer committeemen, as in the Triple-A program.

We stand for the principle of a graduated land tax and for the 160-acre limitation in the use of public irrigation.

We support farmer and consumer cooperatives as a highly important answer to the problem of monopoly control over markets and supplies. We oppose the tax drive being staged by Big Business against cooperatives.

We favor immediate flood control projects and universal electrification of all farms. REA lines and generating facilities should be rapidly expanded, and river-valley projects for power and irrigation should be undertaken as promptly as possible.

independent business

THE Progressive Party believes that independent businessmen can survive only in an economy free from monoply domination, where workers and farmers receive incomes sufficient to permit them to purchase the goods they need.

We propose to encourage and safeguard independent business by providing adequate working capital and development loans at low interest rates, granting tax relief, and giving independent and small business a fair share of government contracts. We propose to make available to independent business, through an expanded government research program, the know-how essential to efficient operation.

housing

THE Progressive Party charges that private enterprise, under monopoly control, has failed to house the American people. It is the responsibility of democratic government to guarantee the right of every family to a decent home at a price it can afford to pay.

We demand a Federal emergency housing program to build within the next two years four million low-rent and low-cost dwellings for homeless and doubled-up families, with priority to veterans.

We recognize that to accomplish this objective it will be necessary to curb non-essential construction, to allocate scarce materials, and to reduce the cost of land, money, and building materials.

We pledge an attack on the chronic housing shortage and the slums through a long-range program to build 25 million new homes during the next ten years. This program will include public subsidized housing for low-income families.

We pledge that as a part of our general program of economic planning the build-

ing industry will be reorganized and rationalized, capacity to produce presently scarce materials will be expanded, and year-round employment will be guaranteed to workers in the building trades.

Government—Federal, state and local—has the responsibility to insure that communities are well-planned, with homes conveniently located near places of employment and with adequate provision for health, education, recreation, and culture.

We pledge the abolition of discrimination and segregation in housing.

security and health

THE Progressive Party demands the extension of social security protection to every man, woman and child in the United States.

We recognize the service which the Townsend Plan has performed in bringing to national attention the tragic plight of the senior citizens of America, and we condemn the bipartisan conspiracy in Congress over the past ten years against providing adequate old-age pensions.

We pledge our active support for a national old-age pension of $100 a month to all persons at 60 years of age, based on right and not on a pauperizing need basis.

We call for a Federal program of adequate disability and sickness benefits and increased unemployment benefits, protecting all workers and their standards of living.

We call for maternity benefits for working mothers for thirteen weeks, including the period before and after childbirth, and the granting of children's allowances to families with children under 18.

We favor adequate public assistance for all persons in need, with Federal grants-in-aid proportionate to the needs and financial ability of the states, pending the enactment of a comprehensive Federal Social Security program.

We support the right of every American to good health through a national system of health insurance, giving freedom of choice to patient and practitioner, and providing adequate medical and dental care for all.

We favor the expenditure of Federal funds in support of an effective program for public health and preventive medicine and a program of dental care.

We favor the expenditure of Federal funds for the promotion of medical and dental education and research.

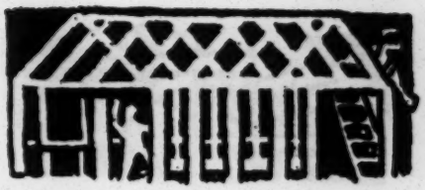
We look forward to the eventual transfer of the entire cost of the security and health program to the government as an essential public service.

women

THE Progressive Party proposes to secure the rights of women and children and to guarantee the security of the American family as a happy and democratic unit and as the mainstay of our nation.

We propose to raise women to first-class citizens by removing all restrictions—social, economic, and political—without jeopardizing the existing protective legislation vital to women as mothers or future mothers.

We propose to extend fair labor standards for women, to guarantee them healthful working conditions, equal job security with men, and their jobs back after the birth of children.



We propose to guarantee medical care for mother and child prior to, during and after birth, through a national system of health insurance.

We propose a program of Federal assistance for the establishment of day care centers for all children.

young people

THE Progressive Party believes young people are the nation's most valuable asset; their full potentialities can be realized only by implementing our complete program for peace, freedom and abundance. We challenge the failure of the old parties to meet the special problems of youth.

We call for the right to vote at eighteen.

We call for the enforcement and extension of child labor laws.

We call for Federal and state expenditures for recreational facilities, particularly in needy rural communities.

veterans

THE Progressive Party recognizes the veterans' special sacrifices and contributions in the nation's most critical period.

We demand priority for veterans in obtaining homes.

We call for a Federal bonus to veterans based on length of service.

We demand the expansion of the Veterans Administration program and increased G. I. benefits and allowances and the elimination of discrimination.

We demand that the coverage of the GI Bill of Rights and other servicemen's benefits be extended to war widows and to merchant seamen with war service.

We call for the prompt refund of the overcharges collected from veterans by National Service Life Insurance.

We demand that the government enforce the right of Negro veterans in the South to file terminal leave applications and to collect their benefits.

We call for increased benefits for disabled veterans and a program to guarantee them jobs at decent wages.

taxation

THE Progressive Party demands the overhaul of the tax structure according to the democratic principle of ability to pay. We propose to employ taxation as a flexible instrument to promote full employment and economic stability.

We propose to exempt from personal income taxes all families and individuals whose income falls below the minimum required for a decent standard of living. We propose that income from capital gains, be taxed at the same graduated rate as ordinary income.

We propose to enact effective excess profits and undistributed profits taxation.

We propose to curb tax-dodging by closing existing loopholes.

We propose to work towards the progressive elimination of Federal excise taxes on the basic necessities of life.

We oppose all state and local sales taxes.

We propose to close existing loopholes in estate and gift taxes and establish an integrated system of estate and gift taxation.

education

THE Progressive Party proposes to guarantee, free from segregation and discrimination, the inalienable right to a good education to every man, woman, and child in America. Essential to good education are the recognized principles of academic freedom—in particular, the principle of free inquiry into and discussion of controversial issues by teachers and students.

We call for the establishment of an integrated Federal grant-in-aid program to build new schools, libraries, raise teachers' and librarians' salaries, improve primary and secondary schools, and assist municipalities and states to establish free colleges.

We call for a system of Federal scholarships, fellowships, and cost-of-living grants, free from limitations or quotas based on race, creed, color, sex or national origin, in order to enable all those with necessary qualifications but without adequate means of support to obtain higher education in institutions of their own choice.

We call for a national program of adult education in cooperation with state and local authorities.

We oppose segregation in education and support legal action on behalf of Negro students and other minorities aimed at securing their admission to state-supported graduate and professional schools which now exclude them by law.

We call for a Department of Education with a Secretary of Cabinet rank.

culture

THE Progressive Party recognizes culture as a potentially powerful force in the moral and spiritual life of a people and, through the people, in the growth of democracy and the preservation of peace, and realizes that the culture of a democracy must, like its government, be of, by, and for the people.

We pledge ourselves to establish a department of government that shall be known as the Department of Culture, whose function shall be the promotion of all the arts as an expression of the spirit of the American people, and toward the enrichment of the people's lives, to make the arts available to all.

promotion of science

THE Progressive Party calls for the enactment of legislation to promote science, including human and social sciences, so that scientific knowledge may be enlarged and used for the benefit of all people.

We condemn the militarization of science and the imposition of military control over scientific expression and communication.

We support measures for public control of patents and licensing provisions to insure that new inventions will be used for the benefit of the people.

A real choice in 1948

THE Progressive Party has taken root as the party of the common man. It has arisen in response to, and draws growing strength from, the demand of millions of men and women for the simple democratic right to vote for candidates and a program which satisfy their needs. It gives voters a real choice.

Purposeful and deeply meant, the program of the Progressive Party carries forward the policies of Franklin Roosevelt and the aspirations of Wendell Willkie and holds forth the promise of a reborn democracy ready to play its part in one world. The American people want such a program. They will support it.

Under the leadership of Henry A. Wallace and Glen H. Taylor, a great new people's movement is on the march. Under the guidance of Divine Providence, the Progressive Party, with strong and active faith, moves forward to peace, freedom and abundance.

[Progressive Party, July 25, 1948]

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

July 25, 1948

Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. - One hundred forty Negro delegates and guests attending the Founding Convention of the Progressive Party today told President Truman and Attorney General Clark "w e .... strongly condemn your hysteria-breeding arrests of national leaders of the Communist Party, and call upon you to take positive action to protect civil rights instead of persecuting political minorities."

Signers of the "Statement by Negro Americans", coming from twenty different sta tes, include Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., Pa.; Paul Robeson and Shirley Graham, N.Y.; Magistrate Joseph Ra[illegible], candidate for Congress from Pa.; Dr. Ulysses Campbell, candidate for Congress from N. J.; trade union leaders Hilliald Ellis, of Illinois, Cha rle s Collins of N.Y., and Raymond Tillman of La.; William A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, N.Y.; Larkin Marshall, candidate for Congress from Georgia; and Captain Hugh Mulzac, of N. Y.

Asserting "our concern is to defend the right of political and other minorities, especially the Negro people, to fight for the kind of society they consider" democratic and just, the Negro leaders declared: "We a gree fully with .... Henry A. Wallace: 'Defense of the civil rights of Communists is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people."

Pointing out that the recently indicted Communist leaders, ##### including two Negroes, are not even charged with any attempt to use "force and violence", the "Statement" continues: "The obvious purpose of these Gestapo-like arrests .... is to frighten people away from the Wallace Movement and progressive people's organizations generally, ... to strengthen the current drive to war."

The President and Attorney General are called upon "to give more than lip-service to civil rights" by taking effective steps "to defend the lives ##### and liberties of the Negro people in the South"; to "repeal the poll tax, establish a national FEPC and outlaw lynching"; to "abolish discrimination in Federal employment and segregation in the armed forces."

Leaders among the signers of the "Statement" said plans are under way to obtain endorsements from 1,000 Negro leaders all over the country.

-30-

NOTE: Here atta ched are:

1. Full text of the "Statement by Negro Americans to the President and Attorney General of the United States"
2. Partial list of signers, with state of residence in each case

uopa#8

see Dorothy Whitehorn ltr 7-26-48

STATEMENT BY NEGRO AMERICANS TO THE

PRESIDENT AND ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the undersigned Negro Americans, strongly condemn your hysteria-breeding arrests of national leaders of the Communist Party, and call upon you to take positive action to protect civil rights instead of persecuting political minorities.

We raise here no defense of the principles of the Communist Party. Our concern is to defend the right of political and other minorities, especially the Negro people, to fight for the kind of society which they consider necessary to give full expression to the principles of American democracy.

We agree fully with the declaration of Henry A. Wallace:

> "Defense of the civil rights of Communists is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people. The history of Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco Spain should teach us that the suppression of the Communists is but the first step in an assault on the democratic rights of labor, national, racial and political minorities, and all those who oppose the policies of the government in power."

23-21-1

The obvious purpose of these Gestapo-like arrests of Communist leaders is to frighten people away from the Wallace Movement and progressive people's organizations generally, practically all of which have been slandered as "communist" or "subversive" by the Attorney General and the Un-American Committee.

It is significant that the indictment of these Communist leaders does not even charge them with any attempt to use "force and violence" for political purposes. Indeed, the asserted basis of their indictment has already been overruled by the Supreme Court of the United States -- in the "Schneiderman Case, where the late Wendell Willkie served as defense attorney.

Here, clearly, is an attempt to strengthen the current drive to war and reaction in general by intimidating all political opposition to such a program.

We take special note of the fact that two Negro leaders are among those involved in the recent "Communist round-up" --one a veteran, the National Administrative Secretary of the Communist Party; the other a lawyer, whom some 60,000 citizens voted to elect to the Council of the City of New York. The significance of these facts will be understood by the Negro people.

We call upon our Government to halt its fascist-like attacks upon opposition minorities, and to act for the protection of minority rights.

We call upon the Attorney General to use the power of his office to defend the lives and liberties of the Negro people in the South.

We call upon the President to give more than lip-service to civil rights (while acting all the while to destroy them) -- to use his executive authority to abolish discrimination in federal employment and segregation in the armed forces; to throw the full influence of his office into the fight to have Congress repeal the poll tax, establish a national FEPC and outlaw lynching.

Name and Organization (for identification)	Street Address and Post Office
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

(Continue signatures, addresses, etc. on the back.)

Partial List of Signers of the

STATEMENT BY NEGRO AMERICANS TO THE

PRESIDENT A ND ATTORNEY GE NERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Bishop R.R.Wright, Jr., - Pa.
Shirley Graham - N. Y.
Dr. Ulysses Campbell - N.J.
Raymond Tillman - La.
Charles Collins - N.Y.
Capt. Hugh Mulzac - N.Y.
J.M.Evans, Jr. - Pa.
Harold Cruse - N.Y.
Jacob Blake, Jr. - Ind.
Myrtle Dennis - Ohio
Elsie C. Drayton - N.Y.
F. Nicklewhite - Va.
Norman T. Wilson - Pa.
M. Hausen - N.Y.
Geneva Brown - Wash.,D.C.
Seonra B. Lawson - Va.
Yolanda B. Wilkerson - N.Y.
Martin Harrison - Pa.
Gladstone Smith - N.Y.
Thoma s J. Coleman - Mich.
Theodore B. Godfrey N.Y.
La Moyne D. Mason - Md.
Margaret Coffee - Md.
Scipio Collins - Pa.
Peerless M. Loubble - Pa.
Everby Barn - Pa.
Aaron Washington - N.J.
Rosalie Berry - N.Y.
M. Thompson -
Paul Kirk - Mich.
Abner Berry - N.Y.
Jessie S. Campbell - N.J.
M. Brent Oldham - N.Y.
Ernest Scott - La.
Earl B. Brown - Miss.
Richard H. Bancroft - D.C.
Thomas A. Armstrong - Miss.
Carrie Massey - Ga.
W.T. Brown - N.C.
Lofton L. Towles - Calif.
Maldora Payne - Colo.
Goldie E. Watson - Pa.
Booker T. Rowe - Pa.
Nola Wharton - Pa.
Cain Dandridge - W.Va.
Henry Thomas Christian - Fla.
Florence Richards - N.Y.
Alma Crawley - Ga.
Alvis A. Lee - Fla.
William Coles - N.Y.
Eleanor Godding - N.Y.
Evelyn T. Waters - Pa.
Madeline Coehman - N.Y.

Joseph H. Wiley - N.Y.
J. Lowanette - Ill.
G. Eavelle Hopkins - D.C.
Mary Griffin - N.J.
James Williams - N.Y.
Eddie H. Young -
Osborne E. Smith - N.Y.
Annie Moore - N.Y.
W.S. Johnson - D.C.
Marvel Cooke - N.Y.
Cyril Stephens - N.Y.
John T. Drew - Va.
Oliver Martin - N.Y.
Andrew Wade - Ky.
Carmen Gonzalez - N.Y.
Russell Watson - Pa.

Paul Robeson - N.Y.
Magistrate Joseph Rainey - Pa.
Hilliard Ellis - Ill.
Larkin Marshall - Ga.
W. A. Hunton - N.Y.
Josephine Crozier - W.Va.
Charlie Smith - Pa.
George Harrison - N.Y.
Louise Harrison - N.Y.
C. A. Liggon - Pa.
Admiral Kilpatrick - Ohio
Pearl Y. Lewis - N.Y.
Delores Zimmerman -N.Y.
Gomeze Watkins - N.Y.
C.C.Frazier - Md.
Joseph Pierce - D.C.
Walter R. Christmas - N.Y.
S. C. Patterson - N.Y.
Berkley Jones - N.J.
Harry Haywood - N.Y.
James Tjomas - Pa.
Grace Tillma n - La.
Martha Coffee - Md.
John Wheeden - N.Y.
Doxey A. Wilkerson - N.Y.
Charles Morse - Pa.
Dollie Mason - N.J.
Marguerite W. Moorman - N.Y.
J. Bullard - N.Y.
John Killens - N.Y.
Charles H. Mason - N.J.
Edward G. Carroll - N.Y.
Charles F. Pope - D.C.
Louis Alexander - W. Va.
Lyndon Henry - N.Y.
Joseph O. Thomas - La.
Mrs. L. Larkin - Ga.
Willie Martin - W. Va.
J. Clyde Brown - Calif.
Luke Duncan - Calif.
D. H. Oliver - Utah
Wilma T. Rowe - #### Pa.
Allan R. Freelow - Pa.
R. Turner - Ill.
James Gentry - Ark.
Walter Steptoe - N.Y.
C. Love - Ga.
Harlan Johnson - N.Y.
Harry Nash - N.Y.
Peter Joyner - Pa.
Christopher Beane - N.Y.
Griffin R. Simmons - N.Y.

Benjamin Hughes - Ohio
Marian Watkins - N.Y.
Albert R. George - Ill.
Robert S. Monroe - N.J.
Delilah W. Pierce - D.C.
Allan Thomas -
Marie Williams - N.Y.
Enid Morgan - N.Y.
James Taite - N.Y.
Thoma s Richardson - D.C.
Yconne Cumberbatch - N.Y.
Winifred Norman - N.Y.
Vivian Betton - Pa.
Dr. Oliver V. Wilson -Pa.
Patricia Garland - N.Y.
Anne Bancroft - D.C.

[PROG. PARTY, AUG. 26, 1948]

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.
MU 6 - 5300

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY P.M. - AUGUST 26, 1948

National leaders of the Young Progressives of America, independent youth organization formed in Philadelphia July 26 to support the program of the Progressive Party, will meet in Cleveland, Ohio, Saturday (August 28) to map plans for an all-out campaign on behalf of Henry Wallace and Senator Glen H. Taylor, Progressive Party presidential and vice presidential candidates.

The new organization's 35-member executive board will meet in the morning and its national council, consisting of at least two delegates from each of the 24 states where the YPA now has chapters, will meet in the afternoon.

23-22-1

The council is expected to adopt a detailed platform and program for the youth organization, stressing campaign work for Wallace and Taylor and including a drive to repeal the draft, obtain equal pay for equal work by youth, eliminate racial and religious discrimination in employment and gain increased educational facilities.

Plans will also be made for a national "Volunteers for Wallace" movement to enlist young people who are not members of YPA for participation in the Wallace and Taylor campaigns.

Presiding at the sessions will be Alvin Jones of Freeport, La., and Christine Walker of Detroit, Mich., co-chairmen of the new organization.

"In the past month we have found American youth keenly aware of the fact that both the Democratic and Republican parties omitted any specific reference to youth in their platforms and have no plans whatever to answer youth's problems," Seymour Linfield, YPA executive director, said in announcing the Saturday meetings.

"More and more youth are daily realizing that only the program of Henry Wallace offers them hope for the future."

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[PROGRESSIVE PARTY, AUG. 26, 1948, p.4 MISSING]

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
39 Park Avenue, New York City 16
Public Relations Department
August 26, 1948

330-32-416

RADIO
FOR PROGRESSIVES

A GUIDE TO THE USE OF RADIO

* *
* The radio chairman's job...your rights to the air... *
* getting free time...sizing-up the competition...the *
* audience you're after...buying time...what format to *
* use...speeches, round-tables, forums, question-and- *
* answer, documentaries...spot announcements...timing *
* a radio campaign...how to build your audience... *
* coordinating with the national radio campaign... *
* recordings for radio...note on television *
* *

THE USE OF RADIO

It goes without saying that radio is one of the most effective instruments for "selling" a product, an idea, a personality or an organization. For the Progressive Party, the radio offers one of the most far-reaching media for presenting to the community its principles and program of action. It should be used as often and as well as possible in conjunction with every election and issue campaign as well as on a longer-range general public relations basis.

This is, of course, easier said than done. The interests which control radio give only token assent in practice to what the law states very clearly in principle: that the air belongs to the people, not to the broadcasting companies. They make only the most minimum and grudging concessions to the principle of free speech in the most effective medium for speech. The administration of the Communications Act, especially in recent years, is notoriously lax in favor of the broadcasting companies which are permitted to fulfill this obligation with innocuous sustaining programs of a pseudo-educational or, at least, non-commercial character.

Most radio time, however, is paid time and the buyers or sponsors can use it pretty much as they like, as long as they avoid slander or obscenity.

YOUR RADIO CHAIRMAN AND HIS JOB

Don't start out on your radio campaigns with a chip on your shoulder. Keep your relations with the station personnel as friendly as possible at all times. If your party or committee does not already have a Radio Chairman, appoint or elect one as quickly as possible. It will be his or her job to keep in touch with the stations and supervise the necessary details involved in radio production.

-more-

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

A sure knowledge of your rights under the FCC Code and the Communications Act will be of great help to you. The act, signed by FDR in 1934, created the Federal Communications Commission, and laid the basis for the FCC Rules and Regulations. To quote them in part:

a. No station licensee is required to permit the use of its facilities by any legally qualified candidate for public office, BUT IF ANY LICENSEE SHALL PERMIT ANY SUCH CANDIDATE TO USE ITS FACILITIES, IT SHALL AFFORD EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES TO ALL OTHER CANDIDATES FOR THAT OFFICE TO USE SUCH FACILITIES, PROVIDED THAT SUCH LICENSEE SHALL HAVE NO POWER OF CENSORSHIP OVER THE MATERIAL BROADCAST BY ANY SUCH CANDIDATE.

b. The rates, if any, charged all such candidates for the same office shall be uniform and shall not be rebated by any means, directly or indirectly: NO LICENSEE SHALL MAKE ANY DISCRIMINATION IN CHARGES, PRACTICES, REGULATIONS, OR SERVICES for or in connection with service rendered pursuant to these rules...

c. Every licensee shall keep and permit public inspection of a complete record of all requests for broadcast time made by or in behalf of candidates for public office, together with an appropriate notation showing the disposition made by the licensee of such requests, and the charges made, if any, if the request is granted.

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There is more, much more of the same. The sum total effect of these rules and regulations is that the Progressive Party is protected by the law. The Progressive Party MUST be given opportunity on the radio, equal to the opposition, if the Progressive Party requests the opportunity.

Now it is the standard practice of networks and stations, to grant these requests, subject to equality of conditions. In other words, what the old parties pay, the Progressive Party must pay. However, if the old parties (either one of them) obtain free political time on the radio, we, too, are entitled to it. And that sentence is written advisedly, because the Progressive Party can expect little, if any, initial free time. Furthermore, the standard practice of networks and stations is that, between nomination and election, there is practically no allocation of free time to candidates or their supporters.

However, bear this in mind: the radio industry is highly sensitive to public relations. Any industry which depends for its life upon the free choice of the consumer (in this case, the listener) is, of necessity, sensitive in this manner. Any public complaint of unfairness, of attempted evasion of the rules, is bad public relations for a network or station. Therefore, the radio industry is fair (by comparison with other means of mass communication) to minority requests for broadcast time.

Know your rights under the rules, and make use of your rights.

FREE TIME ON THE AIR

Although it is standard practise not to grant free time on the air during election campaigns, you should be aware of the major ways free time can be obtained uring other periods:

1. Equal Time on Controversial Subjects:

The FCC stipulates that, with the exception of election campaigns, the station should allot time for controversial subjects on an equal basis to opposing sides. It is also possible to request equal time to answer an attack upon your organization or any of its officers or members.

If, therefore, your request for "free" time is rejected on the grounds that the subject matter is controversial, as in the case of support of a piece of legislation, point out that the FCC encourages the granting of sustaining time for this purpose and signify your willingness for the station to allow equal time for your opponents.

But that is just one way in which this equal time provision can be used.

(more)

When a station allots time for the opposite side to speak up or when you are attacked, to to the station with the fact and demand equal time--equal as to desirability as well as length--to present your side.

Prior to the Wallace-Taylor nominations in July 1948, the National Wallace for President Committee used this equal time provision to obtain hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of free time for broadcasts by Mr. Wallace and other speakers in reply to old party attacks. The same quick response to local opportunities in the future can obtain local radio time for your party.

2. Getting a Free Ride:

There are some types of regular programs, both sustaining and sponsored, on which the Progressive Party can get representation. It is important to keep in regular contact with all of these and to get your established audiences of people who might not tune in on a special Progressive show, this is an extremely avenue to exploit.

(1) The forum -- There are some forums which are genuinely interested in presenting both sides of a question and these are likely to welcome Progressive spokesmen as representative of an important Party in the country. Don't wait until a subject is announced to offer your speaker; it's usually too late. Send the forum director a letter stating your position on various issues and offering specific speakers on each one; ask him to keep this for reference. When you are launching a campaign on any issue, suggest to the forum director a program on that issue and, again, offer him a choice of speakers.

(2) Interviews-- These are the straight question-and-answer form. Here again the station usually wants someone fairly well-known or distinguished in his profession, but sometimes they will interview a person because he speaks for an organization.

(3) Guest Stars--Radio personalities with their own programs often use guests to give their shows variety--the woman's program, the husband-and-wife breakfast teams, disc jockeys and, occasionally, commentators. Usually the guest is allowed and even encouraged to express his opinion on issues although rarely on candidates.

The bigger and more glamourous the name, the better your chance on these programs. It is important to impress your top leadership with the value of this type of contribution. It is also smart to try to place on these programs Progressive Party members who are visiting your city either for professional or political reasons. Whoever speaks for you, be sure he is supplied with any factual material he needs and an exact statement of your position. Urge him to mention the fact that he is a member of the Progressive Party and why.

BUYING TIME

During the election campaign, however, the chief way you get your message on the air is by buying time. (Little free time will be available.) Allocate a part of your budget to radio and/or ask a special group to assume responsibility for raising the necessary funds. When you are buying time, it is always best to work through an advertising agency which knows what periods are most profitable and can offer other assistance.

Whether you are buying time or getting it free, try to obtain a period when you will be assured the largest audience of people who will be interested in what you are saying. Usually, this means that you should aim for the most popular listening time for all people. But since so many of these choice times are bought-up years in advance by commercial companies, try to analyze the audience you want to reach a little more carefully.

KNOW YOUR COSTS

Radio time costs money. The segment of the clock you buy is figured in dollars and cents, in inflated $$$ and ¢¢¢ today! It's obvious that the old parties will have much more to spend than we will. So dollar for dollar you have to obtain some kind of parity by spending sparingly for the proper time on the proper stations.

Attached is a list of the broadcasting stations in your area, with their rates and the names of the proper people with whom to file your request

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CH OOSE THE BEST FORMAT

There are a variety of types of program which can be used. Remember first and foremost that radio is a medium of entertainment. If you're dull in presentation, you will lose an audience that expects to be stimulated in a simple, easy, entertaining manner. And entertainment may be found in the sharp interesting delivery of a speech, as well as in the jokes of some comedian. Remember too that you not only have to attract your audience in the first place--you must HOLD it! It's very easy to flip a switch or turn a dial...

Briefly, here are several types of programs:

1. Straight speeches--the simplest political form. But it can also be the deadliest. In preparing a speech, make certain it is personal, simple, warm and thought-provoking. Political "bombast" went out when the microphone came in. Radio amplifies sound, and radio amplifies insincerity and dullness as well. Watch your speeches and your speakers. When a speech and speaker are direct, intimate, and easily understood, the chances are greatly in your favor that you will hold your audience. In nine-tenths of all cases, limit talks to a MAXIMUM of 15 minutes, and above all, choose your speakers from those citizens in your community to whom the majority of the people will be willing to listen carefully.

2. Round table discussions

3. Forums--here we can take a tip from those big-time forums and present a group of people who are all on the same side for different reasons.

4. Question and answer scripts--a variation on the straight speech which relieves the monotony of one voice.

5. Documentary scripts-- easier for non-professionals than some types of dramatization.

6. Dramatic and variety shows--little need be said about them, save this: stay away from them. They require talent and physical facilities almost always beyond the power of local groups and local stations to provide. National Headquarters will fill this void for you with transcriptions. How and where to obtain them will be discussed later.

7. The spot announcement-- 15 or 30 or 60 seconds long--perhaps the most powerful weapon available to us. Constant repetition of an announcement, a simple statement, a provocative jingle, will bear marvellous fruit, if placed properly on the right stations at the right times. If material is not available for these "spots" in your area, National Headquarters will provide them for you. How and where to obtain these, will be discussed later.

Bear in mind your local problems, the type of thinking typical of your area. You will know what appears most forceful and convincing, both in personalities and in facts and figures. Use that knowledge.

TIMING YOUR RADIO CAMPAIGN

A political campaign, like a good movie, must have a smart beginning, a solid middle, and an exciting climax. Don't lose sight of that basic principle.

It is generally agreed that the month of October is the important month. September is the "build-up." Early October is the middle. The end of October is the time to explode the dynamite. In other words, political timing--an art that must be mastered--must govern not only the campaign as a whole, but the spending of local money in radio.

Local problems, local interest are ingredients in planning your radio campaign. In some areas, the peak of interest will parallel the national peak. In others, local issues will come to a head before the national peak is reached. Time your hardest hitting blows according to the situation in your area. Too early is as bad as too late. A classic example is found in the history of the Cleveland-Blaine election of 1884. The Blaine forces released a scandalous story about Cleveland in the early days of that campaign. If they had held the story until a few days before election, Cleveland would have been defeated. As it was, the whole think blew over in a month

(more)

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and Cleveland became President. The Progressive Party does not believe in mud-slinging. We leave that to the old parties. This example is cited to show the danger of bad timing--and the waste of money and effort it entails.

In general, build slowly. Use spot announcements in the early stages. One trick of commercial radio that is most valuable to us, is the trick of repetition! Keep harping on an idea, a slogan. Use that idea, vary the slogans, but keep repeating. The listeners' minds, like rocks, are vulnerable to the wearing-away process, the erosion of dripping water. As the weeks go by, increase the strength of your statements. Then, towards the end, at the moment marked most propitious by local interest plus national fanfare, hit your hardest. A little thought will show you approximately when this moment will arrive, far enough beforehand for you to obtain the time you want when you want it.

Another factor in choosing from available times, is the popularity--the "rating" as we say--of the program or programs immediately surrounding these time slots. A spot announcement on a very popular disc jockey program will be of much greater value than a ten minute program placed between two other programs that are rarely listened to--even though the ten minute spot may be comparatively cheaper in dollars than the one minute announcement. Check the popularity of the programs adjacent to the time offered you. Always get value for your money!

As was stated above, night time spots are largely nil in value to you. However, there is a type of spot which can be used to good advantage. It's usually a one minute spot, and is called a "network fill." Listen to your own radio. You will find that in many cases, a sustaining network program will be one minute short, and the time will be filled by a so-called "public service" announcement read by the network announcer. This means that this time--this one minute--belongs to your local station, and can be bought. If the network program is a good one and popular in your district, that will be excellent time for the brief statement of a point by the Progressive Party.

BUILDING UP THE AUDIENCE

Once you have bought time for a program or have placed a speaker on an established show, it is time to start building up the audience for the show. Don't just ask the station for assistance. Follow through on your own campaign, for the audience must know when and where you are on the air!

1. News stories to the papers. (A week before, the day before and on the day.

2. Releases to the radio editors and columnists.

3. A request to whoever is in charge of the newspapers' program-listings to include this in the "Highlights" box.

4. A postcard mailing to your members and contacts.

5. Announcements at meetings of your organization and others who are interested in the candidate or the issue--trade unions, professional groups, parents' associations, veterans' committees, etc.

6. If time allows, inclusion of announcement in publications of the above organizations.

7. A special leaflet may be designed on the issue with prominent space given to an announcement of the program for street distribution, enclosure in your mailings and other organizations, etc.

8. A small eye-catching ad in the radio page of your local newspaper.

9. And word-of-mouth.

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COORDINATION WITH NATIONAL RADIO CAMPAIGN

Your local radio campaign is a part of the national radio campaign. National Headquarters has bought the full NBC Network for seven successive Monday nights, 10:30 to 10:45 p.m., Eastern time, starting September 13th. As an example of coordination, it will be extremely unwise for you to buy competitive time, and it will be extremely wise for you to promote those programs in everyone of the many ways mentioned above. A promotional kit built around the Wallace broadcasts will be sent to help you do this. This is the simplest form of coordination.

There are others. Certain periods of the campaign will be devoted to certain basic national issues. Your campaign should aid and abet the National Campaign.

You may need help in writing spot announcements. You may need transcriptions -of Wallace and Taylor--of variety shows--of "singing spots"--of dramatic programs with "open ends" where space is left for your local candidate to appear in person after a dramatization of the issue under discussion.

You may need legal help in obtaining proper time from a local station. You may need prepared speeches for local personalities. All these things--information as well as direct assistance--are available to you at National Headquarters. Write, wire, or telephone to--

ED FRISBIE, DIRECTOR OF RADIO,
PROGRESSIVE PARTY,
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 6-5300

Mr. Frisbie or one of his assistants will do their best to provide you with whatever you may need. The coordination of our local and national radio campaigns will increase the value of every dollar spent in radio!

RECORDINGS YOU CAN USE ON YOUR RADIO PROGRAMS:

Below are listed the recordings made specially for use on radio. Note that the 1st and 2nd items contain several individual programs for 5 or 15 minute shows, allowing enough time for the local announcer to bring in your own local party's or committee's name. All except #1 can be ordered from Estelle Ellis, Progressive Party, 39 Park Avenue, N. Y. 16. All items are sold at cost, shipping charges included. Terms for local groups are cash only. State Parties or State Committees are extended credit on the usual terms. As other recordings for radio use are produced, they will be announced.

1. Recordings of Wallace Ad-Libbing Interviews with Voters on Key Issues. Three 16", 33-1/3 rpm platters of Wallace talking to veterans, housewives, workers, farmers, small businessmen, for re-broadcast use only. Two platters contain eight 4-minute open-end interviews, for which you buy 5 minutes airtime to allow you a 1 minute plug for local committee. Third recording contains two 13½ minute, open-end interviews, for 15 minutes airtime including local plug. Wonderful for building local series of radio shows at very low cost. Price each recording: $10. Order from Carol Levine, Pax Productions, 177 Post Street, San Francisco 8, Calif. Must include payment with order.

2. Recording of Three 5-Minute Talks by Wallace--(1) "War or Peace"; (2) "Communism"; (3) "Inflation." A 16", 33-1/3 rpm platter perfect for 5-minute spots on your local stations, with time allowed for plugging local sponsorship. Explains Wallace's position on 3 vital issues. On reverse side is informal discussion with Wallace, Taylor and Gailmor on "Militarism and the UN." This runs 11 minutes, 16 seconds. $8 for 2-sided platter.

3. Recording of Wallace's Open Letter to Stalin. A 16", 33-1/3 rpm platter recorded by Wallace for re-broadcast purposes. It runs 12 minutes, 28 seconds, allowing 2 minutes for announcer to plug your local organization. Airtime must be bought to put this on local station. On reverse side is informal discussion with Wallace, Taylor and William Gailmor on "Discrimination"--political and racial. This program is 11 minutes, 31 seconds long. $8 for 2-sided platter.

4. Platters of Wallace's radio network speeches. 33-1/3 or 78 rpm's. Indicate which you want. $4 per speech.

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[PROG. PARTY, Aug. 30, 1948]

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
39 Park Ave.
New York 16, N.Y.

August 30,1948

MEMORANDUM

To: State Directors and Local Groups

From: Edward R. Frisbie, National Radio Director

Subject: Radio Programs for Campaign

Attached is a copy of Radio for Progressives , a Guide to the Use of Radio. We thought it essential for everyone to have it because we will be relying on radio more than any other mass media to reach the people in the crucial weeks between now and Nov. 2.

The National Office has already announced a network series with Mr. Wallace over NBC for Monday nights beginning Sept. 17,10:30 - 10:45 PM EDT . We'll probably have additional programs and a concentrated spot campaign throughout the country.

To make the most of radio, there are two things we must do together .

1. Coordinate your radio plans with ours, and vica-versa.

2. Buy time centrally to help you save money on your radio purchases.

We've made arrangements to buy radio time— both network and local programs and spot announcements — at a 10% reduction in cost. If you make your radio plans now, allocate a budget and let us know your plans as soon as possible , we can buy the time for you, save you the 10% , and tie in your schedule with ours.

You'll find a digest of radio's political rules and regulations in the attached guide.

We can't stress too much the importance of making effective use of radio in the next months. It will be greatly to your advantage to write us quickly about your own radio plans. If you don't have a radio committee to work on this, establish one immediately.

You will be notified shortly of transcriptions of spot announcements and 5 and 15 minute shows we are preparing for local use.

SO LET'S HEAR FROM YOU AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

TELL US ABOUT YOUR RADIO BUDGET AND PLANS — LET US HELP YOU PLAN THE MOST ECONOMICAL USE OF YOUR TIME AND MONEY!

uopwa # 16

33C-32-24

[PROG. PARTY, SEPT. 3, 1948]

TIME IS SHORT!

September 3, 1948

HURRY and ORDER LITERATURE NOW!!

Our apologies for jumping the gun and announcing new literature was off the press Aug. 18. Printer's delay held them up, but they are ready NOW. Following is description and price (with samples) of new leaflets and pamphlets already off press (honest!); then literature to be ready Sept. 8, and finally literature due off press Sept. 10.

PLEASE READ THIS LISTING CAREFULLY RIGHT NOW and then PLACE YOUR ORDERS AT ONCE. Remember, Election Day is only about 8 weeks off, and you need to allow time for delivery and then your own distribution!

Order from Estelle Ellis, Progressive Party, 39 Park Ave., N.Y. 16, N.Y.

Usual credit terms to official State parties or Wallace committees only. All other groups - local committees or other organizations - must pay cash in advance or may be ordered C.O.D.

A. LEAFLETS & PAMPHLETS READY NOW

LEAFLETS -

1. "FISHY, ISN'T IT?

The answer to those who yowl "Red!" and "Dangerous Radical" at Wallace and the Progressives. It shows how the wealthy Tories tried it on Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and FDR..but failed to make it work. And now they pull the same "red herring" trick on Wallace... which won't work this time either. Illustrated, 4-page leaflet. Red and black. 5½ x 5½. $2.60/M.

2. "HE THINKS RIGHT"

That's what FDR said about Wallace. Cover of 4-page leaflet shows Wallace's picture and quotes FDR. Inside pages quotes Wallace himself on key issues of peace, prices, housing, labor and minorities to prove how soundly he thinks on what bothers most Americans. Inside has photo of Wallace and FDR together. Illustrated, 5½ x 5½. Red and black. $2.60/M.

3. "NOT A R - - CENT"

Whether you're a shop or community club, this FUND-RAISER is just what you need to help you raise money. Copy slant is that General Motors, the DuPonts, Wall Street, Standard Oil don't give a dime to the Wallace-Taylor campaign fund, but housewives, veterans, clergymen, steelworkers, farmers give their hard-got dollars...because it's their Progressive Party...and yours. You can order leaflet with Natl. Labor Committee imprint or a blank space for signature, on which you can stamp your own local imprint. 4 pp, illustrated, red and black, 5½ x 5½. $2.50/M. Please specify which you want when ordering.

* *

230-32-20

.....and these revised, lower-priced editions of 3 recent, very popular leaflets.....

4. "CALL A COP!"

The 4-page PRICE leaflet that hits the Truman-Dewey failure to act on prices and compares it with Progressive plank for price rollback and price controls. Illustrated, 5½ x 5½. Red and black. $2.6[illegible]/M.

5. "THIS GUY'S SITTING PRETTY."

The 4-page HOUSING leaflet, revised to show sharply how Truman and Dewey play ball with the fat realty boys. It's specific on their bad records, and specific on what the Wallace program would do for low-cost public housing. Illustrated, 5½ x 5½. Red and black. $2.6[illegible]/M.

6. "THIS VETERAN'S DOING ALL RIGHT."

The popular 4-page leaflet for VETERANS that contrasts the postwar "success" of the Wall Streeters and West Pointers with the plight of the GI who's got his mother-in-law to live with, $1.25 a lb. meat, a penny-pinching VA and shrinking civil rights. Illustrated, 6½ x 5½. Red and black. $2.[illegible]/M.

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PAMPHLETS -

7. "PEACE, FREEDOM & ABUNDANCE"

The PLATFORM of the Progressive Party, in full text as adopted at the Founding Convention in Philadelphia, July 23-25 Illustrated, 20 pages, 8½ x 11, black and white. $4.50/C.

8. "THE FUTURE IS OURS"

An 8-page pamphlet excerpting Henry Wallace's speech at Shibe Park in Philadelphia, accepting his nomination to the Presidency. Illustrated, 5½ x 8½. Black and white. $6.90/M.

9. "LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD"

Exactly the kind of factual, documented job you've wanted, comparing the Wallace-Truman-Dewey records, point by point, on Labor, Living Costs, Housing, Civil Rights and War and Peace with emphasis on labor. Gives events, names, dates, places, compares promise with performance, etc. Makes effective use of 3 photos showing Wallace on a picketline, Dewey crossing a picketline, and Truman issuing an anti-labor injunction. Issued by National LABOR Committee of Progressive Party, can be circulated in shops and neighborhoods. 4 pages, 8½ x 11, illustrated, black and white. $6.90/M.

10. "FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MY LIFE"

Charles Howard's keynote speech to the Founding Convention of the Progressive Party in Philadelphia. Illustrated, 5½ x 8½. Black and white. $6.90/M.

11. "I AM A NEGRO WOMAN COME TO PHILADELPHIA"

Shirley Graham's speech on the Negro people keynoting the writing of the civil rights section of the Progressive Party platform at the Philadelphia convention. Illustrated, 5½ x 8½. Black and white. $5.75/M.

12. "THE WINNING COMBINATION"

Text of a recent address by Wallace at a YOUTH rally in New Jersey. Wallace discusses issues especially important to young people: draft, education, job training, discrimination, right to vote at 18, etc. The Progressive Party and the Young Progressives of America are the winning combination, he concludes. 8 pp, illustrated, 5½ x 8½. Black and white. $6.90/M.

-more -

NOTE: also ready now are cheaper reprints of 2 popular leaflets, "The Children's Bill of Rights" for $2.25 /M and "What Do You Want?" for $6.50 /M.

B. TO BE READY SEPT. 8

.....here are three new YPA leaflets.....

13. "HEY! YOU'RE BLOCKING TRAFFIC!"

A new leaflet issued by Young Progressives of America to help win new members. Presents YPA program in nutshell, shows how young people can both work and play in YPA. 4 pp, illustrated with cartoons. Blue and black. 5⅛ x 5⅛. $4.20/M.

14. "WHAT ARE YOUR CHANCES?"

A new campaign leaflet for young people, contrasting youth's hopes for a job with a future, a family and home, an education, etc. with realities of high prices, no housing, discrimination, high tuition, etc. Shows up old parties, presents YPA and Wallace-Taylor program for youth, 4pp, illustrated with cartoons. Red and Black. 5⅛ x 5⅛. $3.20/M.

15. "HE'S IN FAVOR OF THE DRAFT 100%. ARE YOU?"

Large cartoon of profiteer making dough out of cold war is on cover, and inside pages explain why big business and brass hats like draft, and why young people are threatened by it. Calls for fight to repeal draft and ties to Wallace-Taylor election. 4pp, illustrated with cartoons. Red and black. 5⅛ x 6⅛. $4.20/M.

16. "YOU'RE THE JUDGE"

Another and very effective answer to red-baiting. Tackles issues and asks if lower prices, low-cost housing, peace with honor, higher wages, equal rights, health, education and security are red, subversive, un-American, radical, etc. Under each issue the old-party bad record is contrasted with the Wallace program. Winds up asking reader to use his own common sense because "You're the Judge!" 1-page. Black and white on yellow. 8½ x 11. $3.30/M.

17. "BY THEIR DEEDS YE SHALL KNOW THEM"

A 1-page leaflet on the Jim Crow question, based entirely on what the three parties did at their Philadelphia conventions. The Republicans and Democrats are shown up for the hollowness of their civil rights talk, and the Progressive case is made entirely by a quotation from a major Negro newspaper, Pittsburgh Courier. 1-page. Black on yellow. Illustrated with cartoons of the donkey and elephant and a photo of Wallace, 8½ x 11, $3.30/M

C. TO BE READY SEPT. 10

18. "JIM CROW MUST GO!" -- says Henry Wallace

Cover of this new leaflet is a famous painting of a Negro child. Inside compares Truman-Dewey way with the Wallace way, listing several factual points to expose old parties' failure to fight Jim Crow and highlighting Progressive record of action, not talk. 4pp, 6 x 9, two colors, illustrated. Price to be announced later.

(more)

19. "LET US ADD YEARS TO OUR LIVES AND LIFE TO OUR YEARS"

New leaflet covering old-age and social security problem. Cover-title is quote from Wallace. Truman-Dewey record is blasted, with concrete facts used, and Progressive platform on $100 monthly pensions for senior citizens, health, unemployment provisions listed. 4pp, two colors, illustrated. Price to be announced later.

20. "SIMPLE AS A B C"

A labor leaflet using same 3 photos of Truman, Dewey and Wallace as in leaflet #9 described above. Record of 3 parties on every question labor is especially concerned with is analyzed briefly but pungently. 4 pp, illustrated, two colors, Price to be announced later.

21. A labor leaflet on the Taft-Hartley law, (as yet untitled), which will be 4 pp, illustrated and in two colors. Price to be announced later.

22. "YOU WHO HAVE GATHERED HERE"

Rexford G. Tugwell's speech at the Philadelphia Convention, introducing the Progressive platform reported out by the committee he chaired. It contains the first revelation of FDR's belief that the Democratic Party would one day give way to a new progressive party. Illustrated, 5⅛ x 8⅛, black and white. $5.70/M.

23. BI-PARTISAN BLUES POSTER.

Watch for the new Dewey-Truman poster, due off the press about Sept.15. It's the full-color reproduction of Ben Shahn's famous Philadelphia Convention poster, called the Bi-Partisan Blues. It shows Truman at the piano, with Dewey sitting atop it, harmonizing. It will be 30 x 40", 3 for 60¢, and will be mailed only in minimum quantity of 3 or more.

NOTE! NOTE! NOTE! NOTE! NOTE!

This list above is NOT the complete list of literature that will be available between now and Election Day.

There will be some additional items published by Sept. 20th.

They include: A Farmers piece, in self-mailer format
A pamphlet on Israel, by Congressman Leo Isacson
A leaflet on peace
A labor leaflet with emphasis on wages

Watch for announcements of these!

[1948]

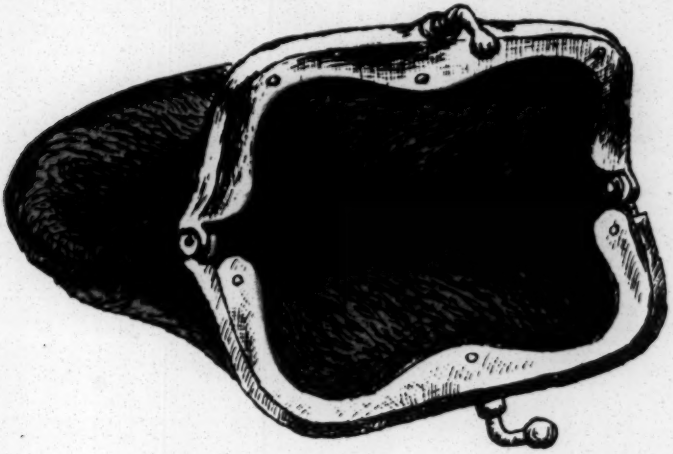
32.2S77

CALL A COP!

YOU'VE BEEN ROBBED! 49c out of every dollar you spend for food and clothing has been stolen from you. That's what the ending of price controls meant to you (to Big Business it meant super-profits). When President Truman said, "No one is more anxious to get rid of these controls than I" . . . when he called price controls a "police state" measure . . . he served notice that the Democratic Party had joined the Republican Party in surrender to Big Business demands for a "free hand." (Truman's crocodile tears didn't fool anybody . . . especially after a majority of Democrats in Congress voted to kill all controls.)

Something's awfully wrong . . . with both old political parties . . . when corporation

profits are the highest in history and your dollar buys less every day!
Something's wrong . . . with both old parties



when they give Big Business a "free hand" . . . to pick your pocket!

IT'S TIME TO CALL A COP! High prices are just one of the reasons the New Party was

started a few months ago . . . why Henry Wallace, who believes in the same basic principles of democracy that F.D.R. fought for, is the New Party's candidate for President . . . why one plank in the New Party program calls for rolling back prices to June, 1946 levels, with strict price and rent controls!

Millions of freedom-loving Americans are working today to elect Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor in November. If you want lower prices . . . low-cost houses . . . prosperity for all the people instead of a few . . . join the New Party of Wallace and Taylor NOW!

National Wallace for President Committee • 39 Park Ave., N. Y. 16 • Elmer A. Benson, Chairman; Clark Foreman, Treas.

not a r — — cent

from Wall Street!

General Motors didn't contribute a thin dime to the Wallace-Taylor campaign fund. GM doesn't want lower prices.

BUT A HOUSEWIFE IN CLEVELAND GAVE $10.

U. S. Steel hasn't given a red cent to the Progressive Party. The big corporations don't want low-cost housing.

BUT A CHICAGO VETERAN WITH SIX BATTLE STARS GAVE A WEEK'S PAY.

The DuPonts haven't mailed a check to the Progressive Party. They don't want to abolish Jim Crow.

BUT A NEGRO CLERGYMAN IN ST. LOUIS GAVE $20.

Wall Street didn't contribute a nickel to elect Wallace and Taylor. Bankers don't want to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act.

BUT A WHEELING STEEL WORKER GAVE $25.

Standard Oil of New Jersey didn't contribute to the Wallace-Taylor fund. They don't want to end the cold war.

BUT A MINNESOTA FARMER GAVE $75.

All over America, millions of ordinary men and women are giving their hard-earned dollars to finance the Progressive Party... because it's their party... and yours!

HOW MUCH WILL YOU CONTRIBUTE TO ELECT

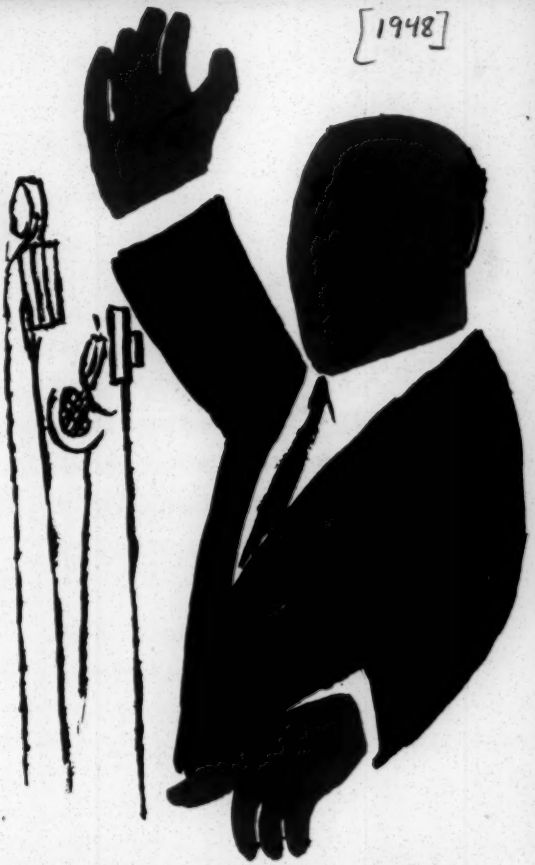
Wallace & Taylor

3225.52

[1948]

32·25·77

"HENRY WALLACE IS JUST AS BAD AS FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT!"



THIS GUY IS PRETTY SORE AT HENRY WALLACE

"He's a %$#@& red!" the man says. "Goes around talking peace, peace, peace! Who wants peace? I can't keep both my yachts on ordinary peace-time profits!

"And that's not all! The dirty New Dealer wants low-cost houses! Why, I've already got a house! In fact, I've got lots of houses, and if that radical Wallace had his way, I couldn't keep my tenants' rent jacked up sky-high!

"And all this Wallace talk about prices being too high! It's subversive, that's what it is! You don't hear us factory-owners complaining about high prices, do you?

"Why, that man Wallace is even against racial and religious discrimination! I TELL YOU, HENRY WALLACE IS JUST AS BAD AS FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT!"

This young American doesn't have a yacht to his name. He doesn't even own a factory. He works for a living. But he likes Henry Wallace fine.

"Wallace is my kind of guy," he says. "Wallace wants to stop the cold war before it gets hot, and build a real peace. He knows Wall Street and the old Political Parties are whooping it up for a war so big business profits will go even higher! He knows the draft law was unnecessary and he wants to repeal it!

"Wallace wants to build 4,000,000 new low-cost homes in the next two years, and lick the housing shortage. He wants to roll back prices to June, 1946 levels and set up strict price and rent controls!

"He wants to throw the Wall Street bankers and the West Point brass hats out of Washington. He wants to make this a country where a young person can find a good job with a

future, at decent pay, live in a good house, afford good food and proper medical attention, raise a family and live like a free, happy American, in peace and security.

"I WANT WALLACE IN THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE SAME GOOD REASONS I WANTED FDR IN THE WHITE HOUSE . . . HE'S MY FRIEND!"

If you want peace—a good job with security—a home of your own—lower prices and rents—an end to discrimination against minorities—WALLACE IS YOUR FRIEND, TOO!

JOIN YOUTH FOR WALLACE! FILL OUT COUPON BELOW AND MAIL TODAY FOR COMPLETE INFORMATION.

To: Youth for Wallace, 39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

NAME.....

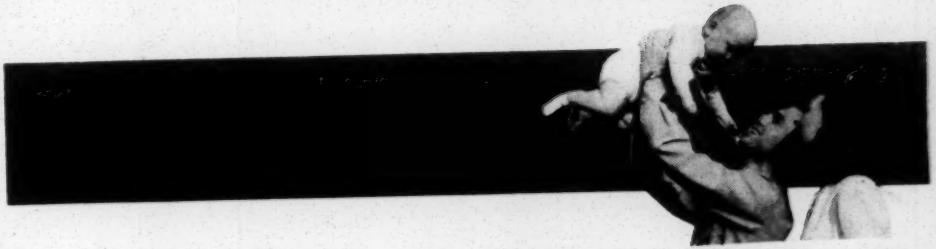
ADDRESS.....

CITY AND STATE.....

National Wallace for President Committee • 39 Park Ave., N. Y. 16 • Elmer A. Benson, Chairman; Clark Foreman, Treas.

32.25.52

what are YOUR chances ?



what are your chances for a [redacted]
when 2 million young people start job-hunting
every year . . . and a third of the 5 million
unemployed are young people

what are your chances for [redacted]
when 3 million families live doubled-up . . . and
5 million more are in old tenements and shacks

what are your chances [redacted]
and 96 out of 100 Negroes earn less than
$1000 a year . . . and Jim Crow dominates
jobs, housing and schools

what are your chances [redacted]
when 3 out of 5 must quit public school to hunt work
. . . and a college education depends not on ability,
but ability to pay—and pay *high!*

WHAT ARE YOUR CHANCES WHEN YOUNG PEOPLE FACE ANOTHER DRAFT? . . . AND THE COLD WAR THREATENS TO BECOME ATOM-HOT?

you don't stand a chance unless

you sweep out the bankers and generals and their Republican and Democratic pals who spent the last two years preparing for a hot war and piling up the latest peacetime profits in history . . . they killed price controls, knifed vets' housing, crippled labor, did nothing to help education or protect civil liberties . . . so

let's go the WALLACE WAY

FOR ALL YOUTH: freedom from the draft, the right to live in a world at peace.

FOR YOUNG WORKERS: jobs at decent wages, equal pay for equal work, repeal of the Taft-Hartley union-busting law

FOR YOUNG FARMERS: ownership of farms free from debt burdens, farm control of the farm

program, soil conservation, river valley authorities and public power

FOR NEGRO AND MINORITY YOUTH: end of discrimination in industry, education, housing, the armed forces. Full equality in the life of the nation.

FOR STUDENTS: academic freedom and the right to a free and adequate high school and college education.

FOR ALL YOUTH: the right to vote at 18.

FOR A DECENT CHANCE JOIN THE

Young Progressives of America

WORK AND VOTE FOR CANDIDATES WHO WILL WORK AND VOTE FOR YOU.

TO: Young Progressives of America, 39 Park Avenue, N. Y. C. 16

I want more information about YPA ☐

Here is my $.25. Enroll me in YPA ☐

NAME .....

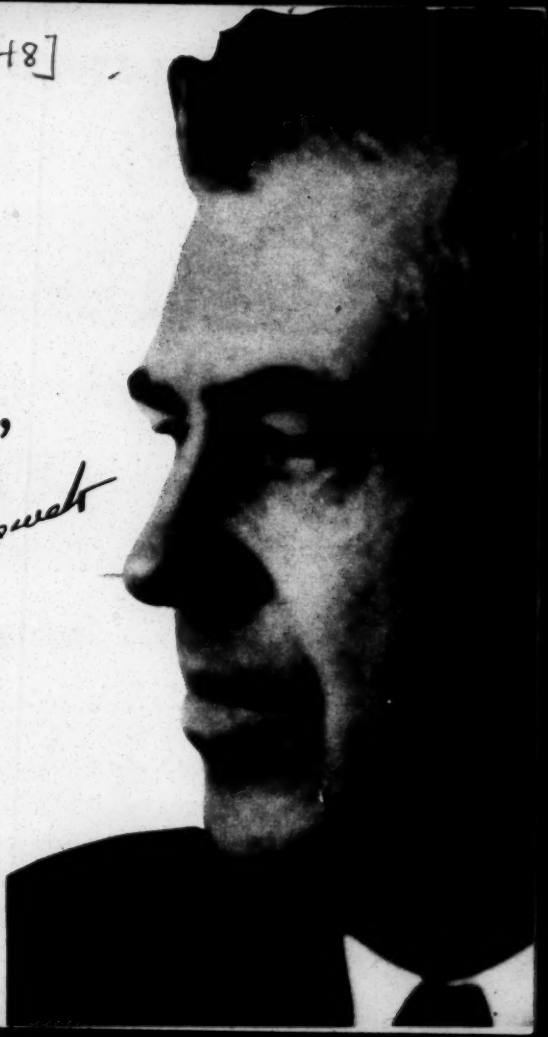
ADDRESS ..... CITY & STATE .....

ALVIN JONES, CHRISTINE WALKER, *Co-Chairmen*. ELSIE WILLCOX, *Treasurer*.

Wallace [1948]

"He thinks right."

Franklin D. Roosevelt



** As reported by James A. Farley* ("Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years") *and Frances Perkins* ("The Roosevelt I Knew")

"He thinks right." That's what F.D.R. said about Henry Wallace — not once but several times. "You can trust his information. He digs to the bottom of things and gets the facts. He can help the people with their political thinking" F.D.R. said and referred to Henry Wallace as "Old Man Common Sense."

Wallace thinks right about [redacted]

"The drive toward war, supported by both old parties, is being engineered by Wall Streeters and military men who stand to profit from war and war preparations. Not a single American principle or public interest would have to be sacrificed to make peace with Russia."

Wallace thinks right about [redacted]

"When the Democrats and Republicans joined hands in Congress to kill price control, they gave up all pretense of being parties of the people. They sold America's housewives down the river of high prices. Prices must be rolled back to June, 1946 levels, with strict price and rent controls."

Wallace thinks right about [redacted]

"Neither the Republican nor Democratic Parties are willing to defy the big landlord and real estate interests who oppose every real housing program. I say slums and shacks are un-American. We must build 4 million new low-cost homes in the next two years—20 million by 1960."

32.25.57

Wallace thinks right about [redacted]

"The Taft-Hartley Bill is simply the first blow in Big Business's drive to weaken the bargaining power and lower the living standards of American workers. It must be repealed, if labor is to get its fair share of the fruits of industry."

Wallace thinks right about [redacted]

"Jim Crow must go! Racial and religious discrimination is as un-American as Adolf Hitler! I shall fight against discrimination in all its forms with all the strength I have!"

Make your vote count for

Peace Freedom Abundance

For President **For Vice-President**

HENRY WALLACE • GLEN TAYLOR

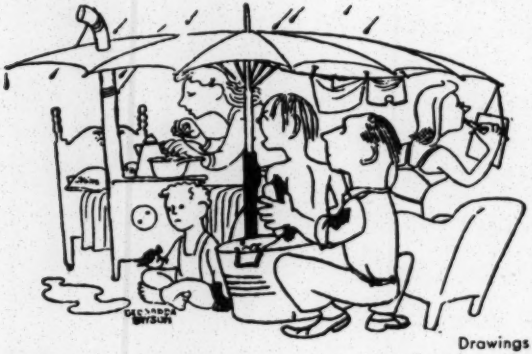
Progressive Party • 39 Park Avenue, N. Y. C. • Elmer A. Benson, Chairman • Clark Foreman, Treasurer

[1948]

32·25·78

THIS GUY'S SITTING PRETTY . . . he's a big real estate owner . . . and as long as the housing shortage lasts, he makes more money than you can shake a stick at. So naturally, he tells his Republican and Democratic

friends in Congress to kick the living daylights out of any low-cost housing programs that come along. And



Drawings courtesy New Republic

the old-party politicians say, "Yes sir!" . . . because they, too, put profits first and people last.

HENRY WALLACE WANTS to give this fat boy a swift kick in the slums. Wallace and his new party are determined to put a real, practical low-cost housing program into effect *right away*. (4,000,000 new low-cost houses to be built in the next two years;

32,000,000 new low-cost homes by 1960; strict price and rent controls to go into effect immediately.) And if private industry refuses to do the job, then the government must do it (and will, if it's a Wallace-New Party government).

YOU SEE, Henry Wallace believes in America. He thinks this country is great enough and strong enough, and rich enough to provide a decent home for every single one of its citizens. He thinks slums are un-American. He thinks discrimination in housing is un-American. He thinks the Wall Street-West Point gang that is now running your government and whooping it up

for a brand-new war (and brand-new war profits) ought to be thrown out of your country's capital. ("He thinks right," FDR said about Wallace.... FDR knew.)

IF YOU THINK Henry Wallace has the right idea about a housing program . . . price and rent control . . . an end to the made-in-Wall Street war hysteria . . . equal rights for minority groups . . . and a return to the basic principles of American democracy . . . join the new Party of Wallace and Taylor . . . it's your party!

National Wallace for President Committee • 39 Park Ave., N. Y. 16 • Elmer A. Benson, Chairman; Clark Foreman, Treas.

[1948]

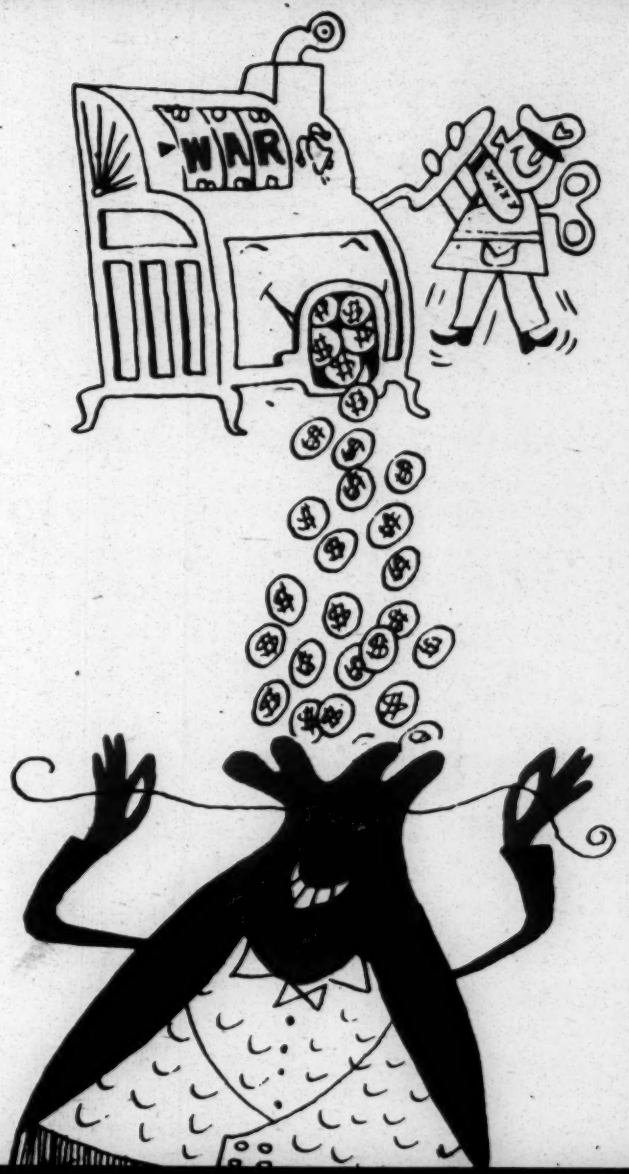
He's in favor of the draft 100%

32251

ARE YOU?

This big business boy turns a neat profit on every draftee, every gun and tank and plane his brass-hat pals order. With the help of both old parties they've cooked up a war scare and shoved through a peacetime draft.

We defended our country when it was threatened and we stand ready to defend it in any time of danger . . . but the fact is that nobody threatens our country today . . . except the Wall Street-West Point gang who're running things in Washington.



IF YOU WANT

to repeal the draft and have lasting peace
a better home . . . not army barracks
higher wages . . . not a private's pay
free education . . . not army courses
civil liberties . . . not a Jim Crow army

Then you want to help elect Wallace and Taylor

FIGHT FOR REPEAL OF THE DRAFT

FIGHT FOR A LASTING PEACE

JOIN YOUNG PROGRESSIVES OF AMERICA TODAY

Fill in this coupon and mail it now:

TO: Young Progressives of America, 39 Park Avenue, N. Y. C. 16

I want more information about YPA ☐

Here is my $.25. Enroll me in YPA ☐

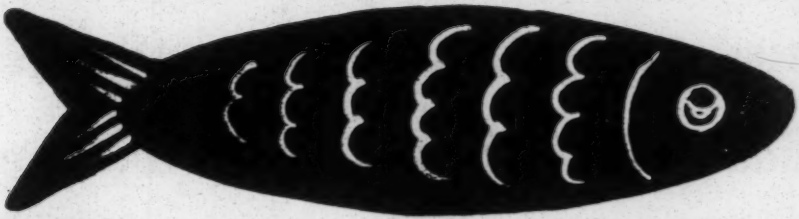
NAME .....

ADDRESS ..... CITY & STATE .....

YOUNG PROGRESSIVES OF AMERICA · 39 PARK AVE., N. Y. C. 16

Alvin Jones-Christine Walker, Co-chairmen · Elsie Willcox, Treasurer

32 25 54



FISHY, isn't it . . . how every time a real spokesman for the common people arises, the big money interests yell 'Red!' and 'Dangerous Radical!' The wealthy Tories tried it on George

Washington. It didn't work! The 'respectable' followers of Hamilton

tried it on Thomas Jefferson. It didn't work! The wealthy slave-owners tried it on Abe Lincoln. It didn't work! Wall Street and Big Business tried it on FDR. It didn't work! Now they're trying to pull the same 'red herring' trick on Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party.

AND IT WON'T WORK THIS TIME EITHER!

Because . . . even if you own the big newspapers and radio stations . . .

YOU CAN'T FOOL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE!

They know Henry Wallace is as American as apple pie or baseball. They know Wallace's platform is an American platform. That's why millions of Americans will vote on November 2nd for Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor and

☞ price roll-backs to June, 1946 levels!

☞ 4,000,000 new low-cost homes by 1950!

☞ ending the 'cold war' and building a strong UN for permanent peace!

☞ equality for minority groups...through FEPC and other anti-discrimination legislation!

☞ repeal of Taft-Hartley Law and stopping the 'cold war' on trade unions!

for president — for vice-president

HENRY WALLACE • GLEN TAYLOR

Progressive Party • 39 Park Avenue, N. Y. C. • Elmer A. Benson, Chairman • Clark Foreman, Treasurer

[1948]

32.25.90

This veteran's doing alright!

How are* YOU *doing?

THE BRASS HATS AND THE SILK HATS are running the show in Washington. It's strictly a benefit performance—for *their* benefit, not yours. They're whooping it up for a brand-new war (and counting the profits and promotions in advance). They've got both *old* parties sewed up tight

in their Wall Street-West Point bag. They don't give a damn about the housing shortage—price control—peace —or *you!*

THAT'S WHY THOUSANDS OF VETERANS are joining Veterans For Wallace. They know Henry Wallace and the New Party is pledged

to *fight* for ☛ 4,000,000 new low-cost homes in the next 2 years, with priorities for vets, ☛ a substantial federal bonus, ☛ an expanded VA program, ☛ increased GI Bill subsistence allotments, ☛ roll-back of prices

to June, 1946 levels, with rigid price and rent control, ☛ good jobs for disabled vets, ☛ equal rights for all Negro veterans and vets of all minority groups, ☛ ending the cold war before it gets red-hot and ☛ strong U. S. support of the United Nations.

IF YOU WANT THIS PROGRAM, you want Wallace—Taylor and the New Party. Join Veterans For Wallace today. Fill in the coupon and mail it for complete information.

National Wallace for President Committee • 39 Park Ave., N. Y. 16 • Elmer A. Benson, Chairman; Clark Foreman, Treas.

TO: VETERANS FOR WALLACE
39 PARK AVE., N. Y. C. 16

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY AND STATE.....

Veterans organizations to which you belong.....

.....

(signature & address) .....

.....

THE WINNING COMBINATION

". . . the Progressive Party and the Young Progressives of America . . . this is the winning combination."

Henry A Wallace

32.25.49

"... THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SIMULTANEOUS EMERGENCE OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND THE YOUNG PROGRESSIVES OF AMERICA AND THEIR UNITY OF PURPOSE WILL NOT BE LOST. THIS IS THE WINNING COMBINATION."

Young Progressives of America, 39 Park Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
ALVIN JONES, CHRISTINE WALKER, *Co-Chairmen*. ELSIE WILLCOX, *Treasurer*.

Text of Address by Henry Wallace to the Independent Young Progressives of New Jersey, Asbury Park, N. J.
July 18, 1948

32.25.50

YOU AND I and every other American have before us two paths. One path has already been charted for us; the other we are determined to chart for ourselves. The two old parties are setting the young people of our nation to marching—marching in step. It is the path which offers the young men and women of America no hope but to become part of a war machine—in the army, in the factories, on the farm, in the schools.

There is another path—the path of peace. You millions of young men and women throughout the nation have demanded and projected this in the program of the Progressive Party.

The two old parties have made it perfectly clear which path they want you to tread. Their platforms contain not one single word dedicated to the specific needs of young people. Nowhere is there a mention of the special problems that you face. Not even a campaign promise to meet your needs.

But don't think they have neglected you. Their performance—if not their promise—has built an iron-clad program for young people. For the first time in America's peace-time history, the two old parties have joined hands in passing a peace-time Draft Law.

I think that we in the Progressive Party can take some pride in the fact that the only real fight put up against the Draft Law was made by representatives of the Progressive Party in the Congress—particularly the all-out effort of my partner-in-peace, Senator Glen Taylor.

'Starting Point—Repeal the Draft'

THE DEBATE on that Draft Law laid bare the plans of the two old parties for the young people of our country. Together they voted down a draft of capital; together they voted down restrictions of armaments profits. And together they voted down—by a gentlemen's agreement—every effort to ban discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

Passage of the draft made it clear that the two old parties prepare for war. And in a war-time economy young men and women become expendable draft numbers and anonymous figures on a chart in the Department of National Defense.

Monopoly demands militarization. It demands profits from an arms economy. It demands that young people be taken from the schools and the shops and put into the army. It demands that billions shall be spent to enrich the men of Wall Street, while millions are denied to young people for education, for housing, for health and for security.

The starting point in our fight to break away from the path set by the old parties is to repeal the Draft.

Challenge to the Old Parties

LET US CARRY the challenge to both old parties on their entire program. Let us see what the two old parties will do to meet the needs of young people.

Young men and women in industry today want a decent minimum wage. They want jobs. In 1947, young people made up 20 percent of the total labor force in the country—but they made up more than *half* of the *unemployed* people in the country. Child labor is still an outrage in this country.

We can cut through this jungle of artificial barriers placed in the way of young people by passing a decent minimum wage law, providing at least $1 an hour and equal pay for equal work by young workers.

Need I say at this point that no such law has been proposed either by the Republican Party or by the President's own Party.

Let me go on.

The young industrial worker and his family, no less than the older worker, wants a halt to high prices. Let us force both old parties to lower prices to the levels of 1946, to provide subsidies so that adequate food will be within the reach of all.

Young people demand adequate housing.

Let us challenge the two old parties to provide such a program of housing that will supply 4 million new homes in the next two years—as we in the Progressive Party advocate. But the two old parties know they cannot provide the housing that young America needs as long as they are committed to building barracks. They must take steel and aluminum and lumber from the making of guns, battleships and military airplanes, they must cut profits of big industry, they must control big business and not young people. We challenge them to do so.

Cold War 'Luxuries'

YOUNG PEOPLE demand a decent educational system, they demand adequate funds for adequate recreational facilities, they demand protection for their health. We challenge the two old parties to answer these demands with a real program—a program of national health insurance, a program of expanded education and recreation.

The President has also offered a Civil Rights program. But neither party can deliver on Civil Rights; and both have already demonstrated their failure. They have given the answer that the cold war will not permit young people to exercise their rights of full and free expression.

Never in our history have young people been so terrorized. Listening to me speak, or endorsing Progressive Party views, jeopardizes students and teachers. Instead of operating

freely in a democratic framework, my presence on a campus often becomes a test-case for democracy.

Young people want to assume their full political rights, and function actively in the political life of the nation. But the right to vote has not yet been extended to those who have reached 18 years of age—although the right to be drafted has. Millions of Southern young people, Negro as well as many white, are deprived of voting by the notorious poll-tax.

Negro youth and other minority youth are chained down constantly, daily, hourly, by discrimination. It goes without saying that Negro young people are most hard hit by unemployment. When working, Negro youth performs the most menial labor and is barred from most kinds of employment.

Earning less, they are forced to pay exhorbitant rents in ghettos, and scandalous prices for foods. If *all* the people in the United States lived in the same kind of crowdedness as do the Negro people in Harlem, they could all be placed within the confines of New York City.

'No Person is Free . . .'

A SHORT TIME ago I reported that a Negro infant has a life expectancy ten years less than that of a white youth. I said then that those ten extra years for millions of Americans are what we are fighting for.

Jim Crow Must Go. And it must go now. No young person is free until this scourge is eradicated from our land.

Jewish youth, Mexican youth, foreign-born youth and the youth of foreign born parents are also victims of discrimination. Young people must not be blighted because of creed or religious belief in a free America.

The two old parties regard the abolition of discrimination as a luxury in their cold war. They made that unmistakably clear in Congress when they wrote segregation and discrimination into the Draft Law.

Neither party has dared to meet this fundamental challenge of our democracy.

Let us demand of the two old parties that they transfer 3 billions from their war budget to a peace budget. Let us see whether they dare take the 3 billion dollars from military training and use it to build a modern school-house, a library, a modern hospital, in every county in the United States.

I say, and I know you say, that it is far cheaper to build for peace than to destroy for war.

'Young People Built this Nation'

BUT YOU CANNOT force the two old parties into the path of peace unless you unite to do so, and unless you press home the fight as young men and women before you have done. It was young people who built this nation—a young Jefferson who wrote the Virginia Declaration, a young Patrick Henry who risked death for liberty. Lincoln was under 25 when he was elected to the Legislature, and Frederick Douglass led the abolitionists when but 24.

It is on your fundamental strength that we must depend if we are to take the path of peace and freedom and security, not the path of war and destruction and regimentation which has been planned by the two old parties. You now have an unequalled opportunity to do so.

From the Founding Convention of a new progressive young people's organization there arises a great new and powerful American young people's movement dedicated to meeting your needs. I wish that movement all the success it seeks and, on behalf of the Progressive Party, pledge to devote our tireless efforts to bring about the realization of your aspirations.

The historic significance of the simultaneous emergence of the Progressive Party and the Young Progressives of America, and their unity of purpose, will not be lost. This is the winning combination.

Henry A. Wallace

Henry Wallace says:

Young people have been called idealists and dreamers. Franklin Delano Roosevelt had the wisdom to recognize the real strength of young people—the greatness of their dreams. I join with him in saying:

> "You ought to thank God tonight, if, regardless of your years, you are young enough in spirit to dream dreams and see visions—dreams and visions about a greater and finer America that is to be; if you are young enough in spirit to believe that poverty can be greatly lessened; that the disgrace of involuntary unemployment can be wiped out; that class hatred can be done away with; that peace at home and peace abroad can be maintained; and that one day a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything we now know, blessed with those things —material and spiritual—that make man's life abundant. If that is the fashion of your dreaming, then I say, 'Hold fast to your dream, America needs it!' "

YOUNG PROGRESSIVES OF AMERICA
39 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

Please send me more information on Young Progressives of America.....

Here is my $.25. Please enroll me as a member of YPA.....

.....
(name) (please print)

.....
(address)

ALVIN JONES & CHRISTINE WALKER, *Co-Chairmen* • ELSIE WILLCOX, *Treasurer*

[PROGRESSIVE PARTY]

As a forerunner to the writing of the strongest platform on civil rights to be adopted by any political party, Shirley Graham (McCanns) delivered the following keynote speech on the Negro people at the opening session of the Progressive Party Founding Convention on July 23, 1948 in Philadelphia.

Mrs. McCanns, distinguished as a writer and lecturer, is author of "There Was Once A Slave," a biography of Frederick Douglass, which received the Julian Messner award for the "best book combatting intolerance." She is a vice-chairman of the New York State Wallace for President Committee and Secretary of the N. Y. State Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

230-38-10

I AM A NEGRO WOMAN COME TO PHILADELPHIA TO HELP WRITE A PLATFORM FOR ME AND FOR MY CHILDREN. I come proudly, not as a suppliant begging crumbs of consideration, not a petitioner imploring some small plank of recognition, not a weakling asking special privilege or patronage. I come AN AMERICAN, delegate to this National Founding Convention, representing a great segment of the people of these United States.

ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO YEARS AGO here in this city, oppressed but determined men drew up the platform for this new land. Fifty years later John Quincy Adams wrote, "The seeds of the Declaration of Independ-

ence are slowly ripening." Tonight, I say to you that on this July 23, 1948 with the founding of an *equal people's* party firmly uniting for PEACE, FREEDOM and ABUNDANCE, those seeds of independence burst into flower.

IT HAS BEEN A LONG, HARD ROAD. Throughout these years my people have poured their sweat and blood into the soil of this land; we have borne burdens in the heat of the day; we have been robbed of the products of our hands; our children have been denied the essentials of life. I am only one Negro mother who has seen the doors of a great hospital closed against her dying son; I am only one of the thousands whose sons fought in distant lands for freedom and democracy which they did not have at home. This Convention is resolved that these sons shall have their American heritage—shall enjoy the inalienable rights of LIFE, LIBERTY and the pursuit of HAPPINESS.

THERE ARE NO PICKETS outside Convention Hall tonight protesting discrimination and segregation. THE PICKETS ARE INSIDE!

THERE IS NO WELL OILED MACHINE geared to steamroller us between fixed bayonets or cram a puppet candidate down our throats. We have chosen our men! Our candidate holds a banner high for all the world to see, "JIM CROW IN AMERICA MUST GO!" It was last December that Henry Wallace said, "I am haunted by a single grim fact . . . a Negro child born this day has a life expectancy ten years less than that of a white child born a few miles away. . . . I say

those ten extra years for millions of Americans are what we are fighting for." We have chosen his running mate—a young man who single-handed prevented the seating of Theodore Bilbo by the 80th Congress—Glen Taylor, a brave man who dares defy Jim Crow in its very teeth.

NOR ARE THE MONEY BAGS OF WALL STREET OPENED for our convenience by powerful monopolists who control our policies. We pay our own way! In spite of the burden of high costs, in spite of our shrunken dollars, and drained-away savings, WE ARE PAYING THE PRICE FOR FREEDOM.

WHAT DO WE WANT? That our children may dwell in peace. PEACE without battleships, atomic bombs and lynch ropes; PEACE without murderers masked as statesmen; PEACE without military conscription and mangled, torn bodies lingering on in veterans' hospitals; PEACE in which to work and build. We would use Science for human uplift and not for death; we want Peace which, by saving in the next years all that has been squandered in the hell of war, will mean health to our sick, homes to our homeless, education for our children, food for the hungry of the world and clothes to the naked. In this great land of ours with its mighty rivers and limitless resources, we Americans, a nation of free and equal men and women, would lead the world into the CENTURY OF PEACE!

THE 3,500 DELEGATES TO THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY'S FOUNDING CONVENTION wrote and adopted the platform Shirley Graham called

for—a platform which neither asks, nor urges, but *demands* and *pledges* a complete end to Jim Crow in American life.

FULL EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE

END TO SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMED FORCES AND FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCH, ANTI-DISCRIMINATION AND FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES LEGISLATION, ANTI-POLL-TAX LEGISLATION

DENIAL OF FEDERAL FUNDS TO ANY STATE OR LOCAL AUTHORITY PRACTICING SEGREGATION OR DISCRIMINATION AND SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO RAISE LOW HEALTH, HOUSING AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR NEGROES AND OTHER MINORITY GROUPS.

WILL YOU JOIN SHIRLEY GRAHAM and the other founders of the Progressive Party in becoming one of the millions who must and will make this platform a reality? Only Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor, Progressive Party standard bearers, ACT to end Jim Crow. Only a vote for Wallace and Taylor this November will count towards winning full rights for the Negro people.

VOTE WALLACE AND TAYLOR

"They were for equality of individuals, regardless of race or color, because they fervently believed it was right and just, not merely because it is expedient . . ."

(John Clark, Pittsburgh Courier reporter at the Progressive Party Founding Convention)

"The Progressives make it clear that they are not engaged in the duplicity with which the other major parties pledge to do something FOR Negroes . . . They are working with each other to do something for the South . . ." *(Lem Graves, columnist for the Pittsburgh Courier)*

Progressive Party • 39 Park Avenue, N. Y. C. • Elmer A. Benson, Chairman • Clark Foreman, Treasurer

you're the judge

Are lower prices "red?" When Congress (with Truman's blessing) killed OPA, it gave profiteering Big Business a "free hand"—to pick your pocket. 49c of every dollar you spend for food and clothing has been stolen from you by inflation — yet Truman calls price controls "a police state measure!" Henry Wallace calls for rolling back prices, with rigid price controls to safeguard your standard of living.

Is low-cost housing "subversive?" Both old parties agree on spending billions for a made-in-Wall-Street cold war —but refuse to lift a finger for the 30 million American families that lack decent homes. Henry Wallace insists on government action to insure building of 4,000,000 new low-cost homes in 2 years— 25,000,000 by 1958 — with strict rent controls to protect you against rent gouging.

Is peace with honor "un-American?" Wall Street invented the cold war to keep profits at war levels—and both old parties support the reckless policy that leads us closer to world destruction every minute. Today only the Progressive Party is a peace party —because only the Progressive Party puts people ahead of profits. Henry Wallace says: "Not a single American principle or public interest need be sacrificed to make an honorable, lasting peace with Russia. We must strengthen the United Nations as a powerful guardian of world peace."

Are higher wages "radical?" Take-home pay has fallen far behind the rising cost of living. Unions are being crippled by the Republican-Democratic Taft-Hartley Act, their bargaining power weakened. Henry Wallace wants wages increased out of super-profits; repeal of Taft-Hartley Act; $1-an-hour Minimum Wage Law; a higher standard of living for all Americans who work in office, farm or shop.

Are equal rights "communist?" Henry Wallace says: "Jim Crow must go! I shall fight against racial and religious discrimination in all its forms, and with all my strength." Wallace wants a permanent FEPC, Anti-Poll Tax and Anti-Lynch Laws, Federal Laws to protect minorities against discrimination.

Are health and security "radical?" 82% of the American people are unable to pay for adequate medical attention. Present old-age pensions are shamefully low. Wallace wants National Health Insurance; extension of Social Security benefits to all Americans; sickness benefits for all employed persons; retirement incomes of $100 a month for all Americans 60 or older.

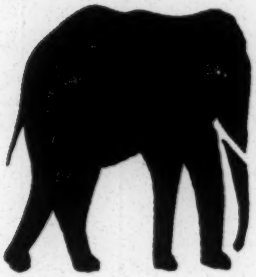
Is education "subversive?" Millions of young Americans are robbed of opportunity to get professional or vocational training they need to get good jobs, because of insufficient schools and high tuitions. Wallace wants Federal aid to schools and colleges; no discrimination in education; laws to guarantee right to vote and to work at decent jobs at 18.

THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS CAN'T ARGUE AGAINST HENRY WALLACE'S COMMON-SENSE PROGRAM. SO THEY TRY TO FOOL THE VOTERS BY NAME-CALLING. DON'T FALL FOR THEIR SUCKER GAME. USE YOUR OWN AMERICAN COMMON SENSE — BECAUSE YOU'RE THE JUDGE!

HENRY WALLACE For President **GLEN TAYLOR** For Vice-President

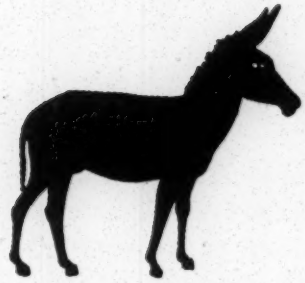
PROGRESSIVE PARTY • 39 Park Ave., New York City 16 • Elmer Benson, Chairman, Clark Foreman, Treasurer

BY THEIR DEEDS SHALL YE KNOW THEM



AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION:

Ted Poston, Negro correspondent, wrote in the New York *Post* that Negro delegates were Jim Crowed and ignored by National Republican Committee and by candidates, and that the Platform Committee refused to hear Negro delegates plead for "performance instead of promises."



AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION:

No Negro delegates from most states; big talk - no action on civil liberties. (Two weeks later, scared by growing Wallace sentiment among leading Negro spokesmen, Truman issued phoney "request" to end discrimination in army and navy, appointed committee to "study the situation." As Commander in Chief, he has power to issue an executive order abolishing Jim Crow in armed forces, but refuses to use that power.

AT THE PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION:

This is what the PITTSBURGH COURIER (June 23rd, '48) said about the first convention of the Progressive Party which nominated Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor:

> **"There were Negroes in greater number in this convention than in any major party in history . . . and everywhere Negroes were found, they were treated with *dignity* and *equality* . . .**
>
> **"At least eighteen Negroes addressed the Convention and for the first time in American History, a Negro acted as keynoter and temporary chairman.**
>
> **"Attorney Charles P. Howard apparently voiced the feeling of Negro members of the Progressive Party when he said, *"For the first time in my life, I am experiencing human dignity."* . . .**
>
> **"Songs played an important part in this convention . . . the words of one of the verses expressed the general atmosphere of the convention. It said, *'We're building, black and white together!'"***

Progressive Party 39 Park Avenue, N. Y. C. 16
Elmer A. Benson, Chairman
Clark Foreman, Treasurer

The Progressive Party demands immediate action to smash Jim Crow forever!

REGISTER and VOTE for Henry WALLACE and Glen TAYLOR

[PROG. PARTY, SEPT. 10, 1948]

Excerpts from
Speech by Henry A Wallace
New York City - YANKEE STADIUM
Friday, September10, 1948

Progressive Party
39 Park Avenue
New York City 16

23-27a-15

....I have never had such deeply moving experiences as those of the first week of September, 1948, when I traveled South to campaign for peace.

I had seen the victims of mass prejudice in a DP camp.

I had seen and felt--as any decent human being must feel--for the Jewish orphans interned in Italy.

I had visited foreign lands--Latin America, China, and many parts of Europe and had my heart go out to victims of oppression.

I have deplored and felt that I truly understood the plight of workers who have faced picket line violence.

I had been South before--many times--and I thought I understood the plight of our Negro citizens.

But I discovered last week that my understanding was only the limited understanding; the sympathetic feeling of a friend for a man who is afflicted.

To me fascism is no longer a second-hand experience--a motion picture, a photograph, or the deeply-moving words of a great writer.

It is no longer a mere definition of an economic and political system in which freedom is stifled by private power; in which prejudices are bred and nourished; in which man is set against man for the profit of powerful and greedy forces.

No, fascism has become an ugly reality--a reality which I have tasted.

I have tasted it neither so fully nor so bitterly as millions of others. But I have tasted it.

And in tasting it I have reinforced my solemn resolution to fight it wherever and whenever it appears so long as I live.....

The free South and the feudal South live side by side in the state of Alabama. In one day we received courteous receptions and held free meetings in the best American tradition in Decatur and Huntsville and Gunthersville in the great TVA area; and on the same day we could not hold meetings in Gadsden and Birmingham and Bessemer, cities which are dominated by Northern-owned steel corporations. We did not hold meetings because the police insisted on dividing Americans by the color of their skins. We did not hold meetings because the constitutional right to freely assemble and speak was denied by the police authorities of those company-towns.

Here--in Alabama--in a single day, we saw the economic basis of hate and segregation.

In the steel towns it is profitable to keep labor divided.

North against South, race against race, farmer against worker--the profits

-more-

of the men who own the South are multiplied by keeping the people divided.....

In a radio interview the editor of an Arkansas paper asked me about FEPC. He wanted to know if I would interfere with the right of men to choose their own associates. And I replied that I considered that a most important right. I replied that it was precisely my devotion to that right that leads me to fight segregation--segregation which deprives both white and Negro from freely chbosing their own associates.

23-27a-16

I told this same man; this same champion of segregation that while I knew we couldn't legislate love, we most certainly could and will legislate against the acts of hate.

Throughout the South we spoke for the full protection of all citizens under the Constitution of the United States. Tonight, I want to call upon the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties to pledge with me that whosoever shall be elected, he will enforce the second section of the fourteenth amendment no less than the other provisions of the Constitution. That section of our Constitution calls for the reduction of the number of Congressmen for each state where the right to vote is abridged.

In 1946 the votes cast to elect 14 congressmen from Louisiana and Mississippi were less than the votes cast in the 24th congressional district here in New York.

John Rankin and 13 others all together received less votes than are cast here in the 24th district.

That is not only unfair to the people of New York's 24th district; it is grossly unfair to the people of the southern states, whose freedom has been limited by the failure of the Congress to enforce the 14th amendment.

If every congressional candidate, if each of the presidential candidates will take a pledge to secure constitutional reapportionment on the basis of the next census, I predict that we shall see an end to the many hindrances to free suffrage in the South.

We pledge ourselves to enforce this constitutional right.

In pledging to live by the Constitution, we have earned enemies. And we are proud of our enemies:

The men who stand for Jim Crow.

The men who stand for Taft-Hartley.

The men who support fascists in Greece and China.

The men who prefer an atmosphere of war, because they profit by it.

The men who hated Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal and who now find their unity in hatred for the Progressive Party....

-more-

23-27a-17

It is with great sadness that I note that the bi-partisans have some new allies; fearful men who call themselves liberals and leaders of labor; men who cry out against Wall Street running the country and then ask workers to give dollar bills to keep President Truman and his Wall Street gang in Washington.

I say such action, such double-talk, such duplicity is shameful, immoral and corrupt.

These illiberal liberals; these labor leaders who fight monopoly with words, but whose actions support the candidates of monopoly, these men make possible the Truman double-talk. They make it possible for Truman to condemn Taft-Hartley while using it to destroy unions and the Wagner Act; to call for civil rights, while maintaining segregation in the armed forces and conducting loyalty purges; to call for price controls after killing them; to call for peace, while preparing for war. The surest proof that we of the Progressive party are not impractical in our politics is in the alliances of hate which have been formed against us.

Some of the liberals, some of the Pied Pipers of labor will tell us that they have compromised because Roosevelt compromised; but they slander a great man when they draw that comparison.

Roosevelt, by the deftest political maneuvering in all history, made many a political deal, but always advancing the cause of the common man.

The men who are bargaining with corruption today hope for no gains, no advancements. They are bargaining to minimize losses. They are fearful men. They are men who might well heed the lesson that the only cure for fear is to stand up and fight for right....

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PROG. PARTY, SEPT. 13, 1948

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
39 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY 16
MUrray Hill 6-5300

FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY
September 13, 1948

Text of Radio Address
by
Henry A. Wallace
10:30-10:45 P.M. EDT 9/13/48
National Broadcasting Co.

I have been in the South so many times and every time I have found many new things. But never were my eyes opened so widely as on my last trip. It is a strange experience to stand on the main street of an American town and to ask only for the right to speak -- and to be denied that right. It is a strange experience to look into faces blinded by unreasoning hate, to see people who will not let you speak, when the words concern the improvement of the lives of the very people before you.

Yes I have seen the South many times: the thousands of unpainted shacks, the families living in houses with no doors in the door-frames and no windows in the window frames; where a man and his family sleep in one room, all of them sleeping in one bed in cold weather, the children sleeping on the floor in warm weather. The people of the South are fine people: our aspirations are their aspirations. They are a patriotic people, a religious people.

And it is this that struck me on my recent trip: that the basic human need of the South is simply a reconciling of our daily action with what we are taught in the church and what we are taught in school. The foundation of patriotism and religion is the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. The Brotherhood of Man sets forth no limitation of color. The Constitution of the United States sets forth very specifically that the rights of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of race or color. I came out of the South utterly convinced that these denials of God and man are evils which can cost this nation its very life. And I am as thoroughly convinced that these evils can be eliminated without violence, to the greater glory of America.

You read the press accounts of my trip. The papers told you eggs were thrown at me; they told you I was booed. You read that in some cities local authorities would not permit me to talk to free American meetings, to unsegregated audiences. All of this is true - but it is not the real headline. The real headline is that it is possible to do what some said was impossible -- to hold unsegregated meetings in every Southern state and to hold them without incident. For example, in Memphis, where the Freedom Train could not stop, because it was said that unsegregated audiences viewing the great documents of American history, would cause "incident," would produce racial violence -- in

-more-

that city I spoke to a meeting of several thousands - Negroes and whites - and there was no incident. I spoke to friendly, courteous crowds in Virginia, in Mississippi, in Louisiana - yes, in each of the seven Southern states I visited. No, the headlines about egg-throwing misrepresented the good people of the South. For, you see, we did not "invade a hostile territory" as some would have you think. We came at the invitation of brave and courageous southerners who have been fighting for decades to bring constitutional guarantees to their part of the country. Our trip merely focussed attention on what has been in the South for the past hundred years - a deep, thorough-going desire for people to live out their lives in dignity and equality.

That, I think, is the real headline.

There comes to mind a small businessman who lives in Hickory, North Carolina. He makes chair frames; he employs 15 or 20 men. He had great hopes that the meeting in Hickory would be a success. And when we got through with the meeting (it had been a rather violent one), I asked "How do you explain that?" He answered: "Well, I know these people here, and I am sure that if you had a chance to speak to them, individually, face to face, 90% of them would agree with your program."

But, you will ask, if people wanted to hear me speak, why couldn't they? Let me answer by saying the worst attempts at disruption occurred in mill towns of North Carolina where the majority of spindles are owned by Northern corporations. It was in the steel towns of Alabama, dominated by Northern capital, where people were denied their constitutional rights of free assembly.

For when we came to the TVA areas of Alabama and Tennessee, there we received courteous and friendly receptions. For these people had learned that more income for small people meant more income for all the people: for farmers, for workers, for small businessmen, for Negroes, for whites.

They were beginning to appreciate that segregation means wage differentials for the South; means lower wages for Southern labor, means lower living standards for Southern people. Yes, the same labor that brings $1 an hour in Grand Rapids, Michigan, brings only 50¢ in some of the towns where I tried to speak.

The meaning of segregation can be summed up in the fact that the average annual income in the South is $500 or more below the rest of the country.

It is this then - the wage differential and the depressed standard of living - that we challenged on our Southern trip.

And what was it, I tried to say? What was it that so inflamed people they forgot the mandates of the Constitution and the injunctions of God? I said that

the situation in the South imperils the North as much as the South, indeed it imperils the very life of our nation. I said that hate is a dangerous thing because it can be controlled and used against the people. I said that hate, also of a racist origin, had been used in Germany by Hitler - and this was a great danger to all Americans. And I said that a comprehensive program of improvement for the South would greatly strengthen both the South and the nation. I set forth that program: a program of unification of the South, white and black, behind an economic program, a sound financial and economic program that would put Tennessee Valley Authorities on all rivers, that would result in greater appropriations for schools, for hospitals, for making available more abundant fertilizer at lower prices. I said it was possible to increase the yield of cotton and other crops, to protect and encourage the small farmer - especially the 1,400,000 white sharecroppers and the one million Negro sharecroppers - who suffer today in such a terrible way. I said I wanted to end wage differentials in the South, so that if labor is worth $1 an hour in the North, the same labor is worth $1 an hour in the South: I said I wanted to make certain that a man was paid according to his work and not penalized for the color of his skin or the section of the country in which he lives. I said I would like to see twice as high an income from agriculture in the South and twice as much industry.

I proposed a program of government spending in the South in the amount of one billion dollars a year for the next four years. I urged that only a tiny fraction of the funds now being spent to renazify Germany, to remilitarize Japan, to support the anti-democratic governments of Greece, Turkey and China -- be put to work for the good of the people of the South and the good of America. I proposed less help to the feudal lords of the Arabian states in their war on the Jewish people, and more to the democratic people of the South in their war om pellagra and soil erosion.

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And it was these proposals - always my proposals for constructive projects — which provoked the attacks. These were the ideas that brought out the eggs and the hate.

23-27c-9

I repeat, I came out of the South with the utter conviction that segregation, racial prejudice and Jim Crow, can cost America its life. For these evils are not simply problems of the South. No, the lynchings and knifings of Negroes in the South have their counterparts in every part of our country. A mob wrecks a Negro's home in Detroit; police run down citizens of Harlem; Mexican-Americans are railroaded to jail in Los Angeles. In Northern restaurants, in western schools, in mid-western hospitals, it is the same and even the children's games are infected. In the nation's capital, the marble tournament to determine who is the best player in Washington does not allow competition between Negro and white children.

I say our failure to live by the Constitution, our failure to abolish segregation strikes at the roots of America. This is an issue above politics, for whatever denies the freedom of the Negro, destroys the freedom of the whites. Pity the persecuted, but pity the persecutor more. It is a cancer that eats into the very moral fibre of the American people.

And the eyes of the world are upon us: the colonial peoples of the world are watching us, assessing us by our treatment of Negroes and other minorities. And they ask: "What do Americans really mean by democracy? " Do we mean the democracy of Mississippi where 3/10ths of one percent of the Negro citizens vote? Do we mean the democracy of Tom Dewey who would restore the Italian bankers to their former positions of empire as rulers of the colored people of Africa? Do we mean the democracy of Harry Truman, who proclaims a non - segregation policy for the Army, and sits by while his Southern secretary of the Army deliberately violates the policy? Which is the true policy, the world is asking - the words or the deeds?

I have said I believe in the Brotherhood of Man and in the Constitution. But I do not suggest that mere preachment of the doctrine of love can straighten out some of the denials of the Brotherhood of Man in the South. No, certain violations of the words of God may have to be stopped by legislation - and while you cannot legislate love, you can legislate against certain acts of hate.

MORE

I used to think that time, long drawn out time, would handle these evils. But since World War II I know that time is far, far shorter than it used to be. I know that today we are in desperate need of a solution which respects the dignity of the human soul. And the old parties cannot give us this solution even if they would. For Mr. Dewey's party is the party of corporations whose profits are rooted in discrimination, the party of wage differentials. And Mr. Truman's party is held together with the cement of discrimination. Both are parties of profit - and they have found prejudice a profitable business.

No. The solution lies in a break with the old parties. It lies in organizing what is best in American life - the deeply-felt religious and patriotic urges of the people all over America.

Yesterday there was tragic news from Georgia. The 28-year old father of six children, Isaiah Newton, was shot to death in front of his family because he had insisted on using his citizen's right to vote. When I read the story of Isaiah Newton, I was reminded of a story they tell in the South - of a story which reveals the spirit that will free the South.

It was in the same state of Georgia - just two year ago - that a young Negro veteran named Maceo Snipes learned that by Supreme Court ruling he had a right to vote. No Negro had voted in his county since reconstruction, but Maceo Snipes went down and registered.

The following morning he was sitting on his porch and a white man came up and killed him with a shotgun.

His funeral was held the next day and in the midst of the funeral oration, Maceo's mother rose and moved up through the crowd, up to his coffin, where they waited to lower it into the earth. And she asked her second son to come forth. He was 17. And she said to him: "Put your hand on this coffin - and swear on the body of your brother that when you get to be 21, you're going down to the courthouse to do what he did - to vote."

If you ask me the meaning of the Progressive Party, I should say it is this: We are dedicated to seeing that the six children of Isaiah Newton shall vote and live as free Americans; and that all today's children shall have the opportunities which our Constitution, our Christian tradition, and our great resources make possible.

# # # # # #

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[illegible]
1948

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PROGRESSIVE PARTY

PERMANENT RULES OF ORGANIZATION

Treasurer shall exercise all other duties incident to his office.

ARTICLE VI

Amendments

These Rules may be amended at any national convention by the affirmative vote of a majority of the delegates voting.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
39 Park Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

Co-Chairmen
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
PAUL ROBESON

Vice-Chairmen
MRS. ELINOR GIMBEL
ALVIN JONES
JERRY O'CONNELL
FRED W. STOVER

Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN

PERMANENT RULES OF ORGANIZATION

Preamble

We, the delegates elected from the several states of the Union, the territories, and possessions, in Convention assembled at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on this 23rd day of July, 1948, do establish a new national party dedicated to the achievement of peace, freedom and abundance for the American people.

It is to us intolerable that a few giant financial and industrial groups control our economy and through the old parties are now in effective control of our government. They are driving our country into depression, fascism and war.

We declare that our objective is to break this stranglehold of monopoly and to build a party which will reestablish government of, by and for the people.

We welcome to our ranks all Amer-

icans who share with us this objective, and we declare that in the pursuance and accomplishment of this purpose there shall be no barriers to full and equal participation because of race, creed, color, sex or national origin.

In order to guide us in our task, we do hereby establish the following rules:

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this party shall be the Progressive Party.

ARTICLE II

National Convention

1. The highest governing authority of the Party shall be the national convention. Regular national conventions shall be held annually at a time and place designated by the National Committee, upon not less than ninety days written notice.

2. Special conventions may be called at any time by the National Com-

duties, and shall have all the powers of the Chairman in his absence.

5. The Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Party and shall also be the Campaign Manager. He shall keep the minutes and records of the organization and exercise all other duties incident to the office of Secretary.

6. The Vice-Chairman shall perform the duties incident to the office and, in the absence of the Chairman and the Co-Chairmen, one of their number shall preside at meetings of the National Committee and the National Executive Committee.

7. The Treasurer shall have the care and custody of all monies belonging to the national organization. He shall render a written account of the finances of the organization to each meeting of the National Committee and the National Executive Committee. He shall submit a proposed budget to each meeting of the National Committee for its approval and shall act as controller in exercising budgetary controls. The budget shall carry a permanent appropriation in an amount adequate to support the work of the Party in aid of the struggle of the Negro and the Mexican people for their right to equality. The

meetings of the National Executive Committee shall be transmitted to the members of the National Committee promptly after each meeting.

ARTICLE V

Officers

1. The national officers of the Party shall be a Chairman, two Co-Chairmen, four Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

2. All officers shall be elected at the annual convention and shall serve until the adjournment of the next annual convention. Vacancies in any offices may be filled by the National Committee at any regular or special meeting, provided that the proposal to take such action is incorporated in the notice of the meeting.

3. The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the National Committee and the National Executive Committee. He shall perform the duties provided by these rules and all other duties incident to the office of Chairman.

4. The Co-Chairmen shall assist the Chairman in the performance of his

mittee upon not less than sixty days written notice of the time and place thereof. The notice shall state the business to be transacted at the convention and no other business but that specified in the notice shall be transacted without the consent of two-thirds of the delegates.

3. The political party or political organization of each state, territory and possession of the United States which supports the program and the national candidates of the Progressive Party shall be entitled to send delegates to the convention.

4. Each state party or political organization shall be entitled to send two delegates to the convention for each presidential elector of its state, and may send additional delegates not exceeding a total of eight delegates for each presidential elector. Each state party or political organization may also send one alternate delegate for each presidential elector of its state.

Political parties or organizations in the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and the Panama Canal Zone shall each be entitled to send to the convention delegates on the following basis: not more

than twenty-four, plus not more than eight additional delegates for each 320,000 of population or majority fraction thereof, in excess of 320,000, as shown by the latest census.

Delegates and alternates shall be chosen in such manner as the rules of the political party or organization may specify, or as provided by state law.

5. The aggregate vote of each delegation representing a state political party or organization shall be twice the number of the presidential electors of such state. The aggregate vote of each delegation representing the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and the Panama Canal Zone shall be twice the number of presidential electors to which it would be entitled as a state, in accordance with its population, as provided in Section 4. The aggregate vote of each delegation of a state, territory or possession shall be distributed equally among its delegates, the vote of each delegate being determined by dividing such aggregate vote by the number of delegates in the delegation.

In the absence of a delegate from the floor of the convention while a roll call is in progress, the vote to which he

appoint such standing committees and may establish such divisions of the Party as it deems necessary or desirable. Members of such committees and officers of such divisions need not be members of the National Committee.

ARTICLE IV

National Executive Committee

1. The National Committee shall elect a National Executive Committee from among its members. The National Executive Committee shall consist of such number of members as the National Committee may determine. The national officers of the Party shall be members by virtue of their offices. Unless otherwise defined by the National Committee, the duties of the National Executive Committee shall be to exercise the powers of the National Committee between its meetings.

2. The National Executive Committee shall meet regularly once every month. The National Committee shall adopt rules and regulations governing the conduct of meetings of the National Executive Committee. Minutes of all

cial meetings of the National Committee may be called by the Chairman, and shall be called by him at the written request of not less than twenty members of the National Committee, upon not less than fifteen days written notice to the members specifying the business to be transacted thereat.

4. Voting in the National Committee may be in person or by proxy, provided that the proxy shall be another member of the National Committee representing the party or political organization of the same state, territory or possession as the absent member. Decisions of the National Committee shall be by a majority vote of the members present in person or by proxy. Fifty percent of the members of the National Committee present in person or by proxy shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. If a quorum is not present at a regularly convened meeting, the members present may proceed to transact business, provided that no action taken shall become effective unless ratified by a sufficient number of absent members, by a mail ballot sent to all members, to constitute a majority vote of the entire National Committee.

5. The National Committee may

is entitled may be cast by an alternate member of the same delegation.

6. All questions coming before the convention shall be decided by a majority vote. A roll call vote shall be taken on any question when a request therefor is made by a majority of the delegates from any state, territory or possession and supported by a majority of the delegates from seven additional states, territories or possessions.

7. In advance of each convention, the National Committee shall appoint the following committees from among the delegates, subject to the approval of the convention:

A Committee on Convention Arrangements and Order of Business,

A Committee on Credentials,

A Committee on Resolutions and Platform,

A Committee on Rules,

A Committee on Nominations

and such other committees as the National Committee may deem advisable. Such committees may meet and act before and during the convention.

8. In presidential election years, the convention shall nominate the can-

didates of the Party for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE III

National Committee

1. The highest governing body of the Party between conventions shall be the National Committee. The National Committee shall be elected annually at the regular national convention in the following manner:

Each political party or organization of a state, territory or possession, represented in the convention, shall be entitled to nominate one national committeeman and one national committeewoman. In addition, the political party or organization of any state having thirteen or more presidential electors shall be entitled to nominate one member of the National Committee for each five presidential electors, or major fraction thereof, in excess of ten presidential electors. Members of the National Committee so nominated shall be elected by the convention as a whole; provided that in the case of the Founding Convention,

members of the National Committee to which a political party or organization is entitled, but who are not nominated at and elected by the convention, may be nominated by such party or organization within sixty days after the convention and, upon their confirmation by the National Committee, shall become members of the National Committee.

The National Committee, composed as provided above, shall elect forty additional members at large upon nomination by the respective functional divisions of the Party, pursuant to Section 3 of this Article.

The national officers of the Party shall be members of the National Committee by virtue of their offices.

2. A vacancy on the National Committee by reason of death, resignation, removal from office, or otherwise, shall be filled by the nomination of a successor by the Party or organization which nominated the original member.

3. The National Committee shall meet regularly at least every four months, at a time and place fixed by the Chairman, upon not less than thirty days written notice to the members. Spe-

(PROGR. PARTY, 1948)

MIMEO LEAFLET #5 - HOUSING

YOU MAY HAVE TO LIVE IN A PACKING CASE...

BUT YOU DON'T HAVE TO THINK IN ONE!

The old political parties would like to keep you living in a packing case...or a slum like those in (fill in name of local slum area)... or a quonset hut like those in (fill in name of local vets' project).

They're only interested in fancy housing for fancy profits -- and always will be. In the Special Session this summer, Congress did pass what they called the Wolcott "housing" bill ... which that Wall Street paper, the Journal of Commerce, happily reported would build no low-cost homes but would instead increase the prices of new ones!

And by the way, ask Congressman (fill in name of local Congressman if he voted for this bad bill) how he voted on the Wolcott bill!

Wolcott's a Republican, but did the Democrats do any more for housing? Out of a $40 billions budget for 1948-49, President Truman allotted only $38 millions for all housing! That's less than 1/10 of 1%...while war preparations get 75%.

Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party want 4 million low-cost, low-rent homes built in the next two years .... And because the big boy profiteers don't control him, he could do it!

That's one reason why they're so afraid of Wallace. Ask one of the big real estate men down on (fill in name of business street) which man he likes -- Congressman (fill in name of opposition candidate) or Progressive Party candidate (fill in your candidate).

Think it over.

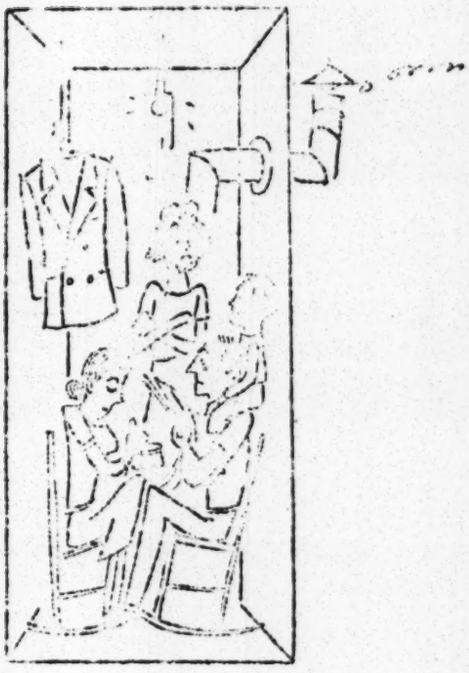
WE NEED ACTION ON HOUSING. ONLY A PEOPLE'S PARTY CAN ACT!

VOTE THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY TICKET!

(fill in names of state and local candidates)

Issued by: (fill in local Progressive Party or committee name and address)

YOU MAY HAVE TO LIVE IN A PACKING CASE...BUT YOU DON'T HAVE TO THINK IN ONE!



[PROGRESSIVE PARTY, SEPT. 20, 1948]

Speech by Henry A Wallace
National Broadcasting Company
September 20, 1948 - 10:30 PM EDT

Progressive Party
39 Park Avenue, New York City
MUrray Hill 6-5300

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I want to talk tonight about our foreign policy, about Russia, about problems which will come home to every one of us every day until we finally make this world a place of peace and prosperity for all peoples. The world has shrunk to the point where the life of every man, woman and child in our land is bound up with the solution of the stalemate in Berlin. Foreign policy is one with prices, one with housing, and one with discrimination. Without a broad and intelligent foreign policy there can be no solution for other problems, there can be no hope for any of us!

The conduct of our foreign affairs, by Mr. Truman and the leaders of the Republican Party has brought us to a crisis that is fantastically dangerous to America and to the world. As never before in our history, the United States today is in the hands of incapable and dishonest men.

Our foreign policy has been on my mind, very much on my mind, for over twenty years. During the decade of the 20's, I warned that the Republican policy of killing the League of Nations---of boosting tariffs higher and higher---would lead us to a terrible depression. I predicted that this policy would lead to the rise of uncontrollable nationalism---better known now as fascism.

These were my reasons for leaving the Republican Party.

In 1932 the American people rejected the entire Republican program. In 1936, and again in 1940, and for a fourth time in 1944, Americans made a choice between two ways of life.

We chose a way which would permit the world to be one---The Good Neighbor way of life. Roosevelt recognized Russia because he knew that if we were to have one world, we had to treat the Russians the same as we would treat any other people. Both at home and abroad the American people chose a way of life which considered people as human beings, placed human values above profits and recognized that their own best interest was a world interest.

For 12 years---three full terms---I served under Roosevelt, within a government dedicated to these ends. For almost two years I served under Harry Truman.

I saw things from the inside for nearly 14 years. And it is what I know of my own personal knowledge that leads me to speak out sharply and to act. For the Truman-Dulles-Vandenberg-Dewey policy has developed an approach which, if permitted to come to full fruition, will destroy completely the civilization of the past 2000 years and may destroy all human life on this planet. The new methods of warfare are of that nature.

The bipartisan policy of today is a modern version of the Republican program

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of the 2¢'s. The American people decisively rejected it in 1932. They will reject it again.

The forces behind Truman and Dewey today were always with us. Before the war, when some of us warned that the rise of the dictators threatened America, they said the Axis wished us no harm. Mr. Dulles and his Republican clients said that Hitlerism was only the justified fulfillment of the aspirations of dynamic peoples for living space. And when war came, these selfish men refused to wage war in behalf of America except at a price. They blackmailed the Roosevelt Administration with the aid of their Republican allies in Congress. They refused to produce planes, tanks and guns, until they got their "proper" price. They openly proclaimed their aims. They saw the war as the dawn of the American Century; as the chance to reduce England to a junior partnership in a new Anglo-Saxon imperialism. They urged that the profitable relations established between business, Army, and government, be maintained — and that this armaments-economy should set the pattern for life in America.

Even as victory loomed on the battlefield in 1945, they planned to take victory away from the people. As early as January, 1945, Senator Vandenberg proclaimed the underlying basis of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

The death of Roosevelt gave the greedy men he had held in check their opportunity. They successfully engineered a right-about-face in our policy. Without a mandate from the people they had to think up a means of deceiving and controlling the people. They did it, stirring up one crisis after another. Through each crisis they managed to extend the area of their power.

I remember reading the papers a few days after FDR died. I read that the Truman Administration was about to make the most drastic reversal of our foreign policy since 1933. I realized the terrible danger. I saw the signs - saw the Russian haters move toward power even before Roosevelt was buried. I heard it when I sat in the back seat of the car with Truman and Byrnes on the way to the funeral train coming up from Warm Springs.

There was a vast change in Washington. Herbert Hoover hurried toward important business at the White House.

Harry Truman swung the door wide open and back to Washington came the ghosts of the Great Depression. One by one the frontiersmen of the New Deal disappeared from the nation's Capitol and other faces appeared.

Now I heard the talk of hate even more openly. At Washington social gatherings, the talk of treating Russia rough began. I stayed in the cabinet. I thought I could influence Truman to the cause of peace. And he listened to me on foreign

policy and he always seemed to agree. He never disagreed. When Churchill delivered his cold-war speech, at Fulton, Missouri, I said to the President that this was bad business, that proclaiming an Anglo-American military alliance was hardly calculated to produce world peace - certainly not decent relations with Russia. Truman backed up fast. He claimed he had not seen the Fulton speech in advance, but it soon became clear that he was putting into effect the Fulton program -- despite the fact that the American people rejected Churchill's Anglo-American alliance in '46 just as they had Dewey's similar approach in '44.

Truman's repudiation of my speech at Madison Square Garden--after he had approved it in advance--showed me he had become completely the prisoner of the war-minded and the war makers.

The cold war was expanded on all fronts.

We must be clear where the responsibility lies. Russia has made mistakes, many mistakes. But the men of the bipartisan bloc -- Dewey, Truman , Dulles and Forestal - started the cold war. Roosevelt's policies of postwar cooperation were scrapped before they were ever tried.

During 1946 I had hoped to rally the forces within the Democratic Party to fight for the Roosevelt policies. But more and more these forces were driven out of the Administration.

Slowly I realized that a new party had to be built--to check the war-mad plans of Truman, Dewey, Vandenberg and Forrestal. We are building the Progressive Party. We are building an organization dedicated to peace: to Roosevelt's concept of peace, to the concept of world peace as a way of life -- the policy that had been affirmed and reaffirmed by the American people in four successive elections.

A hideous story of the past few days reveals how completely the bipartisans have betrayed humanity. Frau Ilse Koch, the mass executioner of the Buchenwald prison camp, the woman who made lamp-shades of tatooed human skin--two days ago it was revealed that this woman, sentenced to life imprisonment, had had her sentence commuted. The bipartisans told her that within 18 months she would be a free woman. Her crimes, apparently, are no longer considered criminal.

This is the degree of the repudiation of the Roosevelt peace policy, by Truman and the Republican high command. Denazification, punishment of war criminals, eliminating Germany's capacity to make war, Ilse Koch: all that has been scrapped.

To reverse our foreign policy, both Republicans and Democrats had to break down the memory of FDR. But they are doing more than villify Roosevelt. They are renazifying Germany; they are moving in (as they did after World War I) to

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take over the war plants of Germany. And this time, they are going it on a scale that makes pikers out of those who poured out billions to build up Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

The corporations with cartel arrangements, the banking houses which make profits on both sides of a war, the lawyers who represent Franco and the Nazi house of Schroeder have moved into the driver's seat. I say they are incompetent or dishonest and that they will lead the whole world to disaster.

But there is an answer to the war-makers.

Think with me, for a moment, of your feelings when the news of victory broke. We were entering an era, we felt, of abundance, of humanity, of world cooperation.

What happened to this idea? Was it merely a dream in Franklin Roosevelt's mind? Was he, as they try to tell us now, a foolish visionary?

Yes, he saw an end to the Great Depression - that was his vision. He saw the great powers uniting to end the menace of fascism - that was his vision. And a world at peace, based on cooperation and friendship with the Russians - his final vision. Is this to be discarded because evil men have come to power?

I believe there is hope - deep abiding hope - for peace. The Democrats and Republicans no longer even attempt to deceive the people into thinking that there is a difference between them. The only issue, in this regard, is as to who shall be in power -- who shall get the lion's share of the spoils?

A vote for them - for the Republicans or the Democrats - is a vote for war, is a vote for renazification of Germany, for freeing another Ilse Koch. The Progressive Party alone gives the people a chance to vote for peace. For <u>we</u> are not committed, as they are, to the cartel interests of John Foster Dulles; <u>we</u> are not enmeshed, as they are, in the Dillon Read banking house of James Forrestal. <u>We</u> do not profit, as they do, from mass murder and the dropping of atom bombs.

<u>Ours</u> is the party of peace and hope -- the only party.

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[PROG. PARTY, SEPT. 27, 1948]

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
39 Park Ave.
New York 16, N. Y.

(MR. WALLACE SPOKE FROM DALLAS, TEXAS)

Text of Radio Address
by
HENRY WALLACE
Over N.B.C. Network - 10:30-10:45 PM EST
September 27,1948

Tonight I Want to talk about the main subject at every dinner table in America: the price of meat, the price of shoes, the price of milk - the cost of living.

I want to talk about inflation.

Inflation, what you and I call the high cost of living, is not something that just happens - like the weather- and like the weather, there's nothing you can do about it. That's not true. Inflation is not accidental; it is man-made: it is monopoly-made. It was made and forced upon us by themen of Wall Street, acting through their agents - the Republican and Democratic Parties.

And there is something we can do about it; we can end it.

The high cost of living, which is a daily and an hourly horror to the housewives, wage earners, small businessmen and farmers of America, is a profitable venture for the men of monopoly. Indeed, it is the most profitable venture in history. They are making profits at the rate of 20 billion dollars a year because you and I are paying 25 cents for a bottle of milk. The prices you and I pay for meat and for a car, have given the meat trust and the steel trust more money than they ever made, even during the war.

Yes, the men of monopoly wanted inflation. They planned for inflation, and they got inflation.

How did this all come about?

We drove the men of monopoly, the money changers, out of the temple in 1933 - and with them their whole view that government is run for the few. But, in 1940, when the nation was in danger, these men of the Liberty League, these same men who had always fought Franklin Roosevelt, began a comeback. They had the govenment and the people "over a barrel" (as an authoritative official investigation put it) and they refused to produce except on terms they dictated, except at profits they demanded.

Present-day sky-high prices began in the profiteering of 1940 and 41. But under Roosevelt, we held them in check. We imposed controls on behalf of the people - and they worked. We held the line on prices and profits - and that worked.

But the men of monopoly were there all the time, waiting, waiting---

And when Roosevelt died, they saw their opportunity and they moved in.

(more)

Radio Address
September 27,1948
Henry Wallace

They moved in on Harry Truman and he welcomed them. The representatives of the men of greed (the men who preach a scarcity economy) were his first visitors after FDR's death. I recall, on the train, coming back from Hyde Park (the President had just been buried), Truman's first callers were Edwin Pauley and George Allen -- the errand boys of the biggest corporations. Herbert Hoover was called in. The engineer of the Great Depression helped engineer the right-about-face in Roosevelt's policies. Cabinet shifts were made. The men who had stood firm on price control, on rent control, on excess profits taxes, were the first to go. The Harrimans, the Snyders, the Forrestals of Wall Street took over. And with them, naturally, came the policies of Wall Street. With them came the policy of government against the people. The Roosevelt program of controls by the people on behalf of the people went, and the Hoover-Dewey-Truman policy of controls in the hands of monopoly for the benefit of monopoly came in.

They competed with each other, the Democrats and Republicans, in their zeal to serve monopoly. Truman hastened to announce that the war was officially at an end for the corporations. In that simple act, he turned over to the corporations two billion dollars in tax refunds, in 1945. But for you and me, the end of the war did not mean an end of taxes - there was no refund. You and I are still paying wartime taxes every time we buy baby powder or pocket books, every time we buy a railroad ticket or a movie ticket.

With the enthusiastic endorsement of Hoover and Vandenberg, Truman lifted the excess profits tax and unleashed an orgy of profiteering. Where under FDR profits had been kept down to 9 billions a year, under Harry Truman profits rose in insane, unchecked fashion: 18 billion in 1947, 20 billion in 1948.

The Truman-Hoover-Dewey men of greed killed OPA by easy stages. They took off a control here and a ceiling there, until there was no protection left for ordinary Americans, until the steel trust, the real estate lobby, the food trust and the milk gang were recording profits higher than any before in history. And to you and me this meant we could not build a new home, we could not afford a second-hand car, we could not afford adequate milk for our children.

Inflation is the work of the men of Wall St. and their agents: Truman, Hoover and Dewey. No amount of name-calling, now, by Harry Truman can change the record: that at every turn he served monopoly against the people. Let Truman rail against the "gluttons of Wall St." It was at the behest of these same gluttons that he lifted controls on building materials, a month after VJ Day. By this act low cost homes for GI's went up in smoke, while the gluttons made big profits building theaters and race tracks and luxury homes.

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Radio Address
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Henry Wallace

It was Truman and the Republicans, who broke the back of price control early in 1946 when he gave the steel gluttons a $5 a ton price increase. And you and I are paying for that price increase in every item we buy, while the steel trust more than doubles the profits it made in 1945, under price control.

Do you know why you are paying $1 a pound for hamburger? It is because Truman Democrats and Dewey Republicans joined hands in killing the final controls on food prices. Two years ago the meat trust went on a sit-down strike (refusing to provide food for our tables). Harry Truman, who had strength enough to break the legitimate strike of the railroad workers a few months earlier, found he could not lift a finger against the meat trust. He gave them what they wanted: meat controls were lifted.

The same for rent controls. At every turn it was the Democratic-Republican servants of the gluttons who joined hands - as they have done regularly since FDR died-- to bury the corpse of OPA, to unleash profiteering on America. And when the people, angered by the betrayal, demanded a return of controls, the spokesman for big business and the twin parties of big business, Harry Truman, called controls "police state" methods.

In the year following the end of the war, the profiteers were granted the right to free, uninterrupted gluttony. They got their inflation.

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But to keep an inflation going you have to keep giving it greater and greater shots in the arm. For the gluttons it was inflation or bust. They found their answer in the cold war, in an armaments economy. They found their solution in what Mr. Dewey slickly calls "waging the peace".

Barron's, leading journal of big finance, pointed out way back in '45: "an armaments boom is the only ultimate major alternative... to a decline in business.." Barron's forecast became official policy. You see, early in 1947 and again in '48, prices began to sag, the commodity market declined - and the dread word "depression" appeared in the business pages of the press. It was at this strategic moment that the red menace was conveniently discovered in Greece. It was at this point in history that the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan and an armaments-economy were put over on the people to sustain and increase the profits of the few.

They invoked the frightening word "crisis" whenever it suited their purpose. They wheeled in another red danger whenever it was needed to justify a new multi-billion dollar expenditure for their cold war.

And who profited from all these crises and plans? Quite naturally, the men of Wall St. who had fabricated the crises, had blueprinted the plans and whose agents of both parties in the White House and Congress executed them. Standard Oil and General Motors are making profits equal to one-fifth the profits of all

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corporations in America before the war.

And their military expenditures do not even give us adequate security. As Franklin Roosevelt said, the nation cannot be strong if the government fails to protect the economic well-being of its citizens. We lack housing. We are forced to cut down on meat and milk and clothing. We are robbed twice: once at the grocery store and a second time through taxes we are forced to pay for armaments.

What do the two old parties offer by way of solution? Only the bitter alternative of greater war spending or depression.

In recent weeks, the twin candidates talk of peace and lower prices, but their actions lead to war and higher prices. Both urge more spending for war. Mr. Dewey does not even mention profiteering and Mr. Truman does not propose to curb the profiteers he has so recently discovered. Both support the cold war, the armaments-economy—both promote inflation.

It is because truth is a stubborn thing and because people have seen through their sham solutions, that they are forced to talk this way. Because these representatives of gluttony, seeking office, have been forced into a defensive position by the Progressive Party, expressing the honest anger of the people—they now speak against their bed-fellows and their backers. Harry Truman tells you our party is powerless, but he is forced to adopt our arguments, to denounce the very men he brought into government. He is forced to cover up the shabby fact that he and his henchmen gave us meat at a dollar a pound and milk at 25 cents a quart.

Whatever their words today, they offer us the Hoover solution, the Hitler solution: an armaments-economy leading to war or catastrophic depression.

The real answer lies in the opposite direction. There can be no real reduction in the cost of living until we change the course of our foreign policy, until we end the suicidal plunge toward war, until we put a stop to the profiteering of 20 billions a year. Until we take away from the gluttons the fattest pork barrel in history, all talk of bringing prices down is false.

The only hope for cutting prices, for ending the danger of war, for a true defense of America, lies in reduction through the United Nations of the amount of money this country and all the other nations of the world are spending for war. I say this can be done with safety - indeed it is the only safety. Cutting down on military budgets is needed not only to end inflation, it is needed (indeed it is a precondition) for any honest discussion of peace. Peace and low prices are inseparable, as war and high prices are inseparable.

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We offer an alternative - not war or bust. Our plan is simple. First, a general price freeze. Then a roll back of food prices a minimum of 20%: bread down 3 cents, milk down 5 cents. Prices on other goods must be rolled back by squeezing out exhorbitant profits. Farmers must be protected by subsidies which will assure them fair prices. Controls must be restored on scarce materials, so that homes can be built for our veterans and other homeless families. Rent control must be made effective.

This is the minimum.

Then the dead hand of monopoly must be broken. Monopoly's grip on the economy of the land must be ended. There must be a return to Roosevelt's ideal: a government planning on behalf of the people, planning for peace, planning for abundance.

They are powerful and they are entrenched, the men behind Truman and Dewey, and it is no easy matter to take away 20 billions in profits a year. But it can be done. A few months ago, when the price of meat became too high, you went on strike - the good housewives and husbands of America -- and in some places you won. You made the meat trust retreat. There is healthy anger in the land against these men of the food trust, the munitions monopoly, the oil combine -- and, organized, it can change the shape of America.

It is a political question. Let each housewife, pensioner, veteran, Negro, wage earner, and farmer say - with his ballot - "Thus far and no further. You lie when you tell us you want lower prices." For each vote for the Progressive Party is a warning to monopoly, is a vote for a return to FDR's policy of price control, to FDR's policy of getting along with all the nations of the world, to FDR's policy of breaking the monopoly stranglehold on our lives.

If this is done, we will bring in an era when a man, if he chooses, can have a steak for dinner and his children can drink a bottle of milk a day -- and no atom bombs will fall.

It can be done.

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[Progressive Party]
[1948?]

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gether. If peace is to be achieved capitalist United States and communist Russia must establish good relations and work together.

The Progressive Party holds that it is the first duty of a just government to secure for all the people, regardless of race, creed, color, sex, national background, political belief, or station in life, the inalienable rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The government must actively protect these rights against the encroachments of public and private agencies.

The Progressive Party holds that a just government must use its powers to promote an abundant life for its people. This is the basic idea of Franklin Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights. Heretofore every attempt to give effect to this principle has failed because Big Business dominates the key sectors of the economy. Anti-trust laws and government regulation cannot break this domination. Therefore the people, through their democratically elected representatives, must take control of the main levers of the economic system. Public ownership of these levers will enable the people to plan the use of their productive resources so as to develop the limitless potential of modern technology and to create a true American-Commonwealth free from poverty and insecurity.

The Progressive Party believes that only through peaceful understanding can the world make progress toward reconstruction and higher standards of living; that peace is the essential condition for safe-guarding and extending our traditional freedoms; that only by preserving liberty and by planning an abundant life for all can we eliminate the sources of world conflict. Peace, freedom, and abundance—the goals of the Progressive Party—are indivisible.

Only the Progressive Party can destroy the power of private monopoly and restore the government to the American people. For ours is a party uncorrupted by privilege, committed to no special interests, free from machine control, and open to all Americans of all races, colors, and creeds.

The Progressive Party is a party of action. We seek through the democratic process and through day-by-day activity to lead the American people toward the fulfillment of these principles.

We ask support for the following program:

Peace

American-Soviet agreement

HENRY WALLACE in his open letter suggested, and Premier Stalin in his reply accepted, a basis for sincere peace discussions. The exchange showed that specific areas of agreement can be found if the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations and acceptance of the right of peoples to choose their own form of government and economic system are mutually respected.

The Progressive Party therefore de-

mands negotiation and discussion with the Soviet Union to find areas of agreement to win the peace.

The Progressive Party believes that enduring peace among the peoples of the world community is possible only through world law. Continued anarchy among nations in the atomic age threatens our civilization and humanity itself with annihilation. The only ultimate alternative to war is the abandonment of the principle of the coercion of sovereignties by sovereignties and the adoption of the principle of the just enforcement upon individuals of world federal law, enacted by a world federal legislature with limited but adequate powers to safeguard the common defense and the general welfare of all mankind.

Such a structure of peace through government can be evolved by making of the United Nations an effective agency of cooperation among nations. This can be done by restoring the unity of the Great Powers as they work together for common purposes. Since the death of Franklin Roosevelt, this principle has been betrayed to a degree which not only paralyzes the United Nations but threatens the world with another war in which there can be no victors and few survivors.

Beyond an effective United Nations lies the further possibility of genuine world government. Responsibility for ending the tragic prospect of war is a joint responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States. We hope for more political liberty and economic democracy throughout the world. We believe that war between East and West will mean fascism and death for all. We insist that peace is the prerequisite of survival.

We believe with Henry Wallace that "there is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the USA and USSR which can be settled by force or fear and there is no difference which cannot be settled by peaceful, hopeful negotiation. There is no American principle or public interest, and there is no Russian principle or public interest, which would have to be sacrificed to end the cold war and open up the Century of Peace which the Century of the Common Man demands."

We denounce anti-Soviet hysteria as a mask for monopoly, militarism, and reaction. We demand that a new leadership of the peace-seeking people of our nation—which has vastly greater responsibility for peace than Russia because it has vastly greater power for war—undertake in good faith and carry to an honorable conclusion, without appeasement or sabre-rattling on either side, a determined effort to settle current controversies and enable men and women everywhere to look forward with confidence to the common task of building a creative and lasting peace for all the world.

end the drive to war

THE Progressive Party calls for the repeal of the peacetime draft and the rejection of Universal Military Training.

We call for the immediate cessation of the piling up of armament expenditures beyond reasonable peacetime requirements for national defense.

We demand the repudiation of the Truman Doctrine and an end to military and economic intervention in support of reactionary and fascist regimes in China, Greece, Turkey, the Middle East, and Latin America. We demand that the

under the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization to stabilize world markets and to move farm surpluses to deficient areas.

We call for a long-range national land policy designed to discourage the growth of corporation farms and absentee ownership. This policy is especially important in the South to promote the proper development of its resources and to provide land for the landless. Priority in the purchase of land made available by river-valley projects must be given to tenants, sharecroppers, and small farmers.

We regard it as of utmost importance that programs of conservation, production, marketing, and price-support be administered by democratically-elected farmer committeemen, as in the Triple-A program.

We stand for the principle of a graduated land tax and for the 160-acre limitation in the use of public irrigation.

We support farmer and consumer cooperatives as a highly important answer to the problem of monopoly control over markets and supplies. We oppose the tax drive being staged by Big Business against cooperatives.

We favor immediate flood control projects and universal electrification of all farms. REA lines and generating facilities should be rapidly expanded, and river-valley projects for power and irrigation should be undertaken as promptly as possible.

independent business

THE Progressive Party believes that independent businessmen can survive only in an economy free from monoply domination, where workers and farmers receive incomes sufficient to permit them to purchase the goods they need.

We propose to encourage and safeguard independent business by providing adequate working capital and development loans at low interest rates, granting tax relief, and giving independent and small business a fair share of government contracts. We propose to make available to independent business, through an expanded government research program, the know-how essential to efficient operation.

housing

THE Progressive Party charges that private enterprise, under monopoly control, has failed to house the American people. It is the responsibility of democratic government to guarantee the right of every family to a decent home at a price it can afford to pay.

We demand a Federal emergency housing program to build within the next two years four million low-rent and low-cost dwellings for homeless and doubled-up families, with priority to veterans.

We recognize that to accomplish this objective it will be necessary to curb non-essential construction, to allocate scarce materials, and to reduce the cost of land, money, and building materials.

We pledge an attack on the chronic housing shortage and the slums through a long-range program to build 25 million new homes during the next ten years. This program will include public subsidized housing for low-income families.

We pledge that as a part of our general program of economic planning the build-

ing industry will be reorganized and rationalized, capacity to produce presently scarce materials will be expanded, and year-round employment will be guaranteed to workers in the building trades.

Government—Federal, state and local—has the responsibility to insure that communities are well-planned, with homes conveniently located near places of employment and with adequate provision for health, education, recreation, and culture.

We pledge the abolition of discrimination and segregation in housing.

security and health

THE Progressive Party demands the extension of social security protection to every man, woman and child in the United States.

We recognize the service which the Townsend Plan has performed in bringing to national attention the tragic plight of the senior citizens of America, and we condemn the bipartisan conspiracy in Congress over the past ten years against providing adequate old-age pensions.

We pledge our active support for a national old-age pension of $100 a month to all persons at 60 years of age, based on right and not on a pauperizing need basis.

We call for a Federal program of adequate disability and sickness benefits and increased unemployment benefits, protecting all workers and their standards of living.

We call for maternity benefits for working mothers for thirteen weeks, including the period before and after childbirth, and the granting of children's allowances to families with children under 18.

We favor adequate public assistance for all persons in need, with Federal grants-in-aid proportionate to the needs and financial ability of the states, pending the enactment of a comprehensive Federal Social Security program.

We support the right of every American to good health through a national system of health insurance, giving freedom of choice to patient and practitioner, and providing adequate medical and dental care for all.

We favor the expenditure of Federal funds in support of an effective program for public health and preventive medicine and a program of dental care.

We favor the expenditure of Federal funds for the promotion of medical and dental education and research.

We look forward to the eventual transfer of the entire cost of the security and health program to the government as an essential public service.

women

THE Progressive Party proposes to secure the rights of women and children and to guarantee the security of the American family as a happy and democratic unit and as the mainstay of our nation.

We propose to raise women to first-class citizens by removing all restrictions—social, economic, and political—without jeopardizing the existing protective legislation vital to women as mothers or future mothers.

We propose to extend fair labor standards for women, to guarantee them healthful working conditions, equal job security with men, and their jobs back after the birth of children.

publicationW

J W GITT, PUBLISHER

{PUBLISHER OF THE YORK, PA., GAZETTE AND DAILY}

NEW YORK BUREAU:
401 Broadway, 23rd floor
New York 13, N. Y.
Digby 9-1670

July 10, 1948

17 Murray St.
my 7, my
WO4-6390

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgcomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-30-16

As you will see from the attached document, a small group of newspaper men is actively at work preparing a sample issue of a new national weekly publication.

This is an attempt to fill what we believe to be a long felt need for a progressive news weekly. We propose to supply in simple readable form the facts about what is now going on all over the world, our purpose being to bring understanding and peace. We are not proposing to run any editorials and will therefore have no policy other than truth.

We are asking leading progressive writers in every field to contribute to the paper and the contributors' list is already a distinguished one. It would be a great asset to the paper if you could contribute to it on Negro questions.

I hope that you will let me know when we can meet for a more detailed talk. Perhaps you might be able to drop in to see me in this office, but I will be glad to make any arrangement at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,

Cedric Belfrage

cb:sz

OK
a statement for

July 1947
Wash Star

[Publication W,]

CONFIDENTIAL

Every day for more than a quarter of a century in the pleasant farming metropolis of York, Pennsylvania, it has been possible to pick up a typographically excellent newspaper and read an honest, well written and full account of world events.

A group of newspapermen went recently to J.W. Gitt, publisher of the York Gazette and Daily, and pointed out that millions of Americans wanted to get what the 80,000 residents of York already got.

23c - 30 - 13

Mr. Gitt, the greatest living newspaperman in the American "country editor" tradition, agreed that the people outside York are neither more afraid of the truth, nor more cynical about it, than his fellow-townsmen. They are hungry for it but don't know where to find it.

Mr. Gitt and his visiting newspaper friends decided to start a national news weekly, called NATIONAL GAZETTE*, to give everyone the truth in the news in terms everyone can understand and enjoy.

* * *

A trial issue of NATIONAL GAZETTE is now in active preparation and will go to press in York about July 30.

The paper's standards, editorially and typographically, will be the best. But it will be produced modestly on newsprint to sell for 10 cents a copy, $1 for three months.

NATIONAL GAZETTE is not for intellectuals but for the millions of Americans who want to pierce the fogs of confusion and find out what's going on.

It will present exclusive and (in the best sense) sensational news reports which other papers, for various reasons, do not think fit to print. It already has correspondents in half a dozen countries.

But all vital news of the week will be reviewed and placed in simple perspective. These summaries will, at the week-end, disentangle

---

*Name subject to copyright clearance.

(more)

the knots left in readers' brains and stomachs by their daily newspaper diet.

In style NATIONAL GAZETTE will depart from journalistic cliches and fake, portentous phrasemongering. It will reclaim Webster and call a spade anything up to, but not beyond, a shovel.

It will stick to facts and, at the same time, expose the distortion of facts by "freedom-of-the-press" hypocrites.

Instead of editorializing it will ridicule and lampoon by word and picture. Art director Melville Bernstein (formerly of PM) has enlisted some of the finest artists of the day for a belated and much-needed revival of political cartooning as America once knew it.

* * *

Cedric Belfrage, author and journalist, whose study of the mortician industry has just been published, will edit NATIONAL GAZETTE as a constructive protest against those who would bury truth and her sister, peace, in plush seep-proof caskets.

His associate editor is Jim Aronson, who resigned from the New York Times to undertake the job. Writers of distinction in every field are flocking to the contributors' list.

The main job of news-gathering will be done in GAZETTE's bureau in New York, where news sources are concentrated, without the paper being colored by the pseudo-sophistications of that city.

The business side of the paper will be headed by Peter Hodgson, formerly of Look magazine.

# # #

230-30-14

23-30-17

July 13, 1948

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
Publication W
New York Bureau
401 Broadway
New York 13, New York

Dear Mr. Belfrage: I have your letter of July 10 and want to thank you for writing me. I shall be glad to talk with you about the matter you mentioned. If you will call my office at LOngacre 3-6890, we can arrange for a conference at a mutually convenient time.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

NO-2-5103

This party is a human "mis fit" — Legal Dept

[Purdue]

361 West 121st Street
New York 27. N.Y. 11-6-49

File Civic Affairs

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New-York 18 New York

23-50-13

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Due to the fact that our Mayor, has proclaimed "Civil Rights Day," in honor of President Truman. on Oct. 29, the night you made that gallent address at Golden Gate, ~~for~~ of Hon. Henry Wallace. It's only an organization such as the N. A. A. C. P. can call for a show down, to live up to it, himself with his subordinates.

This has been denied me for the passed 8 years, by both Mayors also boycotted and blackmailed by Police Departments Officials, without any redress.

My last episode happen 2/25/48 between the hours of 9 to 11 A.M. I was reporting for a physical examination by order of Capt. Schein. This was a surprise to me, as I had notice delivered to my residence about 730 P.M. 2/19/48. It was to inform me that my application for Hack Driver license, had been denied.

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT HARRY S TRUMAN AND MAYOR WILLIAM O'DWYER

ON CIVIL RIGHTS DAY

Today is Civil Rights Day, proclaimed by you, Mayor O'Dwyer in honor of President Truman.

Civil Rights Day for whom?

For Isaih Nixon whose body now lies buried in the fields of Georgia for daring to exercise his right to vote?

For the young Negro, William Milton, shot in the back on his very doorstep in Brooklyn by the trigger-happy policeman Kilcommons?

For Rosa Ingram and her two sons now rotting in a Southern jail for defending their lives?

Will Civil Rights Day be celebrated by the Negro soldiers now "enjoying" the benefits of a Jim Crow army sanctioned by the President...or by Negro citizens denied a Federal Employment Practices Act or an Anti-Lynch law?

Will Civil Rights Day be heralded by trade unionists now denied their hard-won right to mass picketing?

How will Civil Rights Day be celebrated in Denver, Los Angeles and other American cities where innocent citizens are thrown into jail by Federal grand juries without due process of law--and without bail?

And how will Civil Rights Day be enjoyed by the 12 Communist leaders indicted for "THINKING, TALKING, and TEACHING MARXISM."

IF YOU, MR. PRESIDENT

DO NOT LOOK UPON CIVIL RIGHTS AS MERE CAMPAIGN PROMISES

WE URGE YOU HERE TODAY

to

Order the immediate release of Rosa Ingram and her two sons.
Speak up against segregation in the army.
Speak up for a Federal anti-lynch law.

IF YOU, MAYOR O'DWYER

WANT TO CELEBRATE CIVIL RIGHTS DAY

We Demand

An immediate end to your police departments reign of terror against the Negro people.

Full prosecution of Patrolman Kilcommons, murder of William Milton.

N. Y. Civil Rights Congress
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Telephone: Oregon 9-1657

If I wished a hearing, I had within 30 days of date, the signature was type written in Capital letters, Chief Inspector Burkery. This notice was dated February 6th, time elapsed between delivery 19th was 13 days.

So I decided to investigate in the morning. That morning 2-20- I received card from Councilman Connelly's secretary to inform me that, she had sent letter to, Inspector Burkery in my behalf, that I should pay him a visit.

When I called 2/20 about 9:30 A.M. I asked officer, may I see Chief Inspector Burkery? He asked did I had an appointment? No, but I have a notice that I presented, with 13 days expired. He asked me to have a seat, that he would find out. Fifteen minutes later he inform me that I should report 9 A.M. on 2-25-48 for Physical, order of Captain Scheer.

I reported with more than a hundred other. After we were fingered printed, We removed clothing to waist, and stood in back of each other in lines. Then Dr. Hugo Muench, 300 R.S.Dr. passed though with gagget on head to test, with rubber connected to small disc that he placed on our chest, there was not any comment made, when he examined me. After all other applicants signed I was last to be called by Capt. Scheer to Dr. Muench's desk.

He said I am sorry I cant pass you, there is something wrong, with your central nervous system. I informed him that it did not bother me;

23-50-14

Then Presented a physical from Department of Health 8-2-46, with Blood Donor Certificate 8-9-44, I asked him did that mean anything. He glanced a it, then he had the audicity to inform me that I had been up to Rockland State, I told him that was 8 years passed, he only shook his head. With Capt. Sheen, the only witness, I realized that I was on the spot. I informed him that he had violated the "Code of Ethics" of his proffesion sions, that I was going to made Compleant.

The next day I decided to call on Chief Inspector Burkery 2-26- about 930 A.M. I asked may I see him, I was asked again have you an appointment? No, but I have a request, he looked at it and said it was addressed to me, I told him I know it, but it is a request for Secretary of Gov. Connelly. He asked me to have a seat, while he phone. A few minutes later he instructed me to go staight down hall, up 1 flight, at the top, there was Lt. Duncan, siting at desk, I said "Good-Morning", May I see Chief Insp. Burkery, he asked did I have an appointment, No, but I have a request, then present the card. He asked me what I wanted to see him for? that the Doctor did not passe you yesterday. I told him that phoney, that I was only carrying out instructing of Secretary.

Well tell your Councilman you cant see him, and stop writting letter

23-50-16

There are many more details to my complaint, as they keep adding insult to injury.
Enclosed please find Photostat copy of Physical made out to Hugo Muenet M. D. 300 Riverside Drive New York N.Y. It was only possible for me to secure this in the name Physican, as my complaint is against him, it would freshin his mind.

I would like to have a personnel interview with you Dr. Du Bois. It might be interesting to know that Mrs Motley made inquiries more than a year passed. She was informed that I was suffering with a mental condition. I sent it to the name of Officer, but I sent it to the Surgeon Gen. Dyagar, when I could not get any of the Leaders in Harlem to present it. So I delivered it to his office with more than 40 names, 2-3-48, previous to his illness of 2 months.

I contacted Paul Ross one of his secretaries, my reply from him that he was sorry but he could not help me.

Thanks you.

Very respectfully
D. T. Purdue

23-50-15

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
CITY OF NEW YORK

SOCIAL HYGIENE DIAGNOSTIC AND CONSULTATION SERVICE

Date Nov 4, 1948

Dr. Hugo Muenoh

Address 300 Riverside Drive

New York City

Dear Doctor:

The report on the examination of DeWitt Purdue

address 361 West 121 St Man

is herewith submitted.

Physical Examination 11/27/45 - SPINAL FLUID EXAMINATION

Globulin - 0

Cell Count - 2

Darkfield Examination Wassermann - negative

Colloidal Gold - negative

Smear: Urethral ~~Gonococcus~~

Cervical ~~Gonococcus~~

Vaginal ~~Vaginal~~

Prostatic ~~Gonococcus~~

Other Examination 11/21/45 Wassermann - negative

Diagnosis

RECOMMENDATIONS:

Appreciating your cooperation and desiring to be of further service to you,

Very truly yours,

per [signature] M. D.
Physician-in-Charge Social Hygiene

M. D.
District Health Officer

March 23, 1948

Dr. Benjamin A. Quarles
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Ben:

It has been a long time since we have had any communication with each other. However, I have kept you in mind. Recently when asked to recommend someone, to Long Island University, in History, I sent in your name. I knew that at one time you were anxious to get out of the rut and to leave the restrictive atmosphere of the South. Assuming that you are still just as anxious to leave, I gladly recommended you.

I hope your work is going well. Mabel and our new baby, Karen, join me in best wishes.

Cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

January 23, 1948

23-16-12

Mr. T. E. McKinney
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, North Carolina

My dear Mr. McKinney: I have received copies of the QUARTERLY REVIEW and I think you are doing a good job. However, I want to ask, that since I am now out of the teaching field, that my name be removed as contributing editor. I do not think it is fair for dead wood to be carried in that way. I trust that you will do this for me.

With best regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

The QUARTERLY REVIEW
of HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG NEGROES
JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY
CHARLOTTE 2, NORTH CAROLINA

March 1, 1948

EDITORIAL OFFICES

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Dept. of Special Research-N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-16-13

Your letter asking that your name be taken from the list of the Contributing Editors of the above magazine received. We wish to thank you for all the cooperation that you have given us in the past.

We will comply with your request beginning with Volume sixteen.

With best wishes and highest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

T. E. McKinney, Mgr. Ed.

TEMcK/wam

[Rainey]

7100 Tucker Rd S.E.
Washington 20, D.C.
March 26, 1948.

80th Birthday

Dr. Wm. E. B. DuBois
The Crisis
New York City

Dear Sir:

The paper containing news of your birthday was late reaching me so my letter is late to you.

We love and honor you, not only as a leader of our race but as a leader of the white races. One has only to read "Dark Water" to learn where the best ideas on modern schooling originated. I wish that you were openly given that credit which is due you. Your career is flawless and the achievements great. That is a miracle.

I do wish you would explain your interest in Wallace and Communism. You know better than I that justice + freedom can never be attained by changing the form of government. If a perfect form of govern-

23-25-51

ment were conceived and put into
operation it would soon become reac-
tionary and reactionary if the men who
are placed in charge are selfish and
dishonest.

I believe that England's form of gov-
ernment is the best on earth to-day.
They, the English need better men to
govern, but more than that they need
better people to be governed. Only
people with vile hearts could do what
they did to Edward the Eighth & to
Winston Churchill. The Communist
government is producing the same
results in Russia that the Nazis pro-
duced in Germany. The single exception
is its pretended fairness to Negroes.
If they had complete power & more
Negroes in Russia I wonder.

I believe that those who admire the
Communist form of Government should
live in Russia.

But you are in a better position
to judge than any other Negro and
we love & greet you on your
eightieth birthday.

Yours very truly,
Catherine Rainey

23-25-62

April 7, 1948

TO: MISS RAINEY

Thank you for your letter of March 25, to Dr. DuBois, which has just arrived. The Doctor is out of the city and is not due to return for sometime yet. I know that he will appreciate your congratulations on his 80th birthday.

I shall be sure and bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-25-63

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mr

New York, April 21, 1948

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Mr. Julian Rainey
C/O Mrs. Goldie Watson
1622 Columbia Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

STRAIGHT WIRE

45¢

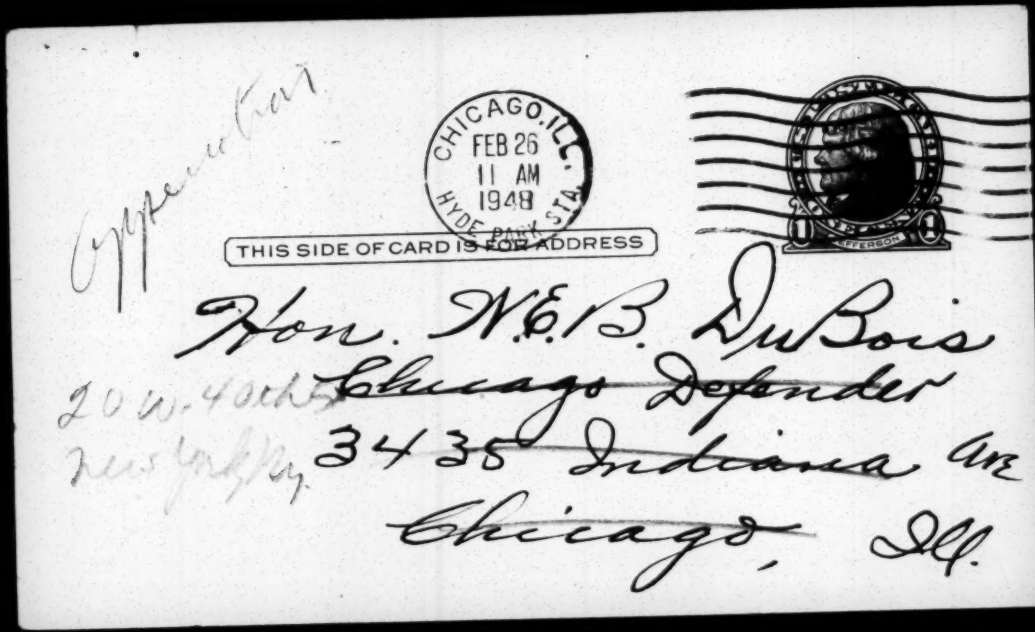
Wallace

C O N G R A T U L A T I O N S.

W. E. B. DuBois

20 W. 40th Street, N. Y. 18 LOngacre 3-6890

330-32-33


Oppenheimer

CHICAGO, ILL.
FEB 26
11 AM
1948
HYDE PARK STA.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Hon. W.E.B. DuBois
~~Chicago Defender~~
3435 ~~Indiana Ave~~
~~Chicago~~, Ill.

20 W. 40th St
New York 18, N.Y.

4222 Champlain ave
apt I

Dear Sir.

I really did enjoy reading your column on the Band wagon Tradition & Hon. Henry a Wallace. I would like to know where is Wallace for President head quarters

your Respectfully.
O. J. V. Rainey.

22-38-19

March 4, 1948

Mr. O. J. D. Rainey
4222 Champlain Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Rainey:

I am passing along to Dr. DuBois your expression of appreciation of his column on "The Bandwagon Tradition". The Doctor is in California and will not return to New York for several weeks. However, I know that he will appreciate what you have said.

The national headquarters of Mr. Henry Wallace is:

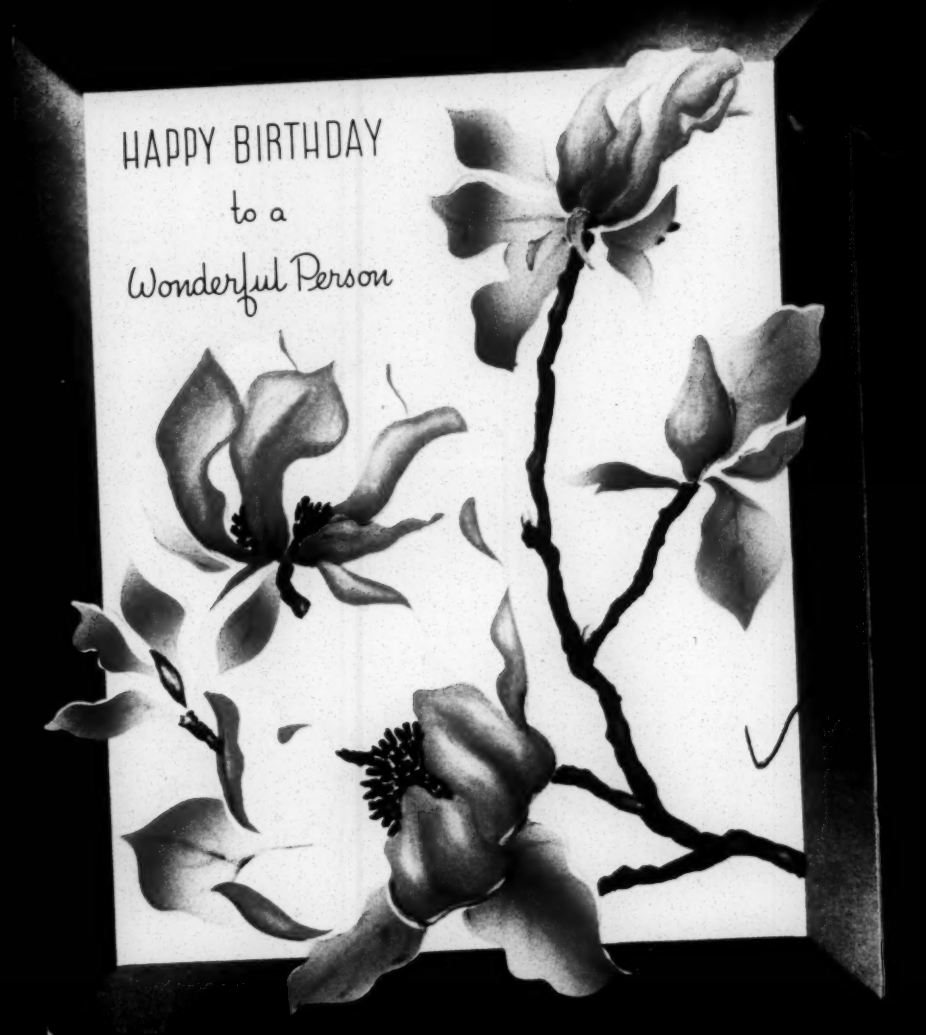
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW


HAPPY BIRTHDAY
to a
Wonderful Person

23-25-25

Station "A"
P. O. Box 1232
St. Petersburg Fla.

May every day the whole year thru
Bring health and luck and joy to you
And more than words can ever say –
May this be a very happy day!

Best Wishes to a
Great American

Compliments of
James Randall
Service Officer
American Legion Post
190

WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH

Dinner date June 7 carries 89

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL ENGINEERING

23-37-15

Mr W.E.B. Du Bois
Asst Secretary to Asst of Col. Boyle
20 W 40th St
N.Y. City

My dear Mr Du Bois

Will you find it convenient to dine with me & a small group at the Faculty Club of Columbia Univ. 117th & Morningside Drive at 6 o'clock on the evening of Monday June 7 to meet Prof Pierre Laroque of Paris? Prof Laroque is Director General of Social Security for France & wishes to learn something about the problems of the colored people in the U.S.A. I trust you will find it possible to join us.

Very sincerely
Walter Rautenstrauch

May 26 1948

June 2, 1948

Mr. Walter Rautenstrauch
Department of Industrial Engineering
Columbia University
New York, New York

23-37-16

Dear Mr. Rautenstrauch:

I regret to say that I find on June 7, my granddaughter is returning from boarding school, arriving in the city that afternoon. I shall have to take her to dinner and entertain her, and then take her to oculist before she departs for her home in Baltimore on the 8th. Therefore, it will be impossible for me to attend a dinner on the 7th.

I am very sorry, as I would have liked to have met and talked with Professor Laroque.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

ROBERT UPJOHN REDPATH, JR.
347 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK

February 5th, 1948

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 W. 139th St.
New York 30, N. Y.

23-25-29

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Thank you for your invitation to the dinner in honor of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Unfortunately, I must be out of town for that entire week and will not be able to attend.

Faithfully yours,

Robert U. Redpath, Jr.

C

March 17, 1948

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ira:

Under separate cover, I am sending you a box of envelopes, a copy of which is enclosed. In reexamining some of Dr. DuBois' material, I came across these and I thought you could make good use of them.

Hope everything is going well. No doubt, we shall see you up this way during the summer.

Mabel and the baby, Karen, join me in best regards and greeting to Gladys, as well as yourself.

As ever,

Hugh. H. Smythe
2225 5th. Avenue
Apartment 2 C
New York 35, N. Y.

HHS:LW

April 12, 1948

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ira:

I got your letter. I am forwarding another package of envelopes which I found. Hope to see you this summer when you come this way.

Mabel and the baby join me in regards to you and Gladys.

Cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue
Apartment 2C
New York 35, New York

23-20-25

[Reid]

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
230 WEST 41st STREET, NEW YORK

February 4, 1948

23-25-15

Mrs. Ogden Reid greatly regrets she is unable to accept the kind invitation of Fisk University and its New York Alumni for dinner in honor of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on Monday evening, February twenty-third owing to expected absence from New York.

March 2, 1948

Reynal & Hitchock Inc.
8 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

We have recently had brought to our attention THESE ARE THE MEXICANS, by Herbert Cerwin. In our work we deal with various cultural groups and feel that this is the type of book we should like to bring to the audiences we reach in speaking and writing. We would appreciate it very much if you would let us have a copy for examination. After we have examined it we shall be glad to return it.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

THESE ARE THE MEXICANS. By Herbert Cerwin. Illustrated. 384 pp. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock. $5.

OF the dozen or more books about Mexico that have appeared during the past six months "These Are the Mexicans" is one of the best. It is easy and enjoyable to read; it covers remarkably well the complex contemporary scene, and it includes a most attractive group of photographs. Few popularly written books offer the reader so much useful knowledge. Of even more importance for a book on Mexico by a "North American" is the pervading atmosphere of sympathy.

There is much in the book that will interest scholars, although it was not intended so much for the serious student of Mexican affairs as for the more casual reader. While there are some common sense observations on the shortcomings of the nationalistic laws which work to the disadvantage of Mexico herself, on the continued illiteracy of the poorer classes, on health, on trade, and on many other subjects, there are no graphs, detailed statistics or other material to make this a source or reference book. On the other hand, if one wishes to have a better understanding of such live and current problems as racial mixture and discrimination, Mexican politics, the maneuverings of the Church, the role of women, fiestas, rural education, life in Mexico City, and the daily life of the people, one will find it here.

Mr. Cerwin is at his best on such topics as the fine craftsmanship pride of Mexico's weavers and pottery makers, the loyalty of her rural school teachers, the discouraging disillusionment of her honest leaders, the conflicts tearing down national unity on all sides—conflicts between rich and poor, church and state, Spanish and Indian, native and foreigner, learned and ignorant, the older generation and the younger, city and country. The reader meets here the hopes, the fears, the worries, and the frustrations of the Mexican people.

HAROLD W. BENTLEY.

230-45

February 26, 1948

The Rev. Ben Richardson
Hotel Theresa
125th Street 7th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Richardson:

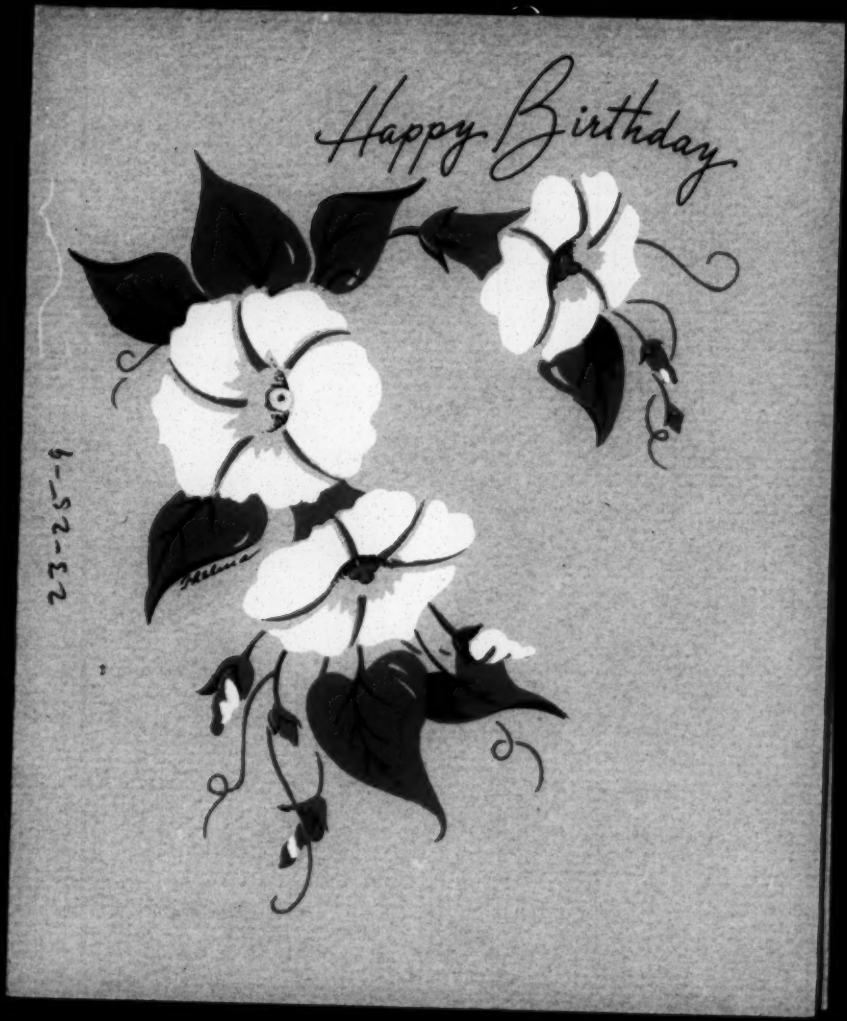
I am replying to your invitation of February 13, to Dr. DuBois to attend the Wallace mass meeting on February 15 last. Unfortunately, Dr. DuBois was lecturing in Boston on that date and was unable to be present. However, he wanted you to know that he would have been glad to attend had he been here.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23C-32-31


Happy Birthday
23-25-9

A day of real enjoyment
Right from the very start
To keep that birthday happiness
Lingering in your heart!

From, Mac Adams Roberts

This card is from Cousin
Williams Adams daughter
(Emily Mae Adams)
(Mrs. George W. Roberts)

23-25-10

23-25-55 763

CONGRATULATIONS

by WESTERN UNION

(19)

CGN N130 PD =NASHVILLE TENN 23 613P 1949 FEB 23 PM 8 38

HOTEL ROOSEVELT,

:ROOSEVELT, CARE FISK DINNER=

DEAR DOCTOR DUBOIS HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR OCTOGENARIAN ANNIVERSARY STOP WITH BEST WISHES FOR A CENTURY AND MORE OF CONTINUED AND DISTINGUISHED SERVICE=

DR AND MRS S O ROBERTS.

FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville, Tenn.

PAUL ROBESON AND ASSOCIATES
22 East 89th Street
(Care of Mc Gee)
New York, New York

July 28, 1948

DEAR FRIEND:

We invite you to join us in sponsoring the enclosed "Statement by Negro Americans to the President and Attorney General of the United States."

Please indicate your endorsement of the "Statement" by signing and returning the enclosed postal reply card at once. Try to get it to us within two or three days.

It is clear that we Negro Americans will lose even our right to fight for our rights unless an aroused American people puts a halt to the government's hysteria-breeding attacks upon the Communists. The recent "round-up" of national Communist leaders reminds us all too much of the first step fascist governments always take before moving to destroy the democratic rights of all minority groups.

The text of the enclosed "Statement" makes explicit the fact that "we raise here no defense of the principles of the Communist Party"; that our concern is to protect the right of all minorities to fight for the kind of America they consider just and democratic. Unless this right is protected, the Negro people can never hope to attain full citizenship.

As you may have read in the newspapers, this "Statement" has already been signed by about 150 Negro leaders in 21 different states. Included among them are Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr. (Ohio), Frederick Nicklewhite (Vt.), Magistrate Joseph B. Rainey (Pa.), Raymond Tillman (La.), Mrs. Mildora Payne (Colo.), Larkin Marshall (Ga.), Capt. Hugh Mulzac (N.Y.), and Hilliard Ellis (Ill.)

Our goal is to obtain the endorsements of 1,000 Negro leaders from all parts of the country. Then the Statement will be presented formally to the President and Attorney General, and released in full to the press.

We hope you will join us in this public expression on a serious issue which greatly affects the welfare of Negro Americans. Please let us have your postal card reply immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

PAUL ROBESON, New York City
W.E.B. DU BOIS, New York City
ROSCOE C. DUNGEE, Oklahoma City, Okla.
CHARLES P. HOWARD, Des Moines, Iowa

[Enc.]

STATEMENT BY NEGRO AMERICANS TO THE

PRESIDENT AND ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the undersigned Negro Americans, strongly condemn your hysteria-breeding arrests of national leaders of the Communist Party, and call upon you to take positive action to protect civil rights instead of persecuting political minorities.

We raise here no defense of the principles of the Communist Party. Our concern is to defend the right of political and other minorities, especially the Negro people, to fight for the kind of society which they consider necessary to give full expression to the principles of American democracy.

22-32

We agree fully with the declaration of Henry A. Wallace:

> "Defense of the civil rights of Communists is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people. The history of Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco Spain should teach us that the suppression of the Communists is but the first step in an assault on the democratic rights of labor, national, racial and political minorities, and all those who oppose the policies of the government in power."

The obvious purpose of these Gestapo-like arrests of Communist leaders is to frighten people away from the Wallace Movement and progressive people's organizations generally, practically all of which have been slandered as "communist" or "subversive" by the Attorney General and the Un-American Activities Committee.

Here, clearly, is an attempt to strengthen the current drive to war and reaction in general by intimidating all political opposition to such a program.

It is significant that the indictment of these Communist leaders does not even charge them with any attempt to use "force and violence", for political or any other purpose. Indeed, the asserted basis of their indictment has already been overruled by the Supreme Court of the United States -- in the "Schneiderman Case", where the late Wendell Willkie served as defense attorney.

We take special note of the fact that two Negro leaders are among those involved in the recent "Communist round-up" --one a veteran, the National Administrative Secretary of the Communist Party; the other a lawyer, whom some 60,000 citizens voted to elect to the Council of the City of New York. The significance of these facts will be understood by the Negro people.

We call upon our Government to halt its fascist-like attacks upon opposition minorities, and to act for the protection of minority rights.

We call upon the Attorney General to use the power of his office to defend the lives and liberties of the Negro people in the South.

We call upon the President to give more than lip-service to civil rights (while acting to destroy them) -- to use his executive authority to abolish discrimination in federal employment and segregation in the armed forces; to throw the full influence of his office into the fight to have Congress repeal the poll tax, establish a national FEPC and outlaw lynching.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

22-32

MR. PAUL ROBESON AND COLLEAGUES
% Mc GEE
22 EAST 89TH ST.
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

[Enc.] _____, 1948

Dear Paul Robeson, Roscoe C. Dungee,
W. E. B. Du Bois and Charles P. Howard:

Please affix my name to the "Statement by Negro Americans to the President and Attorney General of the United States", a copy of which you sent me. I am in full agreement with this pronouncement.

NAME _____
(Write plainly or print)

ADDRESS _____
(Street number) (City & State)

AFFILIATION _____
(organization, business, profession, etc., for identification purposes only.)

ROBESON SOUVENIR COMM., VOL. 27, P 48

THE ROBESON SOUVENIR COMMITTEE

E. Cris Le Maitre, Hon. Chairman
Ernil S. Paul, Carlton S. Boyce, Councillor C. Ward
Vincent Inniss, Charles Cones, Aldwin A. James
Michael Cleare, Hon. Secretary.

COCKTAIL PARTY

27-11-48 6.00 p.m.

PROGRAMME

1.	"It was the Dawn, The Dawn and YOU" (From C. Francis Opera "Land of Love?)	Vocalist - Irma Charles Composer - Carlton S. Bouce
2.	"Since I met You"	Vocalist - C Drysdale Composer - C.S. Boyce
3.	"TRAUMEREI"	Violinist - Adrian Lewis Composer - R Schumann
4.	"Ah Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray" "My soul is a witness for My Lord"	The Black Dot Quintet
5.	"Haunt not Thyself proud Man (From C. Francis' Opera) (Land of Love)	Duet - James Howard Irma Charles Composer - C.S. Boyce
6.	CALYPSO	Vocalist - "The Lion" H. Charles
7.	"VAILA"	Vocalist - Kyron Benjamin
8.	MEDLEY	Pianist - Elsie Richards
9.	"Beautiful Moon I adore You" "The Sun's Gone Down" "Until you Came"	Composer - Carlton S. Boyce
10.	"The Seasons"	Duet - James S. Howard Irma Charles Composer - Carlton S. Boyce

* O

11. PRESENTATION SCULPTOR A.A. JAMES

12. FELICITATIONS

Ernil S. Paul — President West Indian Negro Assn.
Julian S. Quashie — " Pharmaceutical Society (T & T)
Jim Barratt — " Negro Welfare Assn.
T.E. Franklin — Alderman V.R. Vidale
Hon'ble Dr. Patrick Solomon.

13. REPLY — Guest of Honour Mr. Paul Roseson

14.	"My Heart at thy Sweet Voice	Vocalist - Hilda Thomas Composer C. Saint Saen
15.	"I'll Walk Beside You"	Vocalist - Geo. Commissiong
16.	"My Lord what a Morning" "Going Home"	Black Dot Quintet

FINIS.

* STATUETTE of an AFRICAN MAN singing. Made of wood.

Curious letters

1510 Gansler Avenue
March 5th 1948
Gadsden, Alabama.

22-38

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th st.
New York 18. N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois.

Just a few lines to let you hear from me. I know it is necessary for me to write to you, and explain the deferences existing in Gadsden, Alabama. The Lawyers and Teachers and other people are meddling in my husband and my affairs it was reported they have bluffed him down not a coward I am sure of that, what ever they say his name use included against me. then some one carry the news out that we are divided the trouble is they have tried to take all advantage of me. the year of 1944. I asked Eleven (11) Caucasian Lawyers of this city to work for me and they all refused, now they wont to take my affairs and handle it as they desire to. that's the reason condition have been grave here. I am sure you and Senator Arthur H Vandenberg and the Attorneys can take care of my work since I am not making my home here. the argument here are destructive it will cause trouble. when it can be avoided if it isn't stoped. I think it should be stoped if you all have to send the United States Guards down here. at this rates we never have peace I trust you Gentlemen will put forth ever effort to end this argument.

Very truly yours.
Mrs. Era Robinson.

Lewis Application

23-22

March 9, 1948

Mrs. Era Robinson
1510 Cansler Avenue
Gadsden, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Robinson:

Thank you for your letter of March 5 to Dr. DuBois. It has arrived during his absence from New York and he will not return to his desk for several weeks. However, I know he will appreciate your interest in writing.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Curious
L 2 1/25

1510 Cansler ave-
April 1- 1948
Gadsden, Ala.

Dr W. E. B. DuBois
26 th West 40 th street
New York 18. N. Y.
Dear sir:

I have your letter march 9th. and ther problems I have been outlining in my letters obaiously is one of deep concern to yourself and Senator Authur H. Vandeberg, and others. at the present time we are not confused. I think the time is ripe for the Law to take control over our enemies and assist in our leaving. the need is very pressing. and the time is surely at hand. today was the day for our departure. the people turn out in large numbers opposing our leaving. then we are being criticised for not leaving. the activity the people carring on in the neighborhood is bad. I know its best to send a group to assist us in our leaving. I repeat it is one of utmost importance.

with best personal wishes I remain

Sincerely yours.

Mrs. Eva Robinson.

Curious letter

22-38

1510 Carsley Avenue
Godsden, Alabama.
Aug 16 th 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 th W. 40 th street
New York 18 N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to give you futher explanation I intend to write to you sometime ago, but. I have been living so tense for sometime and I just kept putting it off. ignore all inquireres about my business, & havent ask any one to take over I will notify you my self if I decide to change. I hope all errors are cleared up. at an early date I will send all of my plans.

Mrs Era C. M. Robinson.

[Robinson, W. A.]

March 9, 1948

Mr. W. A. Robinson
Principal, Colored School
Phoenix, Arizona

23-29-16

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I wrote you the other day but somehow got it in my mind you were in Tucson so you probably will not get that letter.

I am lecturing on the Pacific Coast and shall be leaving Los Angeles for Texas about March 22nd. I have been asked to speak at the University of New Mexico in Alberquerque and it has occurred to me there might be an opportunity to lecture at Phoenix. If you think so I shall be glad to hear from you but I do not want you to make any special effort. My fee is $100.00.

I trust this will find you and family very well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

P. S. My address until the 15th will be Palace Hotel and after that in care of Somerville, 2104 South Harvard Blvd., Los Angeles.

[Robinson, W. A.]

PHOENIX UNION HIGH SCHOOLS AND JUNIOR COLLEGE
E. W. MONTGOMERY, Superintendent
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

CARVER HIGH SCHOOL
W. A. ROBINSON, Principal
415 East Grant Street

Mar 12, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter from the Palace Hotel San Francisco written Mar. 7, has just reached my desk and my secretary has left. I am writing you direct back so that you may have some possibility of receiving a reply before Mar. 15. You will see that you addressed the letter to Jacson instead of Phoenix but Carver High is very well known in the state right now. Our basket ball team won the championship in this district over schools more than ten times as large and they went to Jacson and reached the semi-finals in the state meet so folks know Carver right now.

23-29-17

It is very pleasant to hear from you and I hope we can arrange for you to lecture in Phoenix. I would like Carver High School to present you if it can be done. We would need a little time to work it up and I don't know what your possible dates are. If we can do it, I am sure that the Urban League or one of the churches would be glad to do it. Let me have possible dates so that I can know how to proceed.

We are fine and we would both enjoy seeing you.

Sincerely,

W. Hopkins

[Robinson, W. A.]

PHOENIX UNION HIGH SCHOOLS AND PHOENIX COLLEGE
E. W. MONTGOMERY, Superintendent
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

lecture

CARVER HIGH SCHOOL
W. A. ROBINSON, Principal
415 East Grant St.

3/25/48

23-29-15

Dear Dr. DuBois:

When I received your second letter and realized that you would need to be in Phoenix the last week in March, I knew that I couldn't arrange to have you at Carver and I was afraid that would be too soon for any organization to attempt to arrange to present you. We had several things at Carver that week and any church or other Negro organization here would have needed more time.

When ever you are coming this way again, by all means let me know. You could do good here work. We need you, and many people, mostly white, would rejoice to hear you lecture on any subject. You would be interested to visit this town. It's an interesting place

I am sending this copy to Prairie View.
Give my regards to Banks and his good wife. I
am personally attached to both of them.

I should say that I approached several
organizations but it was the time in all
cases. (The Phoenix College (Mun.) would have
done it as a part of their lecture series
but they had come and scheduled.

Kind regards to your family and
friends whom you may see on this trip.

Sincerely

M. L. Johnson

Refused for Info.

22 August 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York, New York

22-40-28

Dear Dr. Dubois:

When I was nine years old, my father brought me along to have dinner with you in the Atlanta University Dining Room, and in the course of the evening, for a moment, you took me over to the window and pointed out to what is now the University Homes, and told me the story of Motorcycle Patrolman Beavers and how he used to go sailing down Chestnut street hill to frighten the people, until the day they stretched a rope across the top of the hill, and from that day on, a new word came into the language — Beaverslide.

A great deal has happened since that evening, and I have seen a war. Now I am finishing a rather symbolic, rather optimistic novel with a war setting, entitled Beaverslide, that tells about six Negro soldiers who died together.

Two publishers have said that they like what I am doing and I have good hopes of seeing it published, but I would greatly appreciate your giving me again, the story of Beaver's slide, the way you did that evening by the window, so that I may place it at the beginning of the novel, by way of introduction, for those who never heard it before.

Sincerely yours,
William Albert Robinson, Jr.
1314 E. Jefferson Street
Phoenix, Arizona

22-40-29

September 24, 1948

Mr. William Albert Robinson, Jr.
1314 East Jefferson Street
Phoenix, Arizona

My dear William:

I did not myself actually know of the incident connected with Beaverslide. The story was told me by John Hope. I think the incidents as you tell them are as accurate as I know, although perhaps you ought to collect them by the testimony of some eyewitness. I hope your book will get publication.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

Catholics

Seminary of the Immaculate Conception,
Huntington, New York,
February 23, 1948.

23-39-67

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Please forgive me for intruding upon your time. If you could, would you be so kind as to comment on the article enclosed in this letter? It is an article on the race problem which in my opinion is quite good in spite of a few obscurities. It deals with priciples and not merely facts. Your comments would be most appreciated.

My name is William Rodgers. I am a student at the above Seminary.

Thanking you for your kindness in helping me clarify my thinking about the problems of our people, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

William Rodgers

March 1, 1948

Mr. William Rodgers
Seminary of the Immaculate Conception
Huntington, New York

Dear Mr. Rodgers:

Your letter of February 23, missent to Dr. DuBois at Atlanta University, has just reached this office. Dr. DuBois was retired from Atlanta University in 1944, and has since then been connected with this organization.

The Doctor is currently on a lecture tour to the West Coast that will keep him away from New York until the middle of April. However, upon his return I shall bring to his attention the reprint of your article, "Principle and Rationalization in Race Relations."

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23C-39

A Birthday Message

Just a little Birthday Message
Sent cheerfully to You
With a Volume of Good Wishes
And many Warm Thoughts,
too!

23-25-9

W.A. Rogers

W. A. Rogers

1817 N. Diamond St.
Phila. 21, Penn.

[Roosevelt, Eleanor]

APARTMENT 15-A
29 WASHINGTON SQUARE, WEST
NEW YORK CITY 11

23-25-67

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
regrets -
her inability - to accept
the kind invitation of
Fisk University and its New York Alumnae
to attend the dinner in honor of
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
on Monday, January 23d
as she will not be in
New York City - on that
date.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
SAINT LOUIS (5)

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

23-25-59

February 21, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40 Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Congratulations to a great man on his eightieth birthday. I am not always in agreement with your recent actions, but I am sure you must have good reason for doing them.

Best wishes for many more happy years.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold M. Rose

Arnold M. Rose
Prof. of Sociology

AMR:MJS

These

(ROSENWALD FUND)

13 CHICAGO JAN 3 4 PM 1948 ILL.

SAVE THE
BUY U.S
PAYROLL

JEFFERSON

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director Special Research, NAACP
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, New York

22-32

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15

The Committee on Fellowships wishes to thank you for your confidential statement concerning

Hugh and Mabel Smythe

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Research Director, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

22-32

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO 15

The Committee on Fellowships wishes to thank you for your confidential statement concerning

Pauline A. Young

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

22-38

January 23, 1948

Dear DuBois: I am to be in New York from Tuesday through Friday of next week, January 27 through 31, staying at the Chatham Hotel. If it turns out to be convenient I should like a little visit with you at this time. I shall telephone you on my arrival hoping that we can find a mutually agreeable appointment.

Very truly yours,

ERE:NL

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Encyclopedia Negro

March 3, 1948

My dear Mr. Smythe: Please say to Dr. DuBois that I appreciate his sending me a copy of his letter to Mr. McQuistion. Apparently somebody has gotten this important project in an unfortunate snarl. I do hope that permanent harm has not been done to the project and I am glad that Dr. Du Bois has taken hold of it in such a vigorous and intelligent manner.

Sincerely yours,

WWA:EB

Will W. Alexander

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Reserach
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

230-30-9

March 8, 1948

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I have just received your letter of March 3, and want to thank you for writing. Dr. DuBois, I am sure, will inform you of any further developments in re the encyclopedia of the Negro.

With thanks for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

EXPENSE SHEET

To: Julius Rosenwald Fund

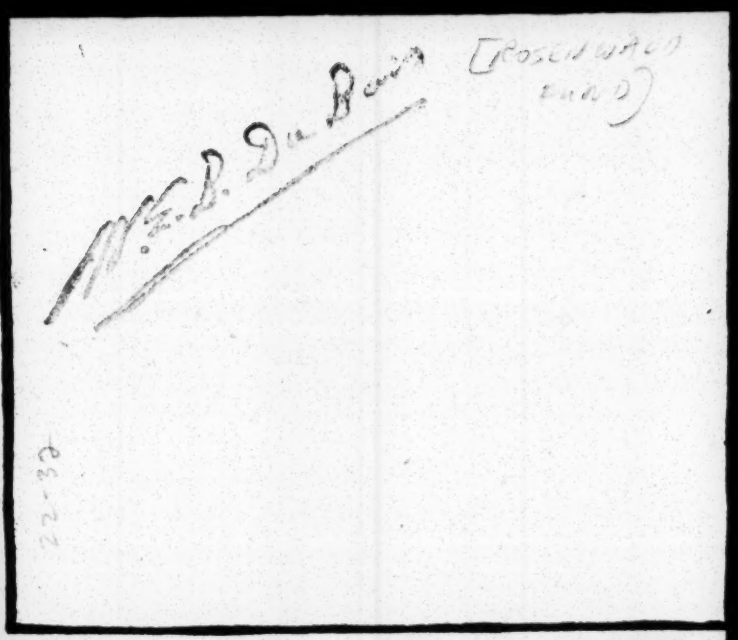
From: W. E. B. DuBois

Date: June 2, 1948

Fee		$100.00
Travel: Roundtrip via plane		100.29
Incidentals:		
Cab fares, New York:	$ 2.65	
Cab fares, Chicago :	4.60	
Hotel, 2 days	15.28	
Meals, 3 days	10.65	
Tips	2.30	
Total	$35.48	35.48
	Grand total	$235.77

W. E. B. DuBois

NOTE: Closing dinner of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Hotel Stevens, Chicago, Illinois, May 28, 1948.



JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

SEMINAR AND DINNER

HONORING TRUSTEES AND OFFICERS OF THE JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

THE STEVENS HOTEL
CHICAGO, MAY 28, 1948

2:30 P.M. Seminar Normandie Lounge

Human Relations in the Twentieth Century

Robert C. Weaver, *chairman*

W. E. B. DuBois

Gunnar Myrdal

4:30 P.M. Reception Normandie Lounge

7:00 P.M. Dinner Grand Ballroom

Ira DeA. Reid, *toastmaster*

Sterling Brown

Natalie Hinderas

Langston Hughes

Pauline Phelps

Pearl Primus
Lillian Smith

Lessing J. Rosenwald

Edwin R. Embree

SPONSORING COMMITTEE

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GEORGE S. MITCHELL

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IRA DeA. REID

C. RUFUS ROREM

EDWARD C. SOLOMON

SARA SOUTHALL

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RUPERT VANCE

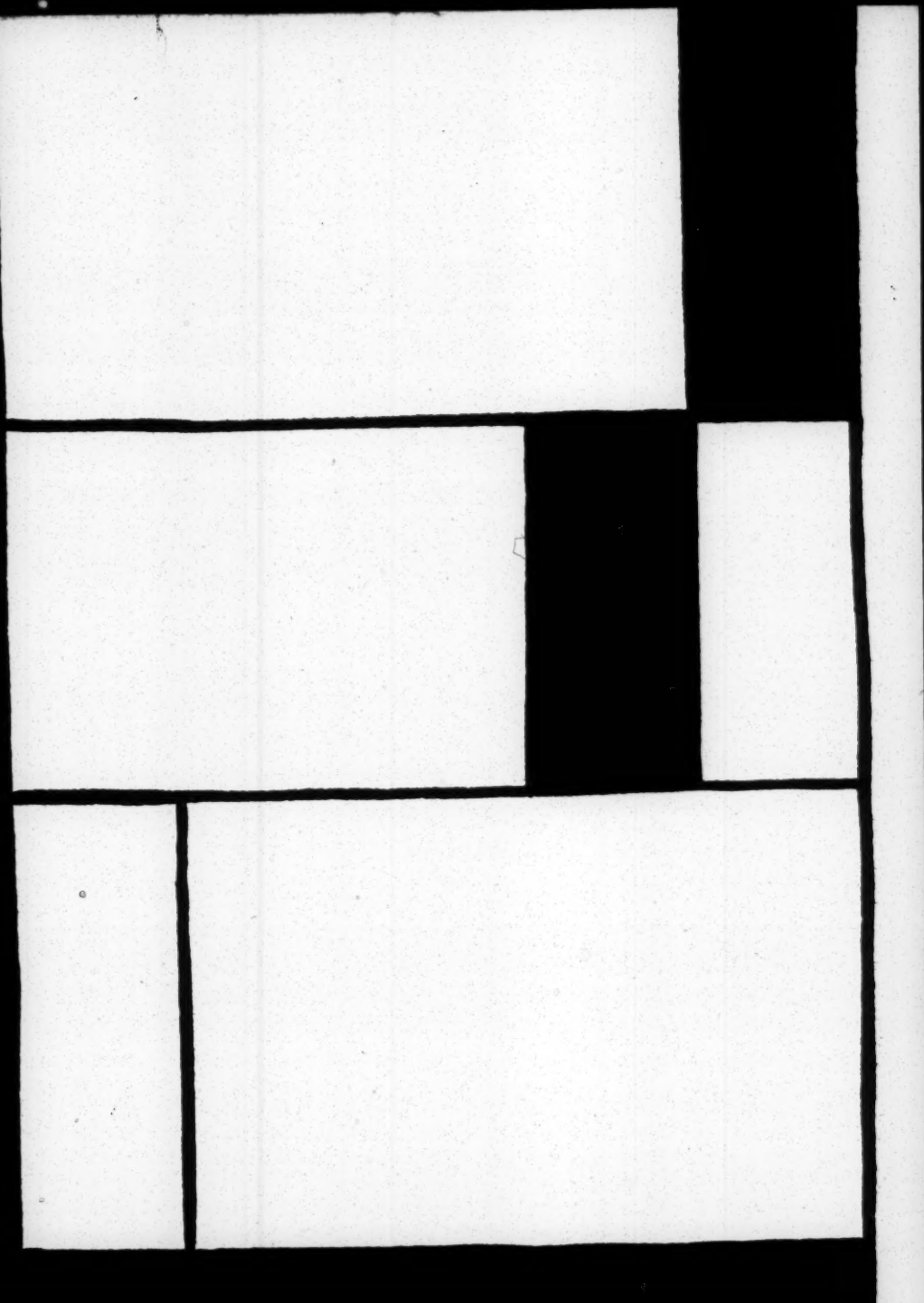
WALTER WHITE

SIDNEY WILLIAMS

LOUIS WIRTH

THOMAS H. WRIGHT

cover design by Jacob Lawrence



Rosenwald Fund Closing Dinner

1948

SEMINAR

Human Relations in the Twentieth Century

Stevens Hotel, Normandie Lounge

2:30 P. M.

May 28

W E B Du Bois

22-32

No 123

Fee	100
Plane	10029
Cab	150
NY.	115
	1528
Chi Hotel	325
meals	520
"	140
Cab	100
Cab NY	265
	574
	23773
Tel	270
	24030

92
29
63

Rosenwald Fund Closing Dinner 1948

DINNER

WEB DuBois

7:00 P. M.

Stevens Hotel, Grand Ballroom

May 28

Speakers Table

No. 124

C2-22

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

June 7, 1948

Dear DuBois: We are bringing out all of the papers in connection with the closing ceremonies of the Julius Rosenwald Fund in a special issue of Phylon. The Fund is purchasing a thousand copies of this special issue for distribution. If you have persons to whom you would like copies sent, will you be good enough to let us have lists.

22-32-14

We hope that you will consent to the publication of your paper in this series. Ira Reid, editor of Phylon, expresses the hope that the papers, both by you and Myrdal, can be revised to make not more than about five thousand words. Assuming that you may want to make some revisions and may be able to cooperate with the editor in some deletions, I am returning to you the manuscript that you gave me, together with a copy of it that we have made in this office. Will you be good enough to make whatever revisions you care to on the copy and return it to us?

You know our gratitude for the distinction of having you participate in these closing ceremonies of the Fund and for the statesmanlike review of race relations in America that you presented. It was a delight as always to have a visit with you. I hope we will find ourselves working together in many common causes as the years go on.

Very truly yours,

Frederick

ERE:NL

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO 15

To

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

20 West 40th Street

New York 18, New York

Payment Voucher No. 5290

Date June 7, 1948

23c-29-35

The check enclosed herewith is tendered in full payment of the following:

Travel to Chicago for Seminars, May 28 - - - - - - - -	$135.77
Fee -	100.00
	$235.77

Ck. #38678

No acknowledgment required. The cancelled check will be regarded as a receipt

Julius Rosenwald Fund, Aug 16, 1948

Can you rush me overall figures of total activities of Rosenwald Fund

WEB DuBois

22-38

File - with letter sent

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Fil 17

22-32

August 17, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois: In the absence of both Mr. Embree and Miss Waxman I am sending you the enclosed statement of the total expenditures of the Fund. I hope these will give you the information you need.

Sincerely yours,

Nina Lackie

Nina Lackie

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Rid 8-18-48

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

EXPENDITURES, 1917 - 1948

Summary

EDUCATION		
School Building Program	$5,362,361	
Library Service	860,335	
Teacher Education	1,646,181	
University Centers and Colleges	3,461,827	$11,330,704
HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES		
Negro Health	1,701,928	
Medical Services	1,315,390	3,017,318
FELLOWSHIPS		1,655,911
RACE RELATIONS		3,004,485
OTHER ACTIVITIES		
General Education and Mental Sciences	927,222	
General Social Studies and Public Administration	283,883	
Miscellaneous	620,496	1,831,601
ADMINISTRATION		1,404,155
		$22,244,174
Free funds available for meeting uppaid bills. Balance to be divided equally between Fisk University and Dillard University		5,450
		$22,249,624

22-33

TELEPHONE LAFAYETTE 4797

S. N. RUSSELL, M. D.
1301 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

Receipt

January 27, 1948

Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

23-27-21

For Professional Eye Services rendered----------$20.00

Paid February 3, 1948

Thank you

S N Russell